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St. Peter and the Keys to the Kingdom

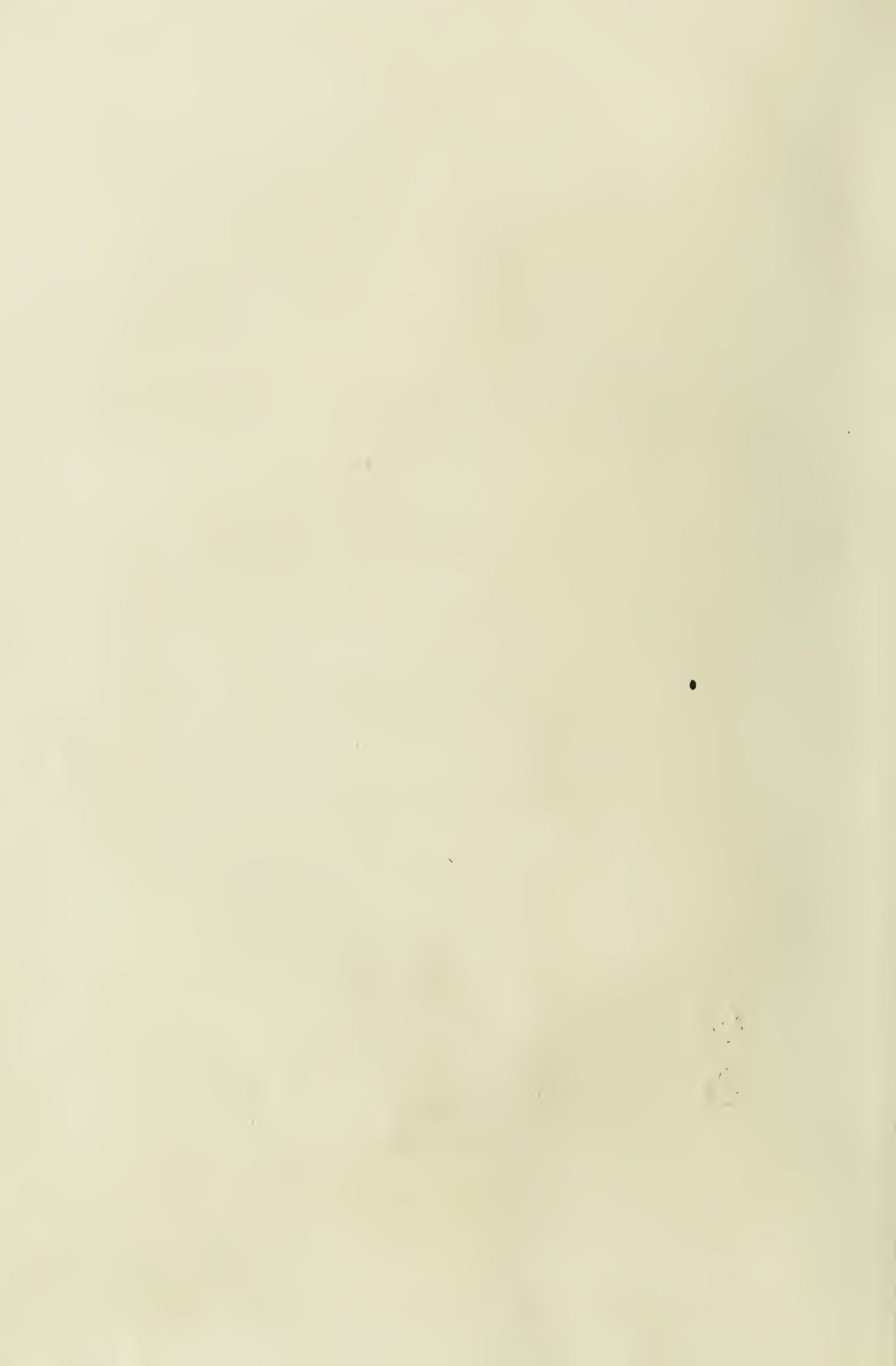




THE
LIVES OF THE
OF THE
ROMAN POPESTRESS



St Peter to Julius II.



THE
LIVES AND TIMES
ROMAN PONTIFFS,

FROM ST. PETER TO PIUS IX.

BY THE
CHEVALIER ARTAUD DE MONTOR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

EDITED BY REV. DR. NELIGAN

VOL. I.

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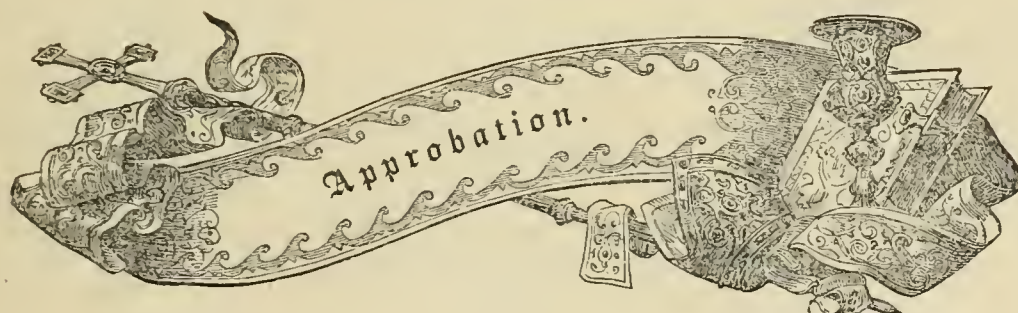


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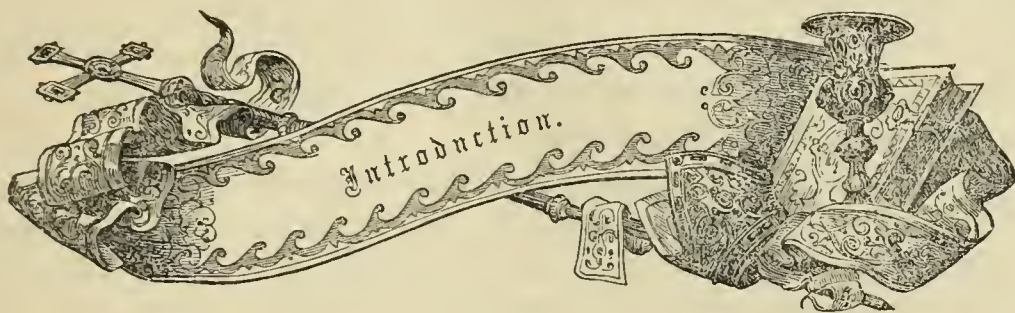
RENNIE, SHEA & LINDSAY,
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WE APPROVE OF THE PUBLICATION, BY D. & J. SADLIER & Co., OF
ARTAUD'S LIVES OF THE POPES.

✠ JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, *March 30th*, 1865.



THE question of the papal supremacy is a summary of the whole cause at issue between the Church and Protestantism in every shape. Ancient writers speak in no doubtful tone of the primacy and prerogatives of St. Peter. God himself, appealing in a man's form to the mind and heart of men, declares this in a clearer, more emphatic, and soul-piercing manner :

"Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church." (Matt. xvi. 18.)

"Simon, Simon, I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not ; and thou, in thy turn, one day confirm thy brethren." (Luke, xxii. 24.)

"Feed my sheep ; feed my lambs." (John, xxi. 15-17.)

If St. Peter is thus made the head and bond of the college of the Apostles,—if our Lord in the visible government of his Church on earth has appointed him as the supreme ruler who was to succeed himself,—there is a sure certainty which warrants us to expect that such a ruler will continue in the Church until the consummation of all things. That the Bishop of Rome is the successor of Saint Peter, and that the prerogatives given to Saint Peter as the head of the Church, were to continue on his successors, has ever been the belief of the Church. The Christian Fathers, as individual writers and witnesses, the ancient Church in her universal councils, with one voice, regard the pope as sitting in the chair of Saint Peter. His prerogatives are as imperishable as the life of the Church itself. He is the rock of the Church, the source of all jurisdiction and the centre of unity.

The history of the popes is but little known. It is a source of biography from which much is to be learned, and much consolation can be gained. To witness those holy men who succeeded to the chair of Saint

Peter for nearly four centuries die as martyrs for the faith, and become witnesses for the truth which they taught and so nobly defended, must animate our faith and enliven our hope. To behold a holy band of confessors succeed these, will increase our charity, and strengthen us in the path of virtue. To see those holy men amidst good repute and evil repute, meek and lowly like their divine Master, will teach us that humility is the mother of all graces and virtues.

Various histories of the popes have been written in different languages. Some of these are true, and some false. The popes were ever the defenders of rights and justice. They would not wink at the follies or acts of tyranny and injustice practised by the princes and monarchs of Europe. Their mission was divine, therefore it was their duty to defend the people from cruel oppression and invasion of their civil rights. The guardianship of the virgin, the widow, and the orphan was their especial office. This harmonized not with the feelings of the proud monarchs and the haughty feudal lords. Men were found who, professing themselves Christians, composed histories or lives of the popes, in which errors were exaggerated, faults magnified into crimes and vices of the most outrageous character: our Lord once more seems to suffer in the person of his vicar here on earth.

Even Protestantism could not swallow such wholesale falsehoods; and a Hurter and a Roscoe, with a host of others, were found ready to buckle on their armor, and to fight for the cause of God and his anointed.

Many writers of learning, and several of the most distinguished bishops of the Church in this country, have constantly expressed a wish that a history of the popes, in the English language, would be published for the use of the laity.

This work of M. Artaud has received the commendation of the Holy Father and of the most distinguished French bishops and ecclesiastics. The hierarchy of America, so distinguished for its piety and learning, has expressed its cordial approbation of it.

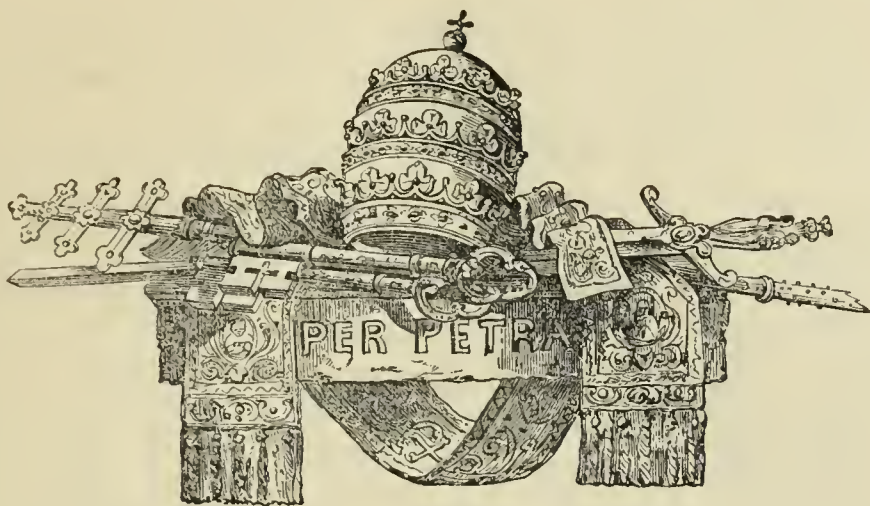
The exact chronology of the Roman pontiffs, extending through more than nineteen centuries, is a difficult matter to arrange in itself. Novaes, the first edition of whose work was published in Rome, in 1785, has given what he deems to be an exact catalogue. Many celebrated writers have followed in this same work, in which there has not been an exact agreement as to the date of the creation of the early popes. The length of their reigns and the time of their death have caused also some difficulties. The ancient catalogues and the ancient pictures, together with the writers in the different centuries, are the sources from which these catalogues of popes have been taken. It is not to be wondered that in the lapse of so many centuries there should be some discrepancies. These are of no material account. The official almanac, called the *Diario*, is

published each year at Rome. The chronology of the popes as given in this document will be followed. It is adopted by M. Artaud, "as it enjoys each year the approbation of the Holy See."

WILLIAM H. NELIGAN.

ST. COLUMBA'S CHURCH, Easter, 1865.





LIVES OF THE POPES.

* ST. PETER.—A. D. 42.†



SAINT PETER, the Prince of the Apostles, and first of the Christian pontiffs, was originally named Simon. His father was a fisherman of Bethsaida, near the lake of Gennesareth, in Galilee, which was also the birthplace of his brother, Saint Andrew. When Simon was about forty years old his brother presented him to our Saviour, who receiving him as one of his apostles, surnamed him *Cephas*, which in the Syriac signifies Stone, or *Rock*. *Upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* By these words our Saviour intimated that in raising Saint Peter to the dignity of the chief of the apostles, he made that dignity the foundation-stone of his Church.

As our Lord said that that edifice shall not be overturned, but subsist throughout all ages, it follows that the authority of Saint Peter has descended upon his successors, and that his See still continues, and ever will continue to be the centre of Unity. In order to be true members of the Church, the faithful must ever hold to it. Thus the fathers of the Church, and, following them, the theologians have ever reasoned. Heretics and unbelievers have, in vain, endeavored to obscure this truth.

* The First Primacy.

† The year 42 see *Feller's Historical Dictionary*, vol. v., p. 40; edition 1839.

For some time Saint Peter did not habitually attend our Lord on his journeys, but always went to hear him when he taught the multitude. One day, Jesus was on the shore of the lake Gennesareth, which is also called the *Sea of Tiberias*, and knowing that Peter and Andrew had all night cast their nets in vain, he told the fishermen to go further out from the shore. They did so, and so abundant was the take, that not only their own boat, but also that of Saint James and Saint John was filled. Peter presented himself to express his gratitude, and professed himself unworthy to approach his Lord. The humility of Peter procured him a new call from Jesus. Peter's usual residence was at Capharnaum; our Lord was often there, and walking along the shore again, saw Peter and Andrew, and James, and John casting their nets into the sea. He again called upon them to follow him; and it was on that occasion that from a mere fisherman Peter became, in the exact words of our Saviour, *a fisher of men*.* Going from Bethsaida to Cæsarea, Jesus asked Peter what he thought of the Son of Man, whom some considered to be John the Baptist, and others considered to be one or the other of the prophets. Peter replied in that celebrated confession, that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God. This reply obtained for him the confirmation of the surname of Peter, and the power to *bind and to loose* for himself, personally, and to his successors in the Primacy.† Peter was one of the witnesses of the glory of our Lord upon Mount Tabor. He was present at the Last Supper, and was the first whose feet Jesus washed.

In the pages of the inspired Gospels we see Peter in his phases of man and apostle, until the apostolic spirit dominated the natural temper. His Master having reproved him for striking Malchus, Peter, timid and fickle, forgot his oath, but ere long bitterly bewailed his fault. After the death of our Saviour, Simon Peter hastened to the sepulchre. He was the first to enter. He found that Jesus was no longer there. Peter was also the first to whom, the Scripture informs us, Jesus appeared after his resurrection. Peter, however, was still to receive an express mission, more especially consecrating him to his apostolic functions. Jesus appeared to him and to John, when they both were engaged in fishing on the Sea of Galilee. It was then and there that Jesus, after having thrice received from Peter the acknowledgment of his love, as though to make him expiate his triple denial, gave him a threefold charge of his flock in those words—*Feed my lambs*. Saint John, the beloved disciple, called Peter by the title of *Apostle* (Chap. xxi. 15–17), as having received from Jesus Christ, in reward of his attachment the *Pastorate*, which Saint Ambrose (on Luke xxiii.) so well entitles the *Vicarship of Love*. The gift

* *Biog. Universelle*, t. xxxiv., p. 226.

† Matt. xvi. 16, 19.

of that function, as related by the Evangelist, was made at the very place where Jesus had given to Simon the name of Peter, which was afterwards confirmed to him by his calling to the government of the Church of Christ. Here Peter learned that, following Jesus Christ, he would suffer like him, and would be glorified in martyrdom.

Peter's first act of pontifical jurisdiction, after the Ascension, was the assembling of a council at Jerusalem,* at which both the apostles and the disciples were present. The object was the filling, in the apostolic college, the place of the iniquitous Judas Iscariot. Matthias was chosen by lot. Peter presided over that assemblage, and reminded it that the crime of Judas had been foretold by David. Peter's application of the Scriptures was again very felicitous when the disciples were visited by the wondrous phenomenon of the Day of Pentecost. On that memorable day, at about nine o'clock, a great sound, like unto the rushing of a mighty wind,† filled the whole place of the assembly. All present saw, as it were, tongues of fire, and they all felt themselves filled by that Spirit which Jesus, on quitting them, promised they should be inspired with. In the fervor and gush of the zeal by which they were transported, their strange and eloquent language astonished the people of Jerusalem, and even the strangers who heard them. Some of the Jews took occasion to reproach them as being intoxicated. Then Peter arose, and so earnestly preached Christ, risen from the dead, that three thousand persons were converted, and asked to be baptized. That discourse of Peter was at once wise and noble. The apostle announced that, in accomplishment of the prophecy of Joel, the time announced by our Lord had arrived,‡ and that the disciples were filled with that Spirit which he was to shed upon them, and upon his servants. In the second council seven deacons were appointed to assist the apostles in the distribution of alms, and in the ministry of preaching. It is remarkable how faithful the succeeding pontiffs have been to the first two precepts of Peter. From the date of the Ascension, Peter remained five years in Judea. At the gate of the Temple, on Mount Sion, he restored to health a poor cripple who asked him for charity. The Sadducees endeavored publicly to arrest Peter and John, who preached the resurrection of our Lord. The apostles, on the other hand, preached with redoubled courage; and Peter, previously so timid and halting in his ideas, no longer hesitated boldly to confess the name of Jesus before the assembled doctors of the law. From that period dates the triumph of the Apostolic Church, persecuted from its

* Novæ, i. 4.

† *Biog. Univ.*, t. xxiv., p. 329.

‡ Joel, ii. 28, 30. *Effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem, &c.—Et dabo prodigia in celo et in terra, &c.—I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and there shall be wonders in the heavens and upon earth.*

birth, and reviving from its persecution. The punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, guilty of falsehood against both the sacredness of their oath and the spirit of Christianity, and a thousand other testimonies to the power which distinguished the life of Peter, served only to irritate his enemies. Notwithstanding the protection of Gamaliel, who was held in honor by all the people, that wise, prudent, and humane man, who wished to ascertain whether the apostles and their followers were not a party very different from any merely human faction, Peter and the apostles were beaten with rods, and even threatened with death. They bore their punishment with joy, and rejoiced in that they had been deemed worthy to suffer for the name of their Master.

Then began a great persecution in Judea. Peter went to Samaria, which Saint Philip had already converted, to administer the rite of Confirmation to the faithful. It was there that he held his first dispute with the Samaritan, Simon the magician. Thence he proceeded to Cæsarea to baptize Cornelius the centurion, who commanded the garrison in that city. Cornelius was the first Gentile who received baptism. He subsequently became Bishop of Cæsarea. From Palestine, Peter passed into Syria, to the metropolitan city of Antioch, the most famous city of the East, and considered as the third city of the Roman empire—after Rome and Alexandria. He took up his abode in Antioch in A. D. 38, and governed that See for several years. The more worthily to fulfil his pastoral duty, he frequently traversed the provinces of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia. Eventually, while visiting the afflicted Church of Jerusalem, Peter was arrested by order of Herod Agrippa; but the apostle was miraculously delivered by an angel, who led him from the prison. That incident has been represented by the great Raphael, in one of his purest frescoes in the Vatican.

Peter, having placed Saint Evodius in the episcopal chair of Antioch, determined to proceed in person to Rome. Going through Naples, he planted the faith, by giving to that city Saint Aspren for its first Bishop.*

Arrived at Rome, the holy pontiff lived in the Trastevere, near the site of the Church of Saint Cecilia. In a short time, Pudens, a Roman senator, having heard the preaching of Peter, declared himself converted, and the Apostle was conducted to a fine palace which Pudens possessed upon the Mount Viminal.

The capital of the world, says Feller (v. 41), appeared to Peter to be

* See M. Sabbatini's Dissertation, taken from the Neapolitan Calendar (Month of April, page 137), where the falsity is shown of the assertion made by the author of the *Civil History of Naples*, that when Saint Severus was bishop of that city it was entirely pagan. That Dissertation will be found in Zaccaria's Collection of Dissertations in Ecclesiastical History, vol. xi., Diss. 8, p. 229.

the best centre for the propagation of the divine religion of which he had become the chief minister; for Peter was not only the bishop of Rome, or of Antioch, but also the bishop of the Universal Church. Saint Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans (chap. xv. 20), while congratulating them on their faith, which he says is spoken of by all, tells them that he has long intended to visit them, but that he has been prevented from so doing by the law which he has laid down for himself, not to preach the gospel in places that had already received it, *lest he should build upon the foundation of another*. Saint Peter came to convert Rome, that great city "which," as says Saint Leo, "by its celebrity and its power had spread its superstitions throughout the earth, was now to become, in fulfilment of the designs of God, the humble disciple of the truth, and subsequently to extend its spiritual dominion beyond the bounds of its ancient empire." *Quæ eras magistra erroris, facta es discipula veritatis. Latius præsideres religione divina, quam dominatione terrena.*

Well may we ask, Has there been any sovereign in the world who has received a greater or more glorious title than that which was thus bestowed upon a man by God himself?

According to the *Diario*, it was in the year 42 that the twenty-five years commenced that are commonly attributed to the pontificate of Saint Peter. He wrote at that time from Rome his first epistle, of which we shall speak hereafter. After seven years (being exiled by order of the Emperor Claudius), Saint Peter returned to Jerusalem, where he held the first council. He there first spoke upon the controversies which had arisen at Antioch between the heresiarch Cerinthus and the new converts. It was decided in that council that those converts were not to be disturbed; that it was sufficient that they should abstain from meat sacrificed to idols, and from fornication. That decision was sent to Antioch with this formula, since adopted by the general councils: *Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis*,—"It appears to the Holy Ghost and to us."

The exile of Saint Peter lasted five years. After the death of the Emperor Claudius, the Apostle, in the year 56, and the fourteenth of his pontificate, returned to Rome, and there found Simon the Magician, who arrogated to himself the power of God, saying, "*I command the angels*," and who declared that the gift of working miracles might be purchased with money. It is known how the prayers of Peter obtained the victory over Simon, and how the latter broke his limbs near the temple of Romulus, now the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian.

The Catholics of Rome perceiving at length that Nero meditated a persecution, entreated the Apostle to conceal himself from the pursuit of that monster of cruelty. Saint Peter left the city by the gate which is now called Saint Mary *ad passus*, or the Appian way. There he was met

by Jesus. Saint Peter asked whither he was going. Jesus replied, "*I am going to Rome, to be crucified again.*" Then Saint Peter understood that Jesus would be crucified in the person of his servant. Saint Peter then retraced his steps to Rome, determined to endure whatever torment the barbarous Nero might invent for him. Near the gate which leads to Saint Sebastian, there is a little round temple, dedicated to the memory of that apparition, and called *Domine quo vadis*,—*Lord, whither goest thou?* It has also the name of Saint Mary *de plantis*, because where Jesus replied to Saint Peter, he left the trace of his sacred feet, upon a stone still preserved in the Church of Saint Sebastian. Scarcely had Saint Peter re-entered the city when he was arrested and taken to the Mamertine prison. There he remained chained during nine months. The chain was found A. D. 126, by Saint Balbina, and then given to Theodora, a noble Roman lady, sister of Saint Ermes, who was then governor of the city, but who gloriously suffered martyrdom. Shortly afterwards, Theodora gave that chain to Sixtus I., martyr; it was placed in the Church of Saint Peter *ad vincula*, after it was restored by Eudoxia, wife of the Emperor Valentinian III., under the reign of Pope Sixtus III., about the year 439.

Saint Peter was violently tormented in the Mamertine prison, where he was confined with Saint Paul. From the prison Saint Peter was taken to the Janiculum, and was then put to death. He obtained it as a special favor from the executioner that he was to be crucified with his head downward, deeming himself unworthy to be placed on the cross in the same position as his divine Master had been.

According to the opinion of Baronius, of brother Sangallo, and of Novaes, Peter suffered martyrdom in the year of our Lord 69. The *Diario*, already quoted, gives the date of 65; but if, as has been expressly said, the twenty-five years of Saint Peter's pontificate only commenced in the year 42, it must at least be admitted that his death took place in the year 67. We will not insist upon this point of history, for a whole host of Dissertations have been written about the one and the other date. The most distinguished names, and the most respectable traditions have been quoted on either side. We have deemed it incumbent upon us to cite the date which is given by Novaes, supported by Baronius, and also that which renders the *Diario* consistent with itself.

The body of Saint Peter was at first interred in the catacombs,* and then transferred to the Vatican. His head, as well as that of Saint Paul, is over the high altar of the Basilica of Saint John of Lateran, where they were placed by Pope Urban V., A. D. 1370.

* Which as yet were only excavations formed in taking out the Puozzalana necessary for building in Rome.

The death of Saint Peter irrevocably fixed at Rome the chief See of the Christian Church. Henceforth Rome has become the Jerusalem of Christianity, the residence of its principal pastor, the centre of the Catholic union, the oracle and the rule of the various Churches, from which the fathers and the theologians of all ages have asked decisions upon all difficult matters,* where the artifices of so many sectaries have been confounded, who have endeavored to alter the doctrine of Jesus Christ; there their mission has been received by all those apostolic men who, after the first publication of the gospel, have carried that divine light to the distant nations. It is not to be wondered at that the fury of the heretics, and the sarcasms of bad Catholics have always, but especially in this last century of turmoil and error, been directed against that great mother of the Christians; nor are we to be surprised that they have united their efforts to misrepresent as the mere result of human policy the authority that the Roman pontiff exercises over the Universal Church, by virtue of powers received from God himself.

Some Protestants have carried the partisan spirit so far as to maintain that Saint Peter never was at Rome, and consequently did not found that See; but learned men, even though most opposed to the papal authority, have fully refuted those Protestants. Pearson, an English bishop, in a Dissertation which is included among his works, sustains it by a striking array of testimony. In fact all historical monuments give evidence in its favor. Hegesippus, who, like Papias, lived near the apostolic time, published a history of the martyrdom of Saint Peter at Rome. Saint Irenæus and Saint Ignatius, disciples of Saint Peter, inform us that that Apostle had fixed his See at Rome. Tertullian calls the heretics themselves to witness to the foundation of the Roman Church by Saint Peter. Saint Cyprian frequently speaks of that Church as the *chair of Saint Peter*. Arnobius, Saint Epiphanius, Origen, Saint Athanasius, Eusebius, Lactantius, Saint Ambrose, Saint Optatus, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Saint Chrysostom, Paul Orosius, Maximus, Theodoret, Paulinus, Saint Leo, and many others, have left us catalogues of the bishops of Rome, from Saint Peter to the pontiff who occupied the holy See in their time. All writers of history continue on the series down to Pius IX., who now sits in the chair of Saint Peter. What other religion than the Roman Catholic can present so marked and so clearly proven a succession? Need we wonder that its enemies have endeavored to destroy the foundation? What sect has ever ventured to figure a chain of legitimate pastors so closely and well connected? *Confin-gant tale quid heretici?* Such is the challenge which Tertullian gave to all heretics. That bold challenge has become stronger and safer still since the

* Feller, v. 41.

days of Tertullian. He spoke thus when the Church was not yet two centuries old. What would he have said, could he have witnessed the *superhuman* succession of eighteen centuries and a half, as it has existed and has been attested by the most indisputable titles and monuments?

“Against those who differ from us,” says Bossuet, “there is always this damaging fact—they are separated from the great body of the Church; but for us, what consolation it is that from our sovereign pontiff we can ascend uninterruptedly to Saint Peter, who was established by Jesus Christ himself; and from Saint Peter, going back to the pontiffs of the Old Law, we ascend to Aaron and to Moses, and from them to the patriarchs, and to the very beginning of the world! What a succession! What a tradition! What a marvellous chain!”

Besides the two epistles of Saint Peter which are received as canonical books, several works have been attributed to him—as, his Acts, his Gospel, and his Apocalypse; but they are not genuine.

2. ST. LINUS.—A. D. 67.



SAINT LINUS was the son of Herculanius, of the family of the Mauri, of Volterra, an ancient town of Tuscany. Some authors suppose the family to be the same that is called *Morosina* at Venice, and *Morigia* at Milan. At the age of twenty-two he was sent to Rome to study. There he saw Saint Peter, who sent him to Besançon in France, to preach the gospel, and it has even been affirmed that this saint had the title of bishop. On his return to Rome, Linus was declared by Saint Peter his coadjutor. The regular canons named after St. Augustine, who venerate Saint Peter as their founder, include Linus among their number. He was elected as pontiff on the 30th of June, in the year 67. Novaes gives precisely that date, as to the month, but thinks the year was not 67 but 69. Linus was the immediate successor of Saint Peter, according to Saint Irenæus, Eusebius, and Saint Augustine. But Tertullian says (in his book *De Prescript.*, chap. xxxii.) that the prince of the Apostles named Saint Clement as his successor. These passages are reconcilable on the supposition that Saint Clement refused to accept that dignity until after the decease of Saint Linus. And it is added that the reason why some authors have placed Saint Clement immediately after Saint Peter, is that

during the life of that Apostle, and during one of his apostolical journeys,* Clement officiated as Peter's vicar, and administered, *ad interim*, the affairs of the holy See.

It is the generally received opinion that Saint Linus ascended the chair of Saint Peter when the first vicar of Jesus Christ was martyred. Saint Linus, following a recommendation of Saint Paul,† ordered that women should never enter the church with uncovered heads. Pope Clement XIV. renewed that prohibition in the last century. Saint Linus excommunicated the Menandrians who followed Menander, a Samaritan and a disciple of Simon Magus. He maintained that the world was a creation of the angels, and not of God, and defended the errors of the Nicolaïtes (so called after Nicolas, Deacon of Antioch), who pretended that all things were in common among the Christians. In their assemblies they practised, as did most of the early heretics, the most infamous turpitudes. Menander was perhaps the first to introduce into the Church the germs of the Eastern philosophy. This developed itself under various forms, through imposture and ignorance, and propagated an inextricable forest of heresies which it was not easy to uproot.‡ It was under this pontificate that the destruction of Jerusalem took place. Linus might have witnessed the arrival at Rome of the first of those Jews who were subsequently condemned to labor in building the arch of Titus, where the Roman pride was flattered by the exhibition of the seven-branched candlestick, as one of the trophies of the victory. Works have been published, attributed to St. Linus as their author. They are now pronounced apocryphal, because they are infected by errors, resembling those of the Manichæans. Linus is named among the martyrs in the canon of the Roman Church, which is of a higher antiquity than the Sacramentary of Gelasius, and of greater authority on that point. Saint Linus died in 78; his feast is kept on the 23d of September in the Roman martyrology. The *Biographie Universelle* is in error in affirming that Saint Linus received the crown of martyrdom under Nero. It was under Vespasian that this saint perished a victim to the malignity of Saturninus, a man of consular rank. Linus had assisted, during her long illness, the daughter of that very man who also had solicited the prayers of the pontiff. Pope Saint Linus reigned about eleven years.

* Feller, iv., 143.

† Epistle to the Corinthians, I., xi. 5.

‡ *Vite dei cento primi Pontifici, di Melchior Cesarotti; Forenze, 1811; p. 4.*

3. SAINT ANACLETUS.*



THE *Diario* maintains that Cletus and Anacletus are one and the same person; Novaes asserts that they were not; and he says that Saint Cletus was the son of Emilian, and was created pope on the 24th of September, A. D. 80. During the life, and by the order of Saint Peter, he divided Rome into twenty-five parishes, and placed them under the direction of the same number of priests. From that statement, it has been inferred that Cletus was a coad-

jutor of Saint Peter in the suburban cities. We must not give implicit credence to those authors who hold that Saint Cletus was the first pontiff who, in the apostolic letters, used the formula *salutem et apostolicam benedictionem*. That formula is not to be found before the time of John V., who was created pope in 685. Saint Cletus is said to have originated those pilgrimages to the churches of Rome, which have since been called *Stations*; and he is also said to have converted into a church his own house, situated near the baths of Philip in the *Rione de' Monti*. He is said to have suffered martyrdom, during the second persecution of the Church, on the 26th of April, in the year 93; and Novaes adds, that he was interred at the Vatican. It is stated, also, that the Holy See remained vacant for twenty days after his decease.

Saint Anacletus was a Greek, born at Athens, and, according to Novaes, was the son of Antiochus. Under Saint Peter, he was deacon, priest, and subsequently, bishop. He was elected pontiff on the 3d of April, A. D. 78. He finished and dedicated the Basilica, which was built on the spot where Saint Peter was martyred. Many authors maintain that Cletus and Anacletus are but one and the same person,—neglecting to notice that the birthplace, the parentage, the works, and the festivals appointed by the Church for *each* of these saints, quite clearly show they are different. Panvini maintains this; nevertheless, the very learned Father Lazzeri, who was especially learned in sacred antiquity, read before the Roman College, in 1755, a fine dissertation, in which he maintained that Cletus and Anacletus were one and the same person. He cited, in support of that opinion, the authority of Papebrock. Cletus

* Some authors hold that Cletus and Anacletus are one and the same person, while others speak of them as two separate popes. We give above what has been said as to Pope Cletus. but follow in the details the *Diario* regarding Anacletus, the third Christian pontiff.

would have been pontiff in 73, but, being exiled with the other Christians, he must have renounced the pontificate, and was replaced by Clement I., up to the year 83. Then, Clement himself being exiled, he, in his turn, renounced the pontificate in favor of the same Cletus, his predecessor. Cletus, on being called to Rome, would quite naturally be named *Anacletus*, that is to say, *Revocato*, the *Recalled*, or *iterum Cletus*. In this manner Lazzeri reconciles the authority of the ancient fathers and the ancient catalogues, which speak of Cletus and of Anacletus, while others mention first Cletus, and then Anacletus. For the opinion which confounds Cletus and Anacletus, Papebrock, Dupin, Tillemont, Pearson, Baillet, Father Holloix, and Natalis Alexander may be consulted; for the contrary opinion, the two Pagis, Schelstrate (Vol. i., Dissert. 2, chap. 2), and Sandini (Dissert. 4).

Anacletus was distinguished for a rare integrity and great learning. According to the authors of the *Art de Verifier les Dates*, and the *Diario*, he died A. D. 91. Novaes says that some Decretals attributed to this pope are suspected by modern critics.

He belonged to the order of regular canons, according to those who make that order coeval with Saint Peter.

4. ST. CLEMENT.—A. D. 91.



SAINT CLEMENT the first, successor to Anacletus, was a native of Rome, and a disciple of Saint Peter. Saint Paul speaks of him in terms of warm interest, in his Epistle to the Philippians.

Clement appointed in Rome seven notaries, who were charged with the duty of collecting the Acts of the Martyrs, and registering them in the records of the Church. Thence originated the institution of the assistant Apostolic Prothonotaries, who were increased to the number of twelve by Sixtus V. To Clement have been attributed several Decretals, which are now recognized as spurious. In two ordinations, he created fifteen bishops, and ordained ten priests, and eleven deacons. During the third Persecution, he was exiled to Cherson, a city of Pontus, and there drowned in the sea.

Saint Clement wrote two epistles to the Corinthians. The first, which the learned supposed to be lost, was published, almost entire, at Oxford, by Patrick Giunio, from a manuscript in the library of the King of England,

which manuscript we owe to Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, who was contemporary with the first Council of Nice. It is one of the finest monuments of antiquity. Tillemont ascribes to it "much unction and strength; its style is lucid, and it greatly resembles the Epistle to the Hebrews. We find in the one not only some of the sense, but also even some of the very words of the other." This fact has led some critics to believe that Saint Clement was the translator of that Epistle of Saint Paul. Many authors also attribute to Saint Clement another letter to the Corinthians, of which there remains a considerable fragment, which was published in Latin,* by Godefroy Wendelin, and from the Greek by Patrick Guinio. It seems, in fact, that Saint Clement was the author of it. Saint Denis, of Corinth, mentions it in his letter to Soter, and he testifies that from time immemorial it had been read in his church. Saint Irenæus pronounced it to be very powerful and very persuasive. Clement of Alexandria cites it in his *Stromates* (section 5), and it agrees with the fragment of it which we possess. Origen also cites it in his *Commentary on Saint John*. Burigny says it is false, that Eusebius, Saint Jerome, and Photius absolutely reject it.

There is a church in Rome known as Saint Clement's, which is said to occupy the site of the paternal house of this pontiff; it is said to have been built in the reign of Constantine, in memory of the disciple of Saint Peter. It was in that church, the object of the especial veneration of the Romans, that, in 417, Celestius, a disciple of the heresiarch Pelagius, was condemned by Pope Zozimus. It is stated that its title was given to this church under Leo the Great. Before the door is a small portico, supported by four granite columns. From that portico we pass into the Atrium,† which is surrounded by other porticoes, and ornamented by sixteen granite columns, six of which are on each side, and four opposite to the door by which we enter the church. It is divided into three naves by eighteen columns, which support, with two arches, the side-walls. That church gives us an idea of the primitive form of our Catholic Basilicas. It is asserted that it was in this church that the body of Saint Clement, brought from the Crimea, rested for some time. Novaes mentions, in a note, authorities which prove, in the terms of the Constitution XIX., of Leo IX., that the body of Saint Clement, pontiff and martyr, formed a part of the relics of the monastery of Casaure, in the Abruzzi.

* Feller, ii., 279.

† Description of Rome, translated from the Italian by Mr. Charles Fea; Rome, 1821: 12mo, vol. ii., p. 55.



F. A. Schuch and J. Dörner

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Exhibition

5. ST. EVARISTUS.—A. D. 100.



SAINT EVARISTUS was born at Bethlehem, in Palestine. He was created pontiff in the year 100 of the Christian era.* It has not been said of him that he prided himself on his birthplace; and even if he had done so, few Christians would blame him for it. Leaving Bethlehem at a very early age, he went to Rome to study, and distinguished himself there by both his piety and his erudition. When he became sovereign pontiff, he ordered, according to the apostolical tradition, that marriages should be celebrated publicly, and with the priestly benediction, and that no bishop should preach without the assistance of seven deacons. Chacon says that this order was given to prevent their rivals from imputing error to them; but Bianchini, in his notes *ad Anastasium* (vol. ii., p. 78), supposes that the object of it was that those deacons should feel the truth in the ministry of preaching. Evaristus distributed to the priests the *titles*, that is to say, the churches of Rome, whence some authors have inferred that this pontiff instituted Cardinal priests. To the rite of the consecration of churches, passed from the Old to the New Testament, Evaristus added some ceremonies. In three or four ordinations, he created five bishops, six, or according to some authors seventeen priests, and two deacons. He governed the Church nine years and three months, was martyred A. D. 109, and buried in the Vatican.

The two Decretals attributed to Evaristus, one of which was addressed to the bishops of Africa, and the other to all the faithful in Egypt, are now considered to be apocryphal.

Under his pontificate, the Church was attacked from without by the persecution of Trajan, and torn within by divers heresies. But one of the consolations of this pontiff was the courage of Saint Ignatius, a disciple of Saint Peter and of Saint John. Evaristus had maintained his correspondence with Palestine and Syria. He knew that Saint Ignatius, surnamed Theophous, or *God-bearer*, had been ordained bishop of Antioch, in the year 68, after Saint Evodius, the immediate successor to Saint Peter. Ignatius governed that See with the zeal that was to be expected from a pupil and

* Though still quoting Novaes as to facts, we shall henceforth adopt only the chronology of the *Diario*; but the confusion relating to Cletus, Anacletus, and Saint Clement I., appeared to us to justify the preceding discussion.

an imitator of the apostles.* Nothing could exceed the ardor of his charity, the vivacity of his faith, and the depth of his humility. All those virtues appeared in great brilliancy in the third persecution to which Christianity was subjected, under the reign of Trajan. Ignatius appeared before the emperor, and spoke with all the earnestness of a Christian, and received from that prince's own lips the sentence of a barbarous death; yet Trajan is constantly held up to our view as a model of justice and humanity. Sent from Antioch to Rome, there to be thrown to the wild beasts, he saw Saint Polycarp at Smyrna, visited many churches, and wrote to those that he could not go to. He encouraged the strong, and gave strength to the weak. When he reached Rome, whither he went of his own accord and without guards, because he had pledged his word that he would not turn aside from his direct road, he resolutely opposed those of the faithful who would fain have saved him from a terrible death. On the day appointed for his execution he heard the roaring of the hungry lions: he said, "I am the wheat of Jesus Christ, to be ground by the teeth of wild beasts into a perfectly pure bread." Being exposed to two lions, he saw their approach without trembling, and was devoured by them, amidst the applauses of the vile multitude. He yielded up his soul to God in the year of Christ 107, while Evaristus was in secret praying for so noble a martyr. Can any thing be more edifying than the epistles of Ignatius? In one of them he exclaims: "Now I begin to be indeed the disciple of Christ; having found Christ, I no longer desire any thing that is to be found here below; let fire, the cross, or the wild beasts assail me, it signifies nothing, provided that I enjoy Jesus Christ." "That heroism," says Cæsarotti, "is so superior to humanity, that we cannot think the religion that inspired it aught but divine." Nothing confers greater glory upon the Christians of Rome and their head than that letter of Ignatius. He makes the most edifying eulogy of that church, bestows copious praises upon the faithful of the city, and expressly says that he recognizes it as worthy of the primacy in authority, as it so eminently held the primacy in virtues. Ignatius died of the wounds that were inflicted by ferocious beasts; Evaristus died under the hands of executioners, more cruel than the wild beasts themselves.

* Feller, iii. 597

6. ST. ALEXANDER I.—A. D. 109.



It is said that this pontiff pursued his studies under the direction and advice of Pliny the Younger and Plutarch. There are attributed to him two decrees and three decretal letters; the first addressed to all the orthodox, the second to all the bishops, and the third to all the priests. Modern critics have decided those pieces to be apocryphal. They find in them no trace of the system of composition of the two great writers above mentioned. Novaes credits what is said of Saint Alexander's connection with Pliny. As regards Plutarch, he himself confesses that during his travels in Italy he could not command sufficient leisure to acquire a profound knowledge of the Latin language, occupied as he was with the public business which was intrusted to him, and with the conferences with the learned men who came to consult and listen to him. In all probability Plutarch could not give lessons in Latin literature to Alexander; but the painter of the virtue of the Greeks, who was born A. D. 66, in the little town of Cheronea, in Beotia, could instruct the Christian in the art of meditating upon the Greek literature. This a pontiff could not neglect, as he necessarily had to maintain correspondence with so many illustrious cities which spoke the language of Homer and Herodotus. It is unfortunate that we have no letter or other document from the pen of Alexander, containing any expression of a feeling of gratitude towards such masters, as it might have enabled us to learn something as to the various sentiments of Pliny and Plutarch upon the great question of religion which at that period divided the pagans. The letter that Pliny wrote in favor of the Christians is justly famous, and does credit to his enlightened tolerance. The virtues of that friend of Trajan, who was then proconsul and governor of Bithynia, induced, it is said, some persons to reckon him among them, and to assign him a place in their dyptics. Unfortunately, however, those partisans of *Plinius secundus* have confounded him with another *Secundus*, a true Christian, whose name was quite properly placed on the Christian roll.

Alexander was still young when he arrived at the pontificate. Some say that he was only twenty, and others that he was thirty, when he became Pope. On that point Novaes says: "Alexander was young in years; but in morals, knowledge, and virtue he was a *veteran*." It was he who ordered that the priests should celebrate but one Mass daily, which rule was

observed until the papacy of Saint Deodatus, in 615. Alexander converted to the faith Ermes, prefect of Rome, that officer's wife, and numerous illustrious citizens. Being thrown into prison for those glorious efforts, he converted the tribune Quirinus and his daughter Balbina. Alexander, in three ordinations, created six bishops, six priests, and two or three deacons. He suffered martyrdom under Adrian, who had not sufficiently weighed the plea which Pliny the Younger had addressed to Trajan.

PLINY TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN.

"I feel it my duty, my Lord, to make known to you all my doubts; for who can better decide for me and instruct me? I have never been present at the trial and sentence of any Christian, so that I know not the particulars of the information against them, or to how great a degree of punishment they should be consigned. I feel great hesitation on the subject of different ages. Should Christians be subject to punishment without any distinction being made between the older and the younger? Ought those to be pardoned who repent, or is renunciation of Christianity useless when it has once been professed? Are they punishable for the mere name of Christianity, or for the crimes connected with that name? The following is the rule by which I have governed myself in the cases which have been brought before me concerning the Christians. I have questioned a second and even a third time those who have avowed their Christianity, and I have threatened them with punishment should they persist, and I have *sent to execution those who did so persist*; for no matter what may be the nature of that which they confessed, I felt that I must not neglect to punish their disobedience and their inflexible obstinacy. Others, though confessedly guilty of the same folly, I have sent to Rome, because they are Roman citizens. Subsequently this crime, or accusations of it having spread,* as is usual in such cases, charges are made in great variety. An anonymous memorial has been placed in my hands, accusing of Christianity many persons *who deny that they are or ever have been such*. In my own presence, and in terms that I dictated to them, they have invoked the gods, and offered wine and incense to your image, which I expressly ordered to be brought with the images of the gods. They have even indulged in furious imprecations against Christ, which I am assured no real Christians can be made to do. I therefore deemed that they ought to be acquitted. Others, accused by an informer, at first admitted that they were Christians, but immediately

* *Diffundente se crimine*. Cicero sometimes uses the word *crimen* in the sense of *crime*; but he more frequently uses it in the very different sense of accusation. This latter use of the word seems most conformable to the disposition of Pliny in the character of mediator, which, without compromising himself, he wished to take.

afterwards denied it, declaring that indeed they had been, but had ceased to be so, some for three years and others for more, even to the extent in some cases of twenty years. All of this class have venerated your image and the statues of the gods, and have also cursed Christ. They protested that their error or their crime had been confined to the following particulars.* On appointed days they assembled before sunrise, and sang by turns verses in praise of Christ, as being God;† that they engaged themselves on-oath, not to any crime, but that they would *not* be guilty of larceny, theft, or adultery, or of breach of promise or denial of deposit made with them. That afterwards it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble to eat in company innocent food; and that they had ceased to hold those assemblies when my edict was published, in obedience to your orders forbidding such assemblies. This made me feel it all the more necessary to get at the whole truth, by dint of torture, from two young slave-girls, who confessed to ministering in this worship;‡ but as I ascertained only that they carried to excess a stupid superstition, for that reason I suspended further proceedings until I can receive your orders.

“This business appears to me to be worthy of your consideration, on account of the multitude of those that are placed in this peril; for a great number of persons of all ages and ranks, and of both sexes, are and will be implicated in this accusation. This contagious evil has not only diffused§ itself in the cities and towns, but also in villages, and in the open country. I believe, however, that it can be remedied and arrested. What is certain is, that our temples, which were almost deserted, are now frequented, and sacrifices long neglected recommence.|| Victims are now everywhere in demand, which formerly found no purchasers; whence we may infer what numbers of persons would be redeemed from their errors if repentance would procure pardon.”

Trajan replied in the following terms:

“You have taken the right course, my dear Secundus, as to the cases of Christianity that have been referred to you; for it is not practicable to establish a certain and general form of procedure in a business of this kind. Inquiry and search should not be ordered; but those who are accused and convicted should be punished. If, however, the accused denies his Chris-

* Here Pliny somewhat more clearly shows what kind of reply he desired.

† Sacy says, *as if he had been God*; Pliny's words are, *Curmenque Christo QUASI Deo*.

‡ If this is true, Pliny's mercy soon grew weary; those poor girls are to us martyrs.

§ De Sacy says, *infected* the thousand cities; but *pervagatur* cannot properly be translated by *infected*.

|| The vanity of the administrator here peeps out; or perhaps he says this in order that he may the better captivate Trajan.

tianity, and authenticates his denial by his conduct—I mean, by invoking the gods—his repentance should obtain his pardon, whatever the suspicions under which he has formerly labored. In no kind of accusation should anonymous denunciations be received, for they set an evil example, and suit not our age.”

Fleury, after transcribing this letter, makes the following judicious observations :

“That reply of the emperor in some sort put a stop to the persecution which threatened the Christians, yet left their enemies no less pretext to annoy them. In some places the populace and in others the authorities set snares for them ; so that without any declared general persecution, there were individual persecutions in every province.”

The persecution in which Pope Saint Alexander perished had not been expressly ordered by the emperor, but the sycophantic governors hoping to please him, and often without any orders, or under misinterpreted orders, sent Christians to execution.

Saint Alexander governed the Holy See ten years, five months, and twenty days ; he has the title of martyr in the Sacramentary of Pope Gregory the Great, in the old calendar published at Verona in 1733, by Father Fronteau, and in all the Martyrologies. After several centuries, his body was removed to Saint Sabina, and placed beneath the high altar erected by Sextus V.

7. ST. SIXTUS I.—A. D. 119.



BORN of the senatorial family of the Colonnas, Sixtus was created pontiff on the 29th of May, 119. He was the first to direct that the chalice and the paten should be touched only by the sacred ministers. Cæsarotti remarks, that if the pagan philosophers held in honor the names of the Eumolpes, the Orpheuses, and the Numas, because they originated or added to the pomp of the worship of their fantastic deities, into which those pagans introduced superstitions and absurd ceremonies, we ought to contemplate with respect the pontiffs who, like Saint Alexander and Saint Sixtus, successively, and in accordance with the Christian spirit, labored to render more venerable the most august of all our mysteries.

Under the reign of Saint Sixtus there was less persecution. A proconsul still more courageous than Pliny, represented to the Emperor Adrian how unjust it was to inflict cruel tortures, without examination and trial, from mere prejudice against a class whose one only fault, in the estimation of all reasonable Romans, consisted in the name of Christian. That proconsul was Serenius Granianus. History should display in letters of gold the name of that minister who ventured to expose himself to the hatred of the prince in defence of truth and justice.* The emperor was moved, and the apologies which were presented to him by Quadratus and Aristides completely appeased him. Adrian wrote a memorable letter in favor of the Christians,† strictly forbade denunciations of them, and ordered that those who offended in that wise should be punished. This showed that if he had not already learned to worship Jesus, he had at least learned to venerate him. Ere long, however, the inconsistent prince suffered persecution to begin again. Sixtus was its victim.

Full of generous and considerate ideas, Sixtus had ordered that no bishop having been summoned to Rome, and subsequently returning to his bishopric, should be received there, except on his presenting to his people apostolic letters called *formatæ*. These recommended the unity of the faith, and a mutual love between the head of Catholicity and the children of Jesus Christ. Besides the letters called *formatæ*,‡ there were others termed *canonicals*, which were delivered to the bishops when they were about to return to their dioceses. Still more explicit than the *formatæ*, they tended to strengthen and render unalterable the unity of the faith, obedience to the Holy See, the charity of the pope, and that of the members of the Church. The word *canonicals* well explains the sense of those letters. To prevent all system of fraud, those letters were sanctioned by the first council of Nice, which prescribed their tenor, and in some sort even the *cypher* in which they should be written; for their language was not intelligible to all. There were letters called *pacifics*, or communicatives. These letters were given to pilgrims, and testified to their Catholic faith, and to their communion with the church in which they lived. Letters *commendatory* served pilgrims in their traveling expenses.

There were already letters *dimissory*, by which a cleric could prove that he was absent from his diocese by permission of his bishop. There were also *memoriales*, or letters commonitory; they contained instructions to the legates for the fulfilment of the commissions with which they were intrusted. And there were Synodals, which were issued on various occasions. They were called *encyclicals* or *circulars*, and *catholicals*, when they

* *Cesarotti*, p. 16.

† *Fleury*, vol. i., p. 338.

‡ The *formatæ* (*formed*) were so named on account of the seal or of the especial form used in writing them

were addressed to all the Churches. They were called *decretals* when the Roman pontiffs issued them in responses to various questions, or to prescribe the performance or the omission of some act. Pastoral letters were those of the bishops to their flocks. Letters confessorary were those given to the Christians who, in times of persecution, were imprisoned for the sake of Jesus. They recommended to the bishops those weak-minded men who in their terror of torture had denied the faith; and served afterwards to admit these uncourageous Christians to penitence and rehabilitation. Apostolic letters were those which emanated from the Roman pontiffs, in virtue of the apostolic authority. These were of various kinds. Some were called *briefs*, by which name the ancients understood the documents which described the ecclesiastical property; or, what we should now call *inventories*. The name of *brief* has become a generic term, and is applied to all the missive letters of the Roman pontiffs. There were, still further, letters that were called *clericals*, which were issued by the clergy during the vacancy of Sees.* Saint Augustine speaks of letters termed *trattatory*, by which princes invited the bishops to attend councils. The same name was given to those letters by which bishops communicated to other bishops what had taken place with respect to any business or question of importance. Letters not noted by a title, or other public sign, were termed *private*.

It has been maintained that Saint Sixtus styled himself bishop of bishops. But this assertion rests only on an apocryphal letter, as Marea and Baluze observe. Tertullian, who flourished at the commencement of the third century, adopts that style and title in speaking of the Roman pontiffs.†

Saint Sixtus created four bishops, nine priests, and three deacons, and governed the Holy See during nearly nine years.

* Saint Augustine: *Epist.* 59, *ad Victorin.*

† *De Pudicitia*, chap. i.

8. ST. TELESOPHOPUS.—A. D. 127,



AS a Greek by birth, though some authors say that he was born in Terra Nova, in Calabria. It is by some affirmed that his father was an Anchorite, and that Telesphorus himself was Roman by birth. Some say that by his decrees he confirmed the observance of *Lent*; and others affirm that the quadregesimal Fast came down by tradition, as stated by Saint Ignatius, Saint Jerome, and Theophilus.

This holy pope suffered martyrdom, A. D. 139.

In his four ordinations, Telesphorus created thirteen bishops, fifteen priests, and eight deacons. Some pious Christians removed his body after execution, and placed it near that of Saint Peter, in the Vatican.

It is said that this pope ordered that all priests should celebrate three Masses on Christmas day. But Novaes considers that this statement rests only upon an apochryphal Decretal (vol. i., p. 44). However, this observance was followed under Saint Gregory the Great.

Saint Telesphorus presided over the Holy See during eleven years, eight months, and eighteen days.

9. ST. HYGINIUS.—A. D. 139.



SAINT HYGINIUS was born at Athens, and was raised to the papacy by the clergy and the people, in A. D. 139. He settled the order of priority among the clergy, which has led to the supposition that he was the founder of the College of Cardinals. The custom of having a godfather and a godmother, at the baptismal font, which some have attributed to Hyginus, is stated by Novaes, on the authority of Tertullian, to have been in use prior to the reign of that pontiff.

Hyginus excommunicated Cerdon, the author of that heresy which afterwards was known as the Marcionite. This heresy taught that there were two Gods, one good and the other cruel. Cerdon denied that Jesus Christ had ever lived in the flesh, averring that he was only a shadow. This

sentence of Hyginus was almost universally approved. Novaes affirms that this pope suffered martyrdom, but Eusebius and Saint Cyprian say that though he endured much for the sake of the Church, he did not, strictly speaking, suffer martyrdom. He governed the Holy See during three years, eleven months, and twenty-nine days.

Saint Hyginus was buried at the Vatican. We have spoken of the clergy and the people, as having elected the pope. The clergy were divided into three classes—priests, heads of the clergy, and the inferior clergy. The priests were the seven Suburbicans (afterwards named Cardinal bishops), and the twenty-eight priests who were also called Cardinals. The principal clergy, or primates of the Church, were the *Primate of the Notaries*, or archdeacon, the deputy archdeacon, the treasurer, the *protoscrinarius*, the *Chief of the Defenders*, and the *Nomenclator*. The rest of the clergy consisted of subdeacons, notaries, and acolytes. The people were divided into three classes—the citizens, the soldiery, and the rest, though they were Christians, were not recognized as either citizens or soldiers.

In the eleventh century, under the reign of Nicholas II., the elective faculty was limited to the principal priests and vicarial bishops of Rome, who were then generally called Metropolitan Cardinals, Cardinal-bishops, and Cardinal-deacons. (*Novaes, Introd.*, vol. i., 29.)

10. ST. PIUS I.—A. D. 142.



SAINT PIUS I. was born at Aquilea. He was created pontiff A. D. 142. Like Saint Hyginus, he condemned the followers of Cerdon and his successor in that heresy, Marcion.

"Marcion," says Fleury, "recognized two principles, the good and the evil, and he claimed to be justified by these words of the Scripture: 'The Tree which beareth good fruit is not evil; and the Tree which beareth bad fruit, is not good.'" He also availed himself of the parable which advises that we mend not an old garment with new cloth, nor put new wine into old bottles. He repudiated the Old Testament, as having been given by the evil principle, and he composed a work which he entitled *Antitheses*, or "the Contradictions between the Old Law and the New Testament." His followers abstained from animal food, and used only water in holy Communion. They carried their abhorrence of flesh meat so

far as to suffer death as martyrs. This heresy had a great number of believers, not only in many places, but also during many centuries.*

The condemnation pronounced by Saint Pius I., added weight to the excommunication pronounced against this heresy by Saint Hyginus.

Pius I. had also to combat the heresy of Valentinus, whose origin is not known. "Valentinus at first preached the Catholic faith in Egypt, where he is said to have been born, and afterwards in Rome," says Fleury, "but it was in the isle of Cyprus that he became perverted from the faith. Possessing both ability and eloquence, he hoped for a bishopric, but being disappointed, he, in his anger, undertook to combat the doctrine of the Church. He had studied the writings of the Greeks, and especially the Platonic philosophy.

Justin Martyr composed an apology for the Christians in the year of Christ 150, and placed the following address in the beginning of it: "TO THE EMPEROR TITUS ELIAN ADRIAN ANTONIUS, PIOUS AND AUGUST CÆSAR, AND TO HIS SON VERISSIMUS, PHILOSOPHER; AND LUCIUS, PHILOSOPHER, THE SON OF CÆSAR BY NATURE, AND OF THE EMPEROR BY ADOPTION, LOVERS OF SCIENCE; AND TO THE SACRED SENATE, AND THE WHOLE ROMAN PEOPLE; JUSTIN, SON OF PRISCUS BACCHIUS, A NATIVE OF FLAVIA OR NAPLES OF PALESTINE, ONE OF THE PERSECUTED, PRESENTS THIS MEMORIAL.†

"Reason teaches us that those who are truly pious and philosophers esteem and love only the truth, and not old opinions if they are unsound. You are everywhere called pious and philosophical; the effect shows how that really is.

"We do not intend to flatter you in this writing, but to ask you for justice, in accordance with the most sound reason, and to entreat you not to listen to prejudices, nor to adhere to superstitions,‡ nor to passion, nor to give credence to the false reports that have long been circulated, so as to render judgments which must be injurious to yourselves. For ourselves, we are persuaded that no one can do us harm so long as no one can convict us of being evil doers; you may have us put to death, but you cannot injure us; and in order that this discourse be not thought rash, we beg for an exact inquiry into the nature of the crimes that are imputed to us. If such crimes be proved against us, let us be punished even more severely than such crimes merit! But if we be found blameless, sound reason forbids that you should maltreat the innocent on account of false reports; or rather that you wrong yourselves in punishing in passion and not in justice. The legitimate form of justice is, that subjects give a faithful account of their life and conversation, and that

* Fleury, vol. i., pp. 336, 337.

† Ibid., vol. i., p. 361.

‡ That term had already been used in the trials of Christians, but it was applied to our worship by Pliny the Younger. It is now applied to the worship of false gods. We have made great progress since Pliny's time.

princes judge not by violence and tyranny, but in piety and wisdom. It is for us, therefore, to make our life and conversation known to all the world, lest we have imputed to ourselves those crimes which are charged against us in ignorance; and it is for you to show us that you are unprejudiced judges. For if, after receiving this information, you do not act justly, *you will no longer have any excuse before God.*"

Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, explains the doctrine of the Christians, saying that they adore, first, the eternal God, the author of all things; in the second place, his son Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate; and in the third place, they honor the prophetic Spirit.* Saint Justin proceeds to say that Jesus Christ is the sovereign reason which entirely changes the heart of his worshippers.

Jesus is the supreme reason who changes his followers. The discourses of Jesus were the word of God, brief and exact. They have convinced us. The Christians are the only people who are punished for their creed and worship, while all other religions are tolerated. Some adore trees, flowers, cats, rats, and crocodiles, and generally animals. Moreover, all do not adore the same things—the worship is different, in accordance with their gods; so that each sect is impious in the estimation of all the others. "Nevertheless," he continues, "the only complaint you make against us, is that we do not adore the same gods as you do, and that we offer to the dead neither libations, nor crowns, nor sacrifices. Yet you well know that the others do not agree as to what they shall hold to be gods, or brutes, or victims."

He goes on to complain that there is no order taken with the impostors who, after the ascension of Jesus, set themselves up as Gods, as Simon the Samaritan, of the city of Gitton, who, in the time of the Emperor Claudius, performed divers magical operations, and was recognized at Rome as a god; Menander, a disciple of Simon, who seduced so many at Antioch; and Marcion, who even at that very time taught that there was another God greater than the Creator. Justin Martyr then explains all that took place in the Christian assemblies, and ends by laying before the eyes of the princes the copy of the letter of Adrian to Minutius Fundanus.†

To Saint Pius I. is attributed a decree ordering the celebration of Easter Sunday; but that celebration had already been ordered by the Apostles.

The same pontiff directed that converts from Judaism‡ to the Catholic faith should be received and baptized. At the solicitation of Saint Praxedes,

* Fleury, vol. i., p. 365. HIST. DES PONT.—T. 1.

† See above, page 29, the mention of that letter, written by the emperor on the request of the proconsul Granianus.

‡ By these words Peter Boerius understands the Jews themselves; Baronius, the sect of Cerinthus.

daughter of the senator Pudens, he erected in the palace of that Christian, in which Saint Peter had lodged, the title of the *Shepherd*, and founded there a church, now known under the name of *Saint Pudentiana*, sister of *Saint Praxedus*.*

In five ordinations, Saint Pius I. created twelve bishops, eighteen priests, and eleven, or according to some, twenty-one deacons. He governed the Church about fifteen years.

11. SAINT ANICETUS.—A. D. 157.



ON the 25th of July, A. D. 157, Saint Anicetus, a Syrian priest, son of John, was created pontiff. Between that pope and Saint Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, there was a great controversy, which divided them in opinion, but did not disturb their friendship. It was upon the subject of the celebration of Easter. Anicetus followed the tradition of Saint Peter, in celebrating Easter on the Sunday following the fourteenth day of the moon of the vernal equinox. Saint Polycarp, on the contrary, preferred the tradition of the Apostle Saint John, celebrating on the day of that full moon, which sometimes fell on a week day. The bishops of Asia did not agree upon that subject with the Roman Church. That question was subsequently decided, as we shall relate in the life of Saint Victor I. This difference of opinion did not cause any breach of friendship. On one occasion, Anicetus even yielded to Polycarp the honor of offering up the sacrifice of the Mass. Anicetus had the ability to preserve his flock from the poison of error,† and to keep the great trust of the faith in all its purity. By his vigilance he suppressed the heresies of Valentinus and of Marcion.

Saint Anicetus suffered martyrdom in the year 168. In five ordinations, he created nine bishops, seventeen priests, and fourteen deacons. He governed the Church nearly eleven years. His remains, which for fourteen hundred and twenty-nine years had rested in the cemetery of Calixtus, are at present venerated in the chapel of the Attemps palace at Rome, where they were deposited on the 28th of October, 1604.‡ This favor was granted, by the Pope Clement VIII., to the Prince John Angelo, Duke of Attemps.

* Novaes, i., p. 48.

† Feller, i., p. 181.

‡ Novaes, i., p. 5

12. ST. SOTER. — A. D. 168.



ONDI, near Naples, was the native place of Saint Soter, also in his life called Concordius. He was created pontiff A. D. 168. Critics are not agreed as to the authenticity of the decretals published under his name. Novaes here repeats the warning which he had already given, that all the decretals up to those of Saint Sicirius, the thirty-ninth pope, who was created A. D. 384, should be examined with the most scrupulous attention. By the testimony of Saint Denis, we know that Saint Soter fulfilled his duties with an unfailing zeal, and that he, like his predecessors, who had to use great circumspection, delighted in aiding distant and indigent Christians. He inquired into the sufferings and needs of those who were persecuted for the faith. He sent without delay consolation and provision to those whom the emperor's orders condemned to work in the mines. The more prosperous Christians were called upon to give large alms, by means of which such sufferings could be diminished and alleviated. These cases, so multiplied and so pious, extended into the most distant parts of the world. At the same time, this pontiff opposed the heresies which gnawed the vitals of Christianity. By means of an affectation of extreme strictness of life, the heretics deluded the multitude: they pretended that the time had arrived which they called the millennium.

The zeal of the sovereign pontiff obtained the important concession that Christians, merely as Christians, should not be condemned—that unless charged with some distinct crime against the State, their Christian creed should not be imputed to them as a crime.

In five ordinations Saint Soter created eleven bishops, eighteen priests, and nine deacons. He governed the Church nine years and a few months. From the cemetery of Saint Calixtus, where his body was at first buried, it was removed by Sergius II., in 845, to the church of Saint Sylvester and Martin *ai Monti*, and then to the Appian way, to the church of Saint Sixtus, belonging to the Dominican fathers.

To this reign belongs the miracle of the thundering legion. The following account is given of it by Bossuet:

“In an extreme scarcity of water that was endured by the army of Marcus Aurelius in Germany, a Christian legion obtained rain sufficient to quench the thirst of all the troops, and accompanied by thunder that terri-

fied the enemy. This miracle caused the legion to receive, or to have confirmed to it, the title of the *thundering*. The emperor was touched by that miracle, and wrote to the senate in favor of the Christians. Subsequently, his false priests persuaded him to attribute to their prayers to their false gods the miracle which the pagans were far enough from wishing for.”*

Evidence of this miracle is to be seen in the bas-reliefs of the Antonine column. The Romans are there represented with weapons in hand against the barbarians, who are seen extended upon the ground with their horses, while a torrent of rain is pouring upon them, and they seem to be prostrated by the thunderbolts. On that occasion, in fact, Marcus Aurelius, in his letter to the senate, declared that his army had been saved by the prayers of the Christian soldiers.

13. ST. ELEUTHERUS.—A. D. 177.



ACCORDING to several writers, Saint Eleutherus had the surname of Abondio; he was a Greek, and born at Nicopolis, now called Previsa, in Albania. Others, however, say that he was a Neapolitan, born in Calabria. (It must be remembered that all that part of Italy was also called Magna Græcia.) At the request of Lucius, king of that part of England which was subject to the Romans, this pope sent Fugacius and Damian into that island, to endeavor to convert it to the Catholic faith.

Marcus Aurelius was succeeded in the empire by Commodus, and by a strange but welcome contradiction, the Church, which had been persecuted during the reign of a good prince, was left in peace by a monstrous one.† Elected A. D. 177, Saint Eleutherus governed the Church during fifteen years and a few days. In three ordinations he created sixteen bishops, twelve priests, and eight deacons. He was buried in the Vatican.

* Bossuet, *Discourse on Universal History*, p. 78.

† Cæsarotti, p. 27.

14. ST. VICTOR I.—A. D. 193.



WHILE Victor I. sat in the chair of Saint Peter, especial attention was paid to the question about the celebration of Easter, of which we have already spoken. The dispute was on this question : whether the celebration should take place on the fourteenth day of the March moon, as the Asiatic Churches maintained, or on the Sunday next after that fourteenth day, as was customary at Rome and among the Western Churches. This latter opinion, conformable to the tradition of Saint Peter, prevailed in the council which was assembled in Rome by Pope Saint Victor. However, those who preferred the contrary practice were not condemned until the question was decided by the Council of Nice. But the first decision proves what power Victor then had in the Church. Some excitable persons wanted Saint Victor to excommunicate the Asiatic bishops ; but, at the persuasion of Saint Irenæus, Victor did not pronounce the decree of separation. Novaes gives the names of the authors who believe that fact ; but he also gives the names of the authors who, contrariwise, believe that the excommunication actually took place. Among these latter he mentions Baronius, Pagi (criticism on Baronius, A. D. 194), Schelstrate, the Bollandists, Basnage, and others. Pierre de Marca, while he adopts the opinion of the latter authors, adds that Saint Victor, at the urgent request of Saint Irenæus, subsequently admitted the bishops to communion. Father Zaccaria, with Dumesnil and Daude, believes that Victor deprived the Asiatics of his individual communion, by depriving them of his *Pacific Letters*,* and that, at length, he showed himself indulgent and patient, in order that he might conciliate many bishops who disapproved of vexing Churches so illustrious, when their docility and obedience might be better left to the work of time.

Saint Victor I. decided that common water might, in case of actual necessity, be used in baptism.

In several councils he excommunicated those heretics who maintained that Christ was man and not God, and others who maintained that the body of Jesus was celestial. He condemned Praxeas, who maintained that the Father and not the Son had suffered on the cross, and who denied the three persons of the most holy Trinity.

* See, *ante*, the nature of the various official letters, briefs, &c.

At this period flourished Saint Clement of Alexandria. His name was Titus Flavins Clemens; some call him Athenian, which has led to the belief that he was born at Athens. He was deeply learned in literature and philosophy, especially in that of Plato. He was well versed also in the holy Scriptures and the doctrine of the Gospel. At the commencement of his *Stromates*, he thus informs us of the pains that he took in studying them. "I have not composed this work for ostentation; it is a treasure of memory for my old age, an artless remedy against oblivion and malice, a slight sketch of lively and animated discourses, and those blessed and truly memorable men whom I have had the advantage to hear."

Victor, in two ordinations, created twelve bishops, four priests, and seven deacons. He governed the Church about nine years. Saint Nicholas, who was pope in 858, says* that Victor was truly, as well as in name, a Victor, or conqueror, because he was martyred *for the traditions of the Church*.

Saint Victor I. was buried in the Vatican.

He left some books on points of religion. They are lost, but they had obtained the praises of Saint Jerome, who also says that Saint Victor was the first among ecclesiastical authors to use the Latin language, all before him having written in Greek.

15. ST. ZEPHYRINUS.—A. D. 202.



ZEPHYRINUS, a Roman, the son of Abondio, was created pontiff A. D. 202. According to Anastasius, who wrote the life of this pope, he ordered that all the priests living with a bishop should be present whenever he should officiate; that no patriarch, primate, or archbishop should pass sentence upon a bishop without the authority of the Pope; that all Christians should communicate at Easter; that the patens and chalices should not be of wood, as till then they had been, but of glass. Some writers say that Saint Zephyrinus ordered them to be neither of wood nor of glass, but of gold or silver. Novaes cites all the authors who have written on the question, but seems to be unwilling to come to any positive conclusion respecting it.

Saint Zephyrinus condemned the *Montanists*, the *Phrygians*, the *Cataphrygians*, and the *Encratites*. Tertullian also was excommunicated, and endeav-

* Letter 9, in the Collection of the Councils, by Labbe, p. 341.

ored to avenge himself by sarcasm, unworthy of so lofty a genius, which pride rendered heretical. It was under Saint Zephyrinus that the famous Origen went to Rome to visit the first and most celebrated of all the Christian churches. During the seventeen years of his pontificate, Saint Zephyrinus wholly devoted himself to maintaining the purity of the faith and discipline in the clergy. By the prudent counsels of Zephyrin, Natalis, who had professed the heresy of Theodotus, the currier, so fully and frankly recanted, that the pontiff received him into the communion of the faithful, and exempted him from canonical penalties.

Saint Zephyrinus, in four ordinations, created thirteen bishops, thirteen priests, and seven deacons. He governed the Church nearly seventeen years. He was buried in the cemetery called after the name of Calixtus, his successor, on the Appian way.

Saint Zephyrinus had an especial esteem for Clement, that Platonic philosopher who became a Christian, and who taught in the school of Alexandria. Clement had a great number of disciples who afterwards ranked among the best masters; among them were Origen, and Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem. Clement died about the year 217. The most celebrated of his works is *An Exhortation to the Pagans*, the object of which is to expose the absurdity of idolatry; the *Pedagogue*, a master who conducts the pupil from childhood to manhood in the way to heaven; and the *Stromata*, a collection of miscellanies in eight books. He wrote this book to serve him as a collection of memoranda, when his memory should fail him.

Clement, who well knew the pagans, has judged them more favorably than many of the other Fathers; though he conceals neither their errors nor their vices.

Tertullian, priest of Carthage, died towards the close of the reign of Saint Zephyrinus. His works are of two kinds—those which he wrote before his fall, and those which he wrote after his separation from Rome. Among those of the former class, is his *Apology for the Christians*, which is considered one of the most precious monuments of Catholic antiquity. Fleury,* among other details, gives the following extracts from Tertullian.

“We do not,” says he, “entreat on his behalf gods which exist not, the dead, and statues which he can command; but we invoke, for the health of the emperors, the eternal God, the true God, the living God. Bareheaded, with uplifted eyes, and hands outstretched towards heaven, we pray for all the emperors, and we ask that they may have long life, a tranquil reign, safety in their houses, valor in their armies, fidelity in the senate, honesty in the people, and rest for every one. All that man or emperor can need, I can only ask of Him who has the power to grant it, to whom I offer the

* Vol. ii., p. 27, *et seq.*

one sacrifice that he hath commanded, the prayer that proceeds from a pure heart, an innocent mind, and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost ; and not a few grains of incense or of gum, or a few drops of wine, or the blood of some paltry animal, and what is still worse, an evil conscience.

"We pray, not by the genius of Cæsar, but by his health, which is more august than his genius. Know ye not that genii are demons? Neither will I call the emperor *God*, because I will not lie, and because I respect him too much to make a mockery of him. I am willing to call him Lord, but only when I am not compelled to say Lord and God are equivalent. For me, and equally for the emperor, there is but one Lord, who is all-powerful and eternal.

"The Christians are denounced as public enemies, because they do not pay false and vain honors to the emperors ; because, professing the true religion, they daily enact their part in the public rejoicings rather by the feelings of their hearts than by debauchery. Great honor, surely, is paid to princes by setting out hearths and tables in the public streets for the banquet, and turning the whole city into a public house, to mingle wine and mire, and go about in companies committing insolences ! Can public joy be only expressed by public shame ? Are we culpable in praying for and rejoicing in our emperors in pure, sober, and modest guise ?

"How many cruelties do you not still exercise against the Christians, whether from your own inclination or in obedience to the laws ! How often does it not happen that the populace, even without awaiting your orders, throw stones at us, or set fire to our houses ! Have you ever remarked that we have never done aught to revenge ourselves for so much injustice, and an animosity that pursues us even unto the death ? Yet a single night, and a few torches, would enable us abundantly to avenge ourselves, if it were allowable to us to repay evil with evil ; and if we chose openly to declare ourselves your enemies, could we not command strength and troops ? Are the Moors, the Parthians, or any other nation, more numerous than all the nations of the world ? *We are but a people of yesterday, and we abound everywhere, in your cities, your hamlets, your camps, your castles, your tribes, your palaces, the senate-house, and the public square ; in every place we have taken possession, leaving you nothing but your temples.*"

Saint Justin himself is here surpassed in the sacred struggle against intolerance.

Unhappily, Tertullian did not persist in such excellent sentiments. He became a Montanist ; and he left that sect and became the founder of a new heresy. But, before his perjury, to what noble words he had given utterance ! The evil produced no effect ; the good alone remained.

Saint Zephyrinus enjoyed the success of Tertullian, and no doubt pardoned his error, if, before his death, he manifested a true penitence.

16. ST. CALIXTUS I.—A. D. 219.



SAINT CALIXTUS I., son of Domitian, was a member of the family of Domitia. He was created in the year 219. There was no persecution during his pontificate; nevertheless there were some martyrs. Those calamities, however, must not be attributed to the emperor himself; for it may be said of Alexander Severus that, though a pagan by education, he was Christian by disposition, and was one of the princes who do the most honor to Roman history and to our common humanity. It is affirmed that he admired the maxims of Christianity, and that one of those maxims—"We should not do unto others what we would not that they should do unto us"—was by his order written in large letters in his palace. He venerated Christ as one worthy of divine honors, and had our Saviour's image among his lares, or household gods, as the image of a benefactor to humanity, and would have erected a temple to him in the year 222 (more than a century before Constantine), had not the obstinate pagans objected that if that were done, the altars of their false gods would be deserted. There is much in this history that is consecrated to the glory of Christ, illustrative of Christian doctrine, and destructive of that feeling of surprise affected by Protestantism when it is compelled to recognize the great power of Catholicism under Constantine. It was not in the power of that prince to postpone the striking homage that he paid to the Catholic worship.*

Cæsarotti,† in the article which he devotes to Calixtus, asks whether the violent death of that pontiff is to be attributed to a humane and generous emperor; he replies that the emperor was at a distance from Rome, and ignorant of the causes of that death. And he goes still further, and attributes it to the prefects of the city, and especially to the consulters of the law. Of these officers, he says: "They formed a very powerful order; professional pedantry urged them to display their zeal for the old laws, and to sacrifice the law of conscience to the written law." This pontiff perished during a popular insurrection, and ecclesiastical memoirs state that he was thrown from a window and into a well. He did not die on the spot, and men daily went down to maltreat the glorious martyr, who made no complaint. The well is still to be seen in the church of Saint Calixtus, of the

* Beauvais, *Abridged History of the Roman Emperors*, vol. i., p. 347.

† Cæsarotti, p. 35.

Benedictine Fathers, near that of Saint Mary, in *Trastevere*, which is itself built on the former site of the house. That little church, built with the permission of the emperor,* was renewed by Gregory III., about the year 740; then it was granted to the Benedictine monks, with the palace built by the Cardinal Moroni, in exchange for the monastery which they possessed on the Quirinal, where the Quirinal palace now stands.

It is related that this pope expressly ordered that priests, on receiving holy orders, should make a vow of continence, and should never contract marriage; that marriage should not be contracted between relatives, and that the fast of the ember days of the year, which in some countries was neglected, should be strictly observed. He re-established, on the Appian Way, the cemetery which takes the name of Saint Calixtus, and which subsequently has received the bodies of a hundred and seventy-four thousand martyrs, and of forty-six pontiffs. From this we may calculate how vast a number of bodies must be contained in the other cemeteries in Rome.

In five ordinations, this pontiff created eight bishops, sixteen priests, and four deacons. He governed the church about four years.

17. ST. URBAN I.—A. D. 223.



ON the death of Saint Calixtus, Saint Urban I., a noble Roman, was created pontiff, in 223. He baptized many persons belonging to the Roman nobility, among others Saint Cecilia and her husband Valerianus. He ordered that all the vessels used in the sacred mysteries should be of silver; it is not astonishing that silver chalices were in use before this pontificate. On this subject Novaes tells us that when Saint Boniface was asked whether it was allowable to celebrate with vessels of wood, he replied: "Formerly, golden priests used wooden chalices; now, wooden priests use golden chalices."

It was Urban who ordered that Christians should receive the chrism only from the hands of the bishops, whence the heretics have stupidly attributed to him the institution of the Sacrament of Confirmation. It is as certain that that sacrament was instituted before Saint Urban, as it is that Christ and the Apostles preceded that pope.

It is affirmed that he ordered that the thrones of the bishops should be

* Saint Calixtus was the first who was permitted to build a Christian church in Rome.

made higher, so that they might judge the faithful; and it was on that account that those thrones are also called tribunals.

He suffered martyrdom in the year 230, under Alexander Severus. But let us not on that account withdraw the praises we have bestowed upon that emperor. Cæsarotti has well explained that when that prince was absent from Rome, men who were obstinately attached to the old laws irritated the populace and consigned the Christians to martyrdom. Many preceding decrees allowed the maltreatment of the Christians under various pretexts, and the imprisonment of Romans who conspired against the State. The condemnation, therefore, could easily mention some legally punishable offence without saying that the only real cause of proceeding against the accused was his being a Christian.

In five ordinations, Saint Urban I. created eight bishops, five priests, and nine deacons.

He was buried in the cemetery of Pretextatus, on the Appian Way, near the gate of Saint Sebastian.

The head of that pontiff is venerated in the church of Saint Mary, in the *Trastevere*, in the chapel of the Madonna of *Strada Cupa*, which was richly ornamented and consecrated by Cardinal the Duke of York, commendatory of that Basilica. The ceremony took place on the 14th of November, 1762. That chapel had been given by the chapter to that cardinal, who was brother of Prince Charles Edward. His eminence was the last of the Stuarts, and died in 1788. He had on his medals the title of Henry IX., King of England.

18. ST. PENTIANUS.—A. D. 230.



SAINT PENTIANUS, son of Calpurnius, was created pontiff on the 26th of June, A. D. 230. Some learned men think, with Platina, that it was this pope who ordered the singing of the Psalms in the Church, both by day and by night; but other writers maintain that the custom is older. It is possible that Saint Pentianus published a decree on this subject, for the better regulation of the ecclesiastical practice. This latter is the opinion of Sangallo.*

In ten ordinations, Saint Pentianus created six bishops, six priests, and five deacons. He governed the Church more than five years.

* *Gest. de Pontifici*, vol. iii., p. 238.

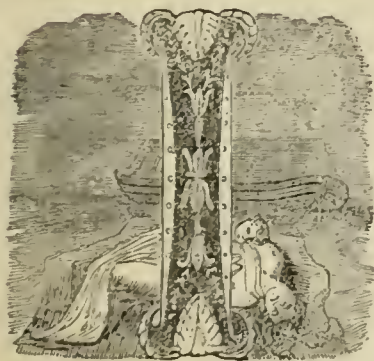
His body, martyred in the island of Tavolato, near the island of Sardinia, was removed to Rome, by order of Pope Saint Fabian, and buried in the cemetery of Calixtus. Two epistles are attributed to him, but they are evidently apocryphal.

19. ST. ANTERUS.—A. D. 235.



WE find, as the next sovereign pontiff, Saint Anterus, a Greek, said to have been born at Petilia, in Calabria, Græcia Magna, but, according to other authors, at Policastre. He was the son of Romulus, who is said to have been born in Sardinia. Anterus was elected pope on the 9th of September, A. D. 235. He governed the Church only one month. He created one bishop, for the city of Fondi. He suffered martyrdom because he ordered greater strictness in searching into the acts of the martyrs, exactly collected by the notaries appointed by Saint Clement I. Anterus was interred in the cemetery of Calixtus, on the Appian Way, whence his ashes were removed to the church of Saint Sylvester, in the *Campus Martius*. They were discovered on the 17th of November, 1595, when Pope Clement VIII. rebuilt that church, which had fallen into ruins.

20. ST. FABIAN.—A. D. 236.



IT is said that the electors decided in favor of Fabian, son of Fabius, who was created pope on the 13th of January, 236, because a dove, after hovering about the heads of all present, during the election, at length alighted on the head of Fabian. The fact is stated by Eusebius. To the seven deacon-notaries appointed by Saint Clement I. to collect the acts of the martyrs, Fabian added seven subdeacons, to assist the former in a task so pious and so important. He appointed seven other deacons of a superior order to oversee those of whom we have spoken. They were ordered to take care

that the acts were edited with details, and not in the few scant words to which they had been confined.

Fabian divided Rome into seven Rioni—quarters, or districts; as Augustus had divided it into fourteen. That ancient civil division did not please Fabian; while in that which he adopted, the seven deacons who were charged to oversee the seven other deacons, and the seven subdeacons, could take care of the poor in the seven churches. In this ecclesiastical division originated the titles of the Cardinal-deacons, who at first were entitled *Regionari*. It has been stated that Fabian gave orders that on holy Thursday the old oil of the holy chrism should be burned. It has also been stated that Fabian decreed that no one should be ordained priest at an earlier age than thirty years; that, in civil judgment, no priest could be either accuser, or judge, or witness; that the faithful should communicate thrice in every year; that priests who had become idiots as the result of illness, should no longer be allowed to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice; and that marriage should be prohibited to the faithful to the fourth degree of consanguinity. While recounting these regulations, Novaes adds: “Nevertheless, I believe that although the sovereign pontiffs of the primitive Christian centuries must have made provision for the proper regulation of the Church, I also believe that the Decretals attributed to the pontiffs earlier than Saint Siricius, that is to say, earlier than the year 385, are apocryphal, with the exception of four Decretals in the first three centuries. Those four are—one by Saint Clement, and three by Saint Cornelius. To these we may add some *fragments* of other genuine documents; viz., fragments of two Decretals of Saint Stephen (year 253); of one of Saint Dionysius, year 259; of another of Saint Felix I., 269; in the fourth century, two of Saint Julius (year 337); the twelve of Saint Liberius (year 352); and eight of Saint Damasus (year 366); all indicated by Monsignore Bartoli.” *

The same prelate also mentions, in his nineteenth chapter, the ninety-seven apocryphal Decretals forged by Isidore Mercator, and attributed to the pontiffs who preceded Saint Gregory the Great, the 65th pope.

Saint Cyprian, speaking of Saint Fabian, calls him an *excellent man*, and says that the glory of his death was conformable to the purity, the holiness, and the integrity of his life. He had the glory to banish from the Church a new heretic, Privatus, an African, who was previously condemned by a council for enormous faults, and who endeavored by an insidious humility to impose upon the candor of the pope.

Many modern writers have maintained that Saint Fabian baptized the the Emperor Philip and his son, also named Philip; in which case Philip, the father, would have been the first Christian emperor. To those who, in

* *Jur. Canon. Ins.*, cap. 18.

common with so many historians who are supported by documents possessing the confidence and respect of all Christendom, maintain that Constantine was the first Christian emperor, Novaes replies, as do some other authors, that the two opinions are not necessarily irreconcilable. He argues that Philip might have been the first Christian emperor, and yet not have dared publicly to profess his Christianity. In all things there are such gradations. Always it is by gradations more or less distant that a free and noble conduct develops itself in the history of a people : there have always been precedents, more or less concealed, which have given the examples, and strengthened the courage of some successor who has been assisted by more favorable circumstances.

Cæsarotti does not admit the Christian sentiments attributed to Philip, and he thinks that to doubt them is by no means to do any wrong to our holy religion. He who was a traitor to his prince, and the assassin of his pupil, would be no very desirable acquisition to the Christians ; and if Philip had really desired to become a genuine Christian, his first step should have been to take off his crown and trample it under his feet, obtained, as it had been, by so much perfidy. Then he should have passed his whole remaining days in the *Station of the Weeping*.*

In five ordinations, Fabian created either eleven or fourteen bishops, twenty-two priests, and seven or eight deacons. The different numbers are stated by different authors.

He governed the Church about fourteen years.

Having suffered martyrdom in the seventh persecution under Decius, this Pope was buried in the cemetery of Saint Calixtus. He is reckoned among the Canons Regular.

The Holy See remained vacant during more than sixteen months, as the persecution under the Emperor Decius became more and more cruel. In this interval, between the death of Fabian and the election of his successor, the first of the Antipopes made his appearance. His name was Novatian. With him began the first schism of the Church. Unfortunately, Novatian, who died at Rome in the pontificate of Sixtus II., had, during nearly two centuries, successors who were attached to that fatal schism which was extinguished by Celestine I.

Fabian kept up a correspondence with Origen, born at Alexandria in 185. Clement of Alexandria was his master. Both sexes crowded to the school of Origen. Few authors have been more industrious than he was, and few men have been admired for as long a time, and no one has been more

* The *Weepers' Station*, or *Station of Tears*, was the first of the four degrees of the Canonical penance. The penitents could not enter the church ; they waited in the porch, covered with sackcloth, confessing their sins, and begging with tears and supplications that the faithful would pray for God's pardon for them.

severely attacked and censured than he was during his life, and has been since his death.

His works are, an *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, and *Commentaries on the Holy Scripture*, which he was perhaps the first to explain as a whole. He labored on an edition of the Scriptures in six columns, entitled *Hexaples*. In his book of *Principia*, he has been supposed to have borrowed his system from the philosophy of Plato.*

We also owe to Origen the *Treatise against Celsus*. That enemy of the Christian religion had insolently published his *Discourse on Truth*, a discourse full of insults and calumnies. In none of his writings has Origen displayed so much of either Christian or profane science as in this; nor in any other work has he brought forward so many strong and solid proofs. It is considered the most perfect and well-written defence of Christianity that antiquity has bequeathed to us.

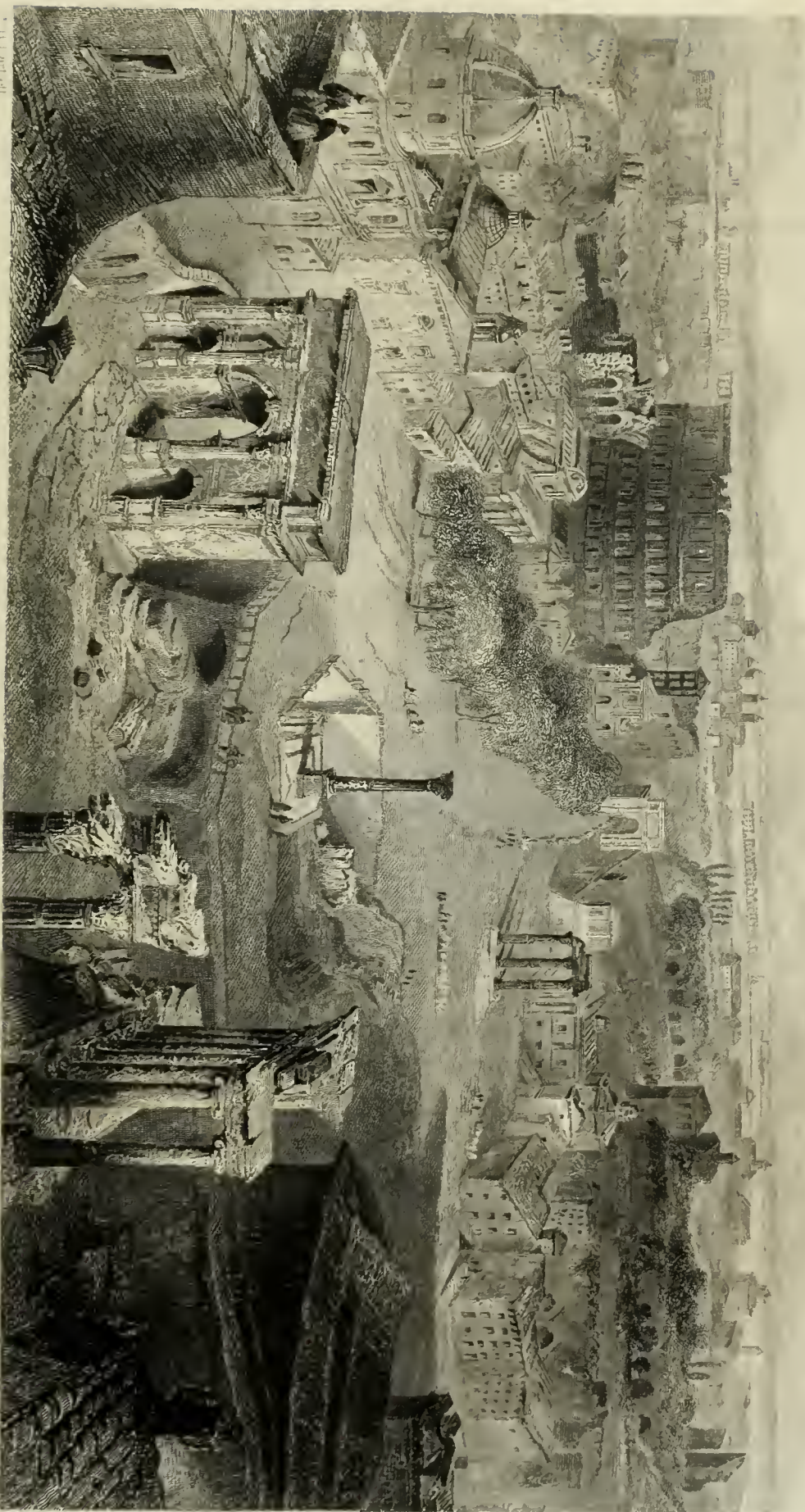
It is remarkable that the objections of Celsus are in most cases the same that are repeated by the philosophers of our age. Those copyists have not the merit of inventing errors and blasphemies, they are obliged to recur to the sophisms of sophists forgotten for sixteen centuries. Scarcely was Origen dead, when the disputes about his orthodoxy became stronger and warmer. Some fathers defended him; others, including Saint Basil, and after him some of the commentators, aver that Origen did not think rightly as to the divinity of the Holy Ghost. Origen was condemned in the fifth general council. Saint Augustine wrote against the Origenists.

21. ST. CORNELIUS.—A. D. 251.



LIKE many of his predecessors, Saint Cornelius was a Roman priest, he was the son of Castinus, or Calixtus, of the noble family of the Octavii, or of the Cornelii. Many authors include him among the regular canons. Cornelius, against his own will, was created pontiff A. D. 251, more than a year after the death of Saint Fabian, and he refused the sovereign dignity with an exemplary and humble generosity. Sixteen bishops, as well as the clergy and the people, were present at that election. He ordered that only those who could prove

* Fleury, II., 117; and Feller, IV., 653.



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themselves professors of the true faith could put a cleric to his oath. An oath should be taken while fasting, and no one could be sworn at an earlier age than fourteen years.

Notwithstanding the persecution which raged so violently during the time of Saint Cornelius, there were at that time in Rome, as appears in a letter given by Eusebius, forty-six priests, who superintended the like number of parishes, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers, and ostiaries, fifteen hundred widows, very many poor persons, and Christian cenobites; all these were properly supported by the Church. Besides these, there was an immense number of Christians. Tertullian, consequently, is justified in saying in his Apology, chapter 34, that if, in his time, the Christians had migrated from the Roman empire to other countries, their absence would have produced a sort of solitude.

In a Roman council, composed of sixty bishops, Cornelius excommunicated the anti-pope Novatian, a Roman priest, a pagan by birth, a Christian in appearance, and heretic from despair. All Novatian's sectaries were included in that excommunication. It was then taught that the Church could not receive into her bosom the *fallen* or *relapsed*, nor pardon their offence. The name of *caduci* was given to those who from fear of torture abandoned the doctrines of Christianity. The *caduci* were subdivided into several distinct classes. Some, says Novaes, were called *sacrificati*, because they had sacrificed to the idols; others, *thurificati*, because they had offered incense in the pagan sacrifices; others were called *idolatri*, because they recurred to the worship of the false gods; and others, again, *libellatici*, because, becoming renegades to the catholic faith, they paid money to redeem themselves from the penalty of being ignominiously led to the pagan altars, and on payment of the money were furnished by the magistrates with a *libellus*, or written certificate of protection. Of the *libellatici* there were several different classes. Among the *caduci* there was also a class called *traditori* (*traitors*), because, obeying the edicts of the tyrants, they gave up to the pagan judges some of the sacred vessels, or the books of prayer, or church ornaments, or were still more heinously guilty in furnishing the pagans with the names of the faithful. The schism of the Donatists had its origin in the excommunications pronounced against bishops suspected of being *traditori*.*

Among the bishops of that time, whether faithful or heretical, there were some who demanded that the *caduci* should be received again into communion without the enforcement of penance; while others maintained that they should not be received to penance itself, but should be rejected. Felicissimus, a priest of Carthage, was for a time at the head of the re-

* On these points Saint Augustine, Orsi, Chardon, Kraus, and Lambertini may be consulted.

laxed party ; and Novatian defended the rigorists, a kind of Jansenists of that time. This was in reality to deprive on the one hand those unfortunates of all trust in repentance, and to take from the Church, on the other hand, the divine faculty of pardoning. Cornelius, like a wise and moderate father, endeavored to reconcile the stern laws of discipline with the gentler promptings of compassion. He held out to penitent *caduci* the hand of mercy for the alleviation of their pain ; but he would not allow of their return into the bosom of the Church until they had substantially proved the truth of their penitence by submitting to the wholesome severity of penance. Finally, he would not allow the complete rehabilitation of repentant *caduci* until they had complied with every thing formally ordered by the Church, except when such were in danger of death. It is a touching spectacle, calculated to convert even the most hardened heart, to behold the inexhaustible tenderness of the Church towards the dying, and that disarmed hand which falls without smiting. A wise severity no longer interposes between the culprit and his judges ; the priest who until then has had so much power, no longer speaks with the same sternness, because the master of both culprit and priest is about to speak, and because in the depths of our souls that master has placed a certain disposition to that mixture of attrition and contrition which most frequently becomes a frank contrition, that is to say, a horror of sin caused by the love of that God whose goodness is so great that the sinner no longer fears the penalties which yet God's justice orders.

The decision of the pontiff was confirmed by that council of sixty bishops of which we have spoken, all approving of the excommunication of Novatian. In fact, to maintain that an apostacy is in some sort a matter of indifference, and that immediately after having apostacized, a person may present himself just as one who had remained a faithful Christian, is to be wanting alike in courage, in faith, and in dignity. On the other hand, to maintain that, because an error has been committed, one should be forever reputed a pagan, and driven forth like some unclean creature, is to act with a harshness which Christianity should shrink from. Those two opposite opinions equally fell under condemnation. Those who maintained them were no longer recognized as Christians, and the malignant men who advised so many evils became isolated and execrated by the Church and by humanity.

For some time the Christians had been permitted to breathe freely ; but a pestilence having broken out, it was attributed to the disdain which Christians had manifested towards the false gods. Cornelius was too eminent a person not to be proscribed. He was exiled to *Centum Cellæ* (now *Civita Vecchia*), where he found that crown of martyrdom which he desired. He merited it, says Saint Cyprian, for he had defied the fury of the tyrants in daring to accept a title which in those times was in itself equivalent to a

sentence of death. A holy purity, and a singular self-control and firmness characterized Saint Cornelius.

In two ordinations he created seven or eight bishops, one or four priests, and two or four deacons. He governed the Church one year, three months, and ten days. It was in that inconsiderable space of time that he achieved so much of good.

Fleury (II., 235), speaking of the acts of Saint Cornelius, says: "A council assembled at Rome, and consisting of sixty bishops, condemned Novatian, his schism, and his cruel doctrine, which refused communion to those who had fallen, however penitent they should become."

From Civita Vecchia the body of Saint Cornelius was translated to the cemetery of Calixtus, and afterwards placed in the Church of St. Mary in *Trastevere*.

The Holy See was vacant during one month and five days.

22. ST. LUCIUS I.—A. D. 252.



It is probable that Saint Lucius I., a Roman priest, one of the companions in exile of Saint Cornelius, was elected at Civita Vecchia. He received the pontificate A. D. 252. He ordered that the ministers of the altars should never be chosen except from among men of the purest virtue, and that none of them should ever go unaccompanied into a house occupied by a woman, and that no priest should reside with a woman unless she should be of his nearest kindred. The penalty of the priest for breach of that regulation was deposition; for the woman, exclusion from the Church.

Lucius, who, like Saint Evaristus, was anxious for the greatness and dignity of the pontificate and the episcopacy, ordered that two priests and three deacons should constantly accompany the pontiff and the bishops as witnesses of their whole course of life. At the commencement of his pontificate, Lucius was sent into exile, but was soon afterwards recalled. This recall, says Cæsarotti,* was caused not by repentance, but merely by a caprice of cruelty, as the Eternal City was soon convinced. We are informed of this return by a letter of Saint Cyprian congratulating him. Lucius received that letter with a transport of joy. The motive of the con-

* Cæsarotti, p. 48.

gratulation was worthy of both saints. The African doubted not that God had granted the termination of an exile in an obscure place to bring back him upon a more brilliant theatre who was destined to perish before the people of Rome. Felicitations of this kind are to be found only in the epistles of Christians.

Saint Lucius received the crown of martyrdom on the 5th March, A. D. 253.

In two ordinations this pope created seven bishops, four priests, and four deacons. He governed the church a little more than five months. He was interred in the cemetery of Saint Calixtus.

23. ST. STEPHEN I.—A. D. 253.



SAINT STEPHEN I., a Roman, was archdeacon of the church of Rome under Saint Cornelius and Saint Lucius, and succeeded them in the power of the keys. The period of the reign of Saint Stephen was also that of the remarkable question whether it was necessary to repeat the baptism given by heretics, in the event of their return to the faith. The dispute arose between two of the most eminent Christians, one of whom, Stephen, was the foundation-stone, and the other a principal pillar, Saint Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. The traditions of the Church held that baptism, even when conferred by heretics, preserved its sacramental characteristics, provided that in conferring it all the evangelical forms had been preserved; and, consequently, when a heretic passed from the temples of error to the true sanctuary of truth, the baptismal ceremony needed not to be renewed. Nevertheless, by degrees, in some of the provinces of Africa and Asia, the contrary custom had prevailed amongst holy bishops and learned men; and it received weight and even an extraordinary importance from the example and authority of Saint Cyprian, who had succeeded in causing it to be recognized in several councils on both those continents.

Saint Cyprian supported his opinion by arguments so plausible that Saint Augustin confessed that he himself would have been misled by them had not the decision of the Church served him as both argument and rule. Stephen, who, as became a pontiff, supported the ancient and more sound doctrine, treated the custom as an innovation, and to all the attacks of Saint Cyprian he opposed the invulnerable buckler of tradition. He avoided

parrying them by other arguments, lest on questions relating to the faith too much weight should be given to human reason always too rash. Stephen was stern, more so than Cyprian had anticipated. This dissension ought not to weaken the veneration of the faithful for either the one or the other. Both were actuated by the same spirit, and strove, though by different ways, to attain to the same end. Cyprian was in error, yet sincerely sought the truth; Stephen was sternly strict, because he feared lest in respecting error he should nurture it.

The bishop said that in order to be convinced he awaited the sentence of the œcumenical Church. The pontiff anticipated it, and felt it within himself. Saint Augustine observes that his controversy displayed the two superior virtues of both disputants, charity and concord. Stephen, though persistent in his disapprobation of such a maxim, yet did not condemn its propagator, and sedulously avoided striking one of the most zealous supporters of the Church;* Cyprian, in detaching himself from the head had given the whole body a violent shock, yet ceased not to show himself faithfully united. He peacefully endured reproaches; he preached gentleness, docility, and integrity; and if he did not abandon the doctrines which he favored, he bore himself so humbly that it might be supposed that he had repudiated them. Those two illustrious men, divided upon the question of the first sacrament of the Church, were gloriously reunited to each other by the baptism of blood. That last baptism, which they received in the same year, purified those elect souls from hereditary taint of humanity, leaving only the bright light of their faith to shine in the day of God. Saint Vincent de Lerins says of Stephen I., "That great pope, whose prudence was as great as his sanctity, knew that piety can allow us to receive no other doctrine than that which is handed down to us from the faith of our predecessors, and that it is our duty to transmit it to others as faithfully and as purely as we have received it; *that we are not to carry religion whithersoever we choose, but to follow it whithersoever it leads*; that the property of Christian modesty is consistently to preserve the holy maxims left to us by our fathers, and not to hand down our own ideas to our posterity. What was the result of this dispute? That which is usual in such matters; the old faith was recognized and upheld, and the innovation was rejected. The question was not decided until the Council of Nice, where the view of Stephen triumphed.

Novaes details the names of the writers on the question as to the sufficient or insufficient baptism of heretics returning to the true faith. It was Agrippinus, Saint Cyprian's predecessor in the bishopric of Carthage, who first started this difficulty. Many authors, Italian, German, and French,

* Cæsarotti, p. 51.

have published important dissertations on the subject. Novaes declines to decide another question, namely: whether Stephen confined himself to threats or actually excommunicated Saint Cyprian.

In reply to Napoleon, on the subject of the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte, dated 25th June, 1805, Pius VII. used these very words:—"The disparity of creed between *two baptized persons* is not considered by the Church a fatal impediment to marriage, even though one of the parties be not in the Catholic communion."

In two ordinations in the month of December, Stephen created three or four bishops, six priests, and five deacons. He governed the Church four years and about six months. The executioners of the persecutors seized him at the moment when he was celebrating the holy sacrifice in the catacombs, and beheaded him on the very altar.

Innocent XII., among the presents that he made to Cosmos III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was at Rome during the Jubilee of 1700, gave him the chair of Saint Stephen I., which the Grand Duke sent to the cathedral of Pisa. It was under the invocation of this pope and saint that the celebrated Tuscan order of knighthood was founded, the "order of Saint Stephen, saint and martyr."

The body of this saint was at first interred in the cemetery of Calixtus, but on the 17th of August, in the year 762, it was removed to the Church of Saint Stephen and Saint Sylvester, which Paul I. caused to be erected, and which is now called the Church of Saint Sylvester, *in capite*, because in it is preserved the head of Saint John the Baptist.

After the martyrdom of Saint Stephen, the Holy See remained vacant for twenty-two days.

24. ST. SIXTUS II.—257.



IN the year 257 Saint Sixtus II., an Athenian, became pope. It is said that it was he who ordered that the bodies of Saint Peter and Saint Paul should be translated from the place where they rested into the catacombs during the raging of the persecution. Then the faithful regularly chanted the psalms until the ninth hour in those sacred chambers.

The dispute relative to the baptism of heretics still existed, but there was no longer a fatal discord to be deplored. Sixtus defended the doctrine of

Stephen I. Dionysius, the celebrated bishop of Alexandria offered to mediate with Sixtus II. on the Easter question, as Saint Irenæus had with Victor. Sixtus yielded to the reasonings of Dionysius, and allowed the dissenting churches to keep to their customs until the question should be authoritatively settled by the sentence of a general council. The effect proved the wisdom of this idea. The Eastern Churches, perceiving that they were suspected of error, examined the question more attentively, and various African churches in succession, laying aside the new custom, adopted that of Rome—an event which led to the belief that Saint Cyprian himself had gradually abandoned his system.

The early years of the rule of the Emperor Valerian had promised some tranquillity to the Church, but his good inclination was perverted by a minister. The execution of Pope Saint Stephen presaged the fate of Sixtus. Macrinus, a man of great influence, on account of his warlike skill and courage, was infatuated with the mysteries of magic. He persuaded the emperor that the true secret for rendering his reign prosperous lay in propitiating the demons by magical operations. At the same time he urged that those operations would be ineffectual unless accompanied by the extermination of the Christians, those chief enemies of the demons and magicians. Valerian's feelings towards the Christians were thus changed; his former love became hatred, and he gave orders for the destruction alike of the bishops, priests, and deacons. Saint Sixtus was arrested and led to execution. The order was that the bishops should be first executed. Saint Laurence, the principal of the deacons, was not on that day among the number of the victims. He, weeping, followed Sixtus, and exclaimed: "My father, whither are you going without your son? You are not accustomed to offer sacrifice without the assistance of a minister. How have I displeased you? Try me, whether I am worthy of the choice that you have made of me for the distribution of the blood of our Lord." Sixtus replied: "I do not abandon you, my son; but God reserves you for a greater combat. Doubt it not; in three days you will be with me." Having uttered those prophetic words, he ascended to heaven, and from the height of the abode of God he could look down upon the triumph of his disciple. *Fortunati ambo*, exclaims Cæsarotti.

Saint Sixtus was buried in the cemetery of Pretextatus. Fleury* thus relates the execution of Saint Laurence:—

"However, the prefect of Rome, believing that the Christians had great treasure concealed, and desiring to ascertain the fact, caused Saint Laurence to be brought before him, as being, in his quality of archdeacon, the Christian treasurer also. When Saint Laurence was placed before him,

the prefect said: "It is your common complaint that we treat you cruelly: there are no torments. I mildly ask you what entirely depends upon yourself to answer. It is stated that in your ceremonies the pontiffs offer libations in vessels of gold, that the blood of the victims is received in vessels of silver, and that, to illuminate your nocturnal sacrifices, your tapers are borne in golden candelabra. It is further stated, that to defray the expenses of these things, the brethren sell their inheritance, and often reduce their children to poverty. Bring forth these hidden treasures; your prince has need of them for the payment of his troops. I understand that it is your doctrine that you should 'render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's:' and I do not suppose that your God coins money. When he came into the world he brought no money with him, but only words. Give us the money, and rest content with words." Saint Laurence calmly replied: "I confess that our Church is rich; and the emperor has not such great treasures. I will show you what our Church has of the most precious; only give me a little time to put all in order, to make the calculation, and to draw up the statement."

That reply satisfied the prefect, who, imagining that he was about to grasp the treasures of the Church, granted a delay of three days. During those three days, Saint Laurence traversed the city, gathering together the poor who were supported by the Church, the halt, the lame, and the blind, of whom he knew more than any other person did. Having got them together, he took down their names, and drew them up in a line before the Church. On the day appointed for the production of the Church treasures, he went to the prefect and said: "Come and behold the treasures of our God; you will see a great court-yard filled with vessels of gold, and whole talents of gold heaped together beneath the galleries." The prefect accompanied him, and, in beholding those paupers of hideous and sordid aspect, who importuned him for alms, he, with angry and threatening glances, turned to Saint Laurence, who mildly inquired: "Why are you angry? The gold which you so ardently desire is a vile metal drawn from the earth, and is what causes so many crimes. The true gold is the light of which these poor people are the disciples; their bodily weakness is their spiritual advantage; the real diseases of our race are the vices and the passions; the great people of the time are the really wretched and contemptible people. Behold the treasures that I promised you, and to them I will add pearls and diamonds. You see these widows and virgins? They are the crown of the Church; make these riches profitable to Rome, to the emperor, and to yourself."

"Do you make sport of me, thus?" said the prefect. "I know that you Christians affect to despise death, and therefore I will not have you promptly killed." Then he caused a framework of iron bars to be set over

a slow fire, in order to take a longer time to burn the martyr to death. Saint Laurence was stripped and laid upon the gigantic gridiron. To the newly baptized Christians his countenance seemed to shine with an extraordinary brightness. When the martyr had laid thus for some time on one side, he said to the prefect—"Tell them to turn me over; I am done enough on this side." Then, looking up to heaven, he prayed to God for the conversion of Rome, and gave up the ghost. Some senators, converted by his example, carried his body on their shoulders, and he was buried near the Tiburtean road, in a grotto, on the 10th of August, A. D. 259.

But for the hasty cruelty of the prefect, the clergy of Rome would doubtless have named the courageous Saint Laurence as the successor in the pontificate of Sixtus I., and we should reckon that intrepid confessor of the faith among those who have occupied the chair of Saint Peter.

Shortly afterwards, Saint Cyprian received the crown of glory at Carthage.

25. ST. DIONYSIUS.—A. D. 259.



ON the 12th of September, A. D. 259, Saint Dionysius, born in Calabria, a priest of the Roman Church, was created pope. He rearranged the parishes of Rome, and re-established those institutions which had been disturbed by Valerian's persecutions.

Saint Basil calls Dionysius a man illustrious for fidelity to the faith and for virtues of every kind; and the same is said of this pope by his namesake, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, whom Saint Anastasius speaks of as an admirable prelate.

Pope Dionysius had so long and perfect an acquaintance with the doctrines of the Church, that he might have served as the referee of an œcumenical council. During the dispute about the baptism of heretics, he adhered to the decision of Stephen.

The city of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, having been sacked by the barbarians, Pope Dionysius, faithful to the generous traditions of his predecessors, sent to the churches there both consolation and means to redeem Christians from slavery, which circumstance caused the people to bless the memory of that pontiff, and to hold his letters in great veneration. Nevertheless, the harmony which had existed between Dionysius of Rome and

Dionysius of Alexandria was on the point of being disturbed on account of a serious error of the latter. He undertook to refute with some warmth the heresy of Sabellius, who recognized in God no distinction of persons. Some believed, or pretended to believe, that in combating that error Dionysius of Alexandria had fallen into another that was no less blameworthy—that of supposing the Son not to be consubstantial with the Father. The pontiff wrote to him, and from the explanations which were given there resulted, as the pontiff hastened to acknowledge in the tenderest terms, a complete satisfaction. Gallienus commanded that persecution should cease, and declared it his pleasure that every one should freely follow his own creed. The pontiff, after a long and holily employed life, died A. D. 269. He governed the Church ten years, five months, and a few days.

In two ordinations he created seven bishops, twelve priests, and six deacons. He was interred in the cemetery of Calixtus.

After his decease the Holy See was vacant four days.

26. ST. FELIX I.—A. D. 269.



HE successor of St. Dionysius, Saint Felix I., was the son of Constantius. He ordered, or perhaps only confirmed the custom, that Masses, termed *memorials*, should be celebrated on the tombs of the martyrs, and that the altars should be consecrated, and have relics of martyrs placed in them. Felix continued to be watchful respecting the false doctrines of the innovators, who endeavored to corrupt the purity of the faith. Just as Christians were deploring the wounds inflicted on the Church by the heresiarch Sabellius, there appeared a new assailant, Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch. He regarded religion only as the instrument of avarice, luxury, and vanity.* Licentious and inflated with worldly pride, a theatrical performer rather than a sacred orator, a rapacious priest, and a speculating bishop, corrupt in his own acts, and the corruptor of his flock, he was a Christian by accident, and by adulation made himself almost a Jew, for, in his eagerness to obtain favor with Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, who was inclined to Judaism, he Judaized his doctrines. The Council of Antioch, after having in three solemn assemblies convicted, condemned, and deposed

* Cæsarotti, p. 58.

that unworthy bishop, gave notice of that judgment to all the Catholic churches, and in particular, as was fit, to that of Rome. A letter was addressed to Pope Dionysius to instruct him of the judgment, but as that Pope died before the letter reached Rome it was received by Felix. On that occasion the courageous pontiff sent to Maximus, bishop of Alexandria, a celebrated synodal, quoted by the Council of Ephesus, which condemned both the heresy of Sabellius and that of Paul of Samosata.

This latter heretic having, as we have stated, been deprived of his episcopate, Domnus was elected in his place. Such was the fury of the Samosatian, that he refused to vacate the episcopal palace; and he persisted until the Emperor Aurelian himself, on the application of the Eastern churches, ordered him to be expelled from the palace, that it might receive the bishop who was recognized by the Church of Rome and the Italian bishops. This proves that Aurelian, at the commencement of his reign, showed himself indulgent to the Christians; and Eusebius observes that at that time one might have said that the devil was asleep. But, unfortunately,* the slumbers of the devil are neither sound nor long. It was not long ere he awoke, and excited that same Aurelian to order a persecution. It was not universal, and we may add that it was not of long duration, but it added, nevertheless, very many new names to the martyrology.

Felix was the first victim: he perished with that firmness which so well became him who may be pointed out as the model of the most shining virtues.

In two ordinations, in the month of December, he made five bishops, nine priests, and five deacons. He governed the Church about five years. He was interred in the cemetery on the Aurelian Way, about two miles from Rome, where subsequently a church was consecrated by Felix II.

The fury of the persecutor increased at every instant, and no doubt it was for that reason that the Holy See remained vacant only four days.

A short time before the reign of Saint Felix, Catholicism had to lament the death of Saint Gregory, the Thaumaturgist, bishop of Neocesarea. During the weak reign of Gallienus, the Goths had overrun Thrace and Macedonia, whence they spread into Asia and Pontus. They plundered and burned the Temple of Diana. Those disorders gave occasion to some Christians to commit crimes. Suddenly Saint Gregory sent a canonical epistle to a bishop, pointing out different degrees of penance for *those Christians who made themselves Goths by joining them in order to pillage*. Fleury (ii. 373) says: "Even the enemies of the Church have called Saint Gregory another Moses, on account of his miracles."

* Cæsarotti, p. 59.

27. ST. EUTYCHIANUS.—A. D. 275.



SAINT EUTYCHIANUS, of Luni, a city of which now only the ruins are to be seen near Savona, was the son of Marinus, or Martinus, names which have long been almost synonymous. He was created pope in the year 275.

According to Bury,* this pope instituted the Offertory of the Mass; and he ordered the benediction, under certain circumstances, of branches of trees and of fruit. He decided that the faithful, who had married before the women had been baptized, should have the right to keep their wives or repudiate them. By that order, he did not encroach upon the Roman laws of that time.

By his command, drunkards were excluded from Communion until they should abandon their vice. He with his own hands buried above three hundred and forty-two martyrs. He ordered that no one should be buried but in a *colobio*, a kind of cloak, of red color; previously they had been buried in white cloth, stained with their own blood.

In five ordinations, in the month of December, he created nine bishops, sixteen priests, and five deacons. He died on the 8th of December, A. D. 283, and was interred in the cemetery of Calixtus, but the body was afterwards removed to his native place, Luni.

The Holy See remained vacant seven days.

It was during the pontificate of Eutychianus that the heresiarch Manes appeared.

If heresy raised its heads, the faith of Jesus Christ more than ever attracted men's hearts. In the need of extending the faith, the Roman pontiffs recommended zealous propagandism. The Christians tried those who were willing to listen to them. These latter were divided into two classes—one, the beginners, who had not yet learned the creed; the other, those who appeared entirely resolved upon following the maxims of Christianity. Belief was not left to mere chance; the beginners were instructed by degrees, and according to their capacity. If a Gentile profited by that instruction, hands were laid upon him, and he became a *Catechumen*. Those who were baptized were known as *the faithful*.

* *Romanor. Pontific. brevis Notitia*, 1726, p. 30.

28. ST. CAIUS—A. D. 283,



PRIEST of Spulatro, in Dalmatia, son of Saint Caius, priest, brother of Saint Gabinus, uncle of Saint Susannah, virgin and martyr, and nephew of the Emperor Diocletian, was created pontiff on the 16th of December, 283.

He confirmed the custom which required clerics to pass through the seven inferior orders of the Church during a fitting period, before they could be created bishops.* In five ordinations he created, in December, five bishops, twenty-five priests, and eight deacons, and he governed the Church twelve years, four months, and seventeen days. He died on the 22d of April, A. D. 296. He was a man of rare prudence and virtue. He was interred in the cemetery of Calixtus. The Holy See was vacant ten days.

Under this pontificate reigned the Emperor Maximianus. Desiring to pass into Gaul, he brought from the East a legion named the Theban, which was composed of Christians; and he wished to make them, like other soldiers, says Fleury, instruments in the persecution of the Christians. The regiment refused to obey. The emperor, to rest from the fatigues of the journey, stopped upon the Alps, in a place called Octodurum, now Martinach in the Valais. The Theban legion was then near there, at a place called Agaunus, at the foot of the mountain now known as the Great Saint Bernard. The emperor, irritated by the disobedience of the Theban legion, ordered it to be decimated, and then repeated his orders that the rest should persecute the Christians. Decimation was a military punishment of offending soldiery. The Theban legion, on receiving this second order, began to exclaim throughout the camp that they would rather suffer the utmost extremities than do any thing against the Christian religion. The emperor ordered them to be again decimated, and the survivors to be reduced to obedience. Every tenth man was again put to death, and the survivors encouraged each other to persevere.

They were principally encouraged by three of their officers, Mauritius, Exuperus, and Candidus, who exhorted them to follow the example of their comrades, who had passed through martyrdom to heaven. Under the advice of their officers, the soldiers sent a remonstrance to the emperor.

* That custom had existed from the time of Saint Cornelius.

† Baronius, *ad Martyr.*, 22 September.

“We are your soldiers, lord,” said the remonstrance, but servants of God, we confess it freely. To you we owe the service of war, to Him the service of innocence; from you we receive pay, from Him we receive life. We cannot obey you in renouncing God, our creator and master, and yours also. If nothing be demanded from us that is offensive to Him, we will obey you, as hitherto we always have done; otherwise we shall obey Him rather than you. We offer you our hands against all enemies, be they whom they may; but we do not deem ourselves permitted to imbrue those hands in the blood of the innocent. We made an oath to God before we did so to you: you could not believe the latter oath would be kept, should we break the former one. You command us to search for Christians, that they may be punished: you have only to search after others; for ourselves, we confess God the maker of all things, and Jesus Christ his Son. We have seen our companions slain, without pitying them; we even rejoiced that they had the honor to suffer for their God. Neither their death nor despair has led us to revolt; we are armed, yet we shall not resist, because we prefer to die innocent, rather than live guilty.”

Maximianus, despairing of being able to conquer such constancy, ordered that all the survivors of the legion should be put to death, and the other soldiers surrounded them to cut them to pieces. They made no resistance, but grounded their arms and presented their throats to their destroyers, and the ground was soon covered with their bodies. It is supposed that about six thousand men were thus destroyed, that being the usual number of the legions.*

A veteran soldier, named Victor, who did not belong to that, and was out of the service, found himself, while on the road, placed in the midst of those who had slain the martyrs, and who were feasting and rejoicing over their plunder.† They invited the veteran to eat with them, and told him exultingly all that had passed. Detesting alike their banquet and themselves, he turned to depart from them, when they asked him if he was not a Christian. He answered that he was, and always would be. They instantly threw themselves upon him and put him to death.

* Vegetius, *De re militari libri quinque*, c. 2.

† Fleury, ii., 407.

29. ST. MARCELLINUS—A. D. 296.



HIS Saint, Marcellinus, son of Projectus, a Roman, was, according to some, a Benedictine, and was created pontiff on the 3d of May, A. D. 296.

The Church never suffered more than at this terrible period. The vast edifice of idolatry, gradually ruined by the Christians, and in some of its parts destroyed, was ready to crumble to its very foundations. The heathen altars lacked flowers, and the priests lacked victims; the aruspices no longer read in the entrails of slaughtered animals the signs and tokens of the future; the oracles were dumb, and the magicians were powerless. In such a state of things, it seemed as though all the gods of darkness made a last effort against the God of light. Diocletian, Maximianus, Galerius, and Maximinus, in succession, were the four chiefs of that infernal enterprise.* Galerius, the most furious of them all, had taken from Diocletian the fatal sentence which ordered that cruel persecution, at once atrocious and universal, without truce and without pity. The churches were pulled down in most of the provinces; men and women, old men, children, and virgins were alike given up to the executioners. Heaven was peopled with martyrs, and earth, at the sight of such courage, warmed into a love for Catholicism. The persecutor hoped to destroy the religion of Christ, and all that fury only served to raise the throne of the faith upon the wreck and ruins of paganism.

The States subject to Rome, watered with the blood of the persecuted, only became the more productive of Christian branches. Tortures tore the bodies of the martyrs, but their souls, firmly embracing the faith, remained invulnerable and invincible. Nevertheless, there were some weak spirits that yielded to threats, and with whom self-love prevailed over religion; and it has even been said, that among those weak ones was Marcellinus himself. The falsehood which was circulated on this head was adorned with all the circumstances which might give it an air of probability. It was pretended that the pontiff, perceiving his fault, presented himself as a suppliant before a council of three hundred bishops, assembled at Sinnessa. There, ran the story, the culprit confessed his error, and, weeping, demanded that he should be sentenced to the punishment he had incurred; and the

* Cæsarotti, p. 64.

council replied, "Pronounce sentence on thyself; the chief See cannot be judged but by itself." But in this statement every particular is false; it is now ascertained that the accusation is calumnious, and that the pontiff committed no fault. Saint Augustine, speaking of Petilius, author of that fable, says,* "He calls Marcellinus a sacrilegious wretch; I declare him innocent. It is not necessary for me to weary myself to support my defence by proofs; for Petilius himself supports his accusation by no proof." In our own days that accusation has been repeated, and it has been said, with some foundation, too, that the Roman Breviary seems to support the tale, under the date of the 26th of April. Muratori writes that it is so, and every one can convince himself of it. But Lambertini, before he was Pope, speaking of the Breviary, or of its authority, says that the fact is false. He says: "1. All the ancient writers of the Lives of the Popes are silent on that head; 2. The Donatists could never prove the truth of their assertion, and were guilty of useless impostures," and he cites those words of Saint Augustine, which we quoted above.†

Baronius warns us on the subject,‡ that the Roman Church is not accustomed to have the acts of the saints read as if they were a gospel. Each, says Novaes,§ after Gelasus, may examine into things in conformity to the rule given by Saint Paul, when he said—"Prove all things; hold fast to that which is good."|| The fall of that pontiff is denied by Schelstratus, Rocaberti, Pierre de Marcas, Pierre Constant, Papebrock, Natalis Alexander, Pagi, Agiurre, Sangallo, and Xavier de Mareo, a Jesuit. The last-mentioned writer has put forth that denial in a very important work.¶

Thus, according to the testimony of Theodoret, it is proved that Marcellinus was distinguished for the firmness of his courage; and the imputation against him was sustained only by Petilius, and the sectarians of his time. The early Donatists never reproached the Church with such a fall of her head, eager as they were to support their own evil cause by collecting even the slightest errors of Catholic bishops, and especially of pontiffs. Every thing leads to the belief, after Tillemont, that Marcellinus received the crown of martyrdom. He was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the Salarian Way, near the Salarian bridge. According to Novaes, the Holy See was vacant only six months and twenty-four days; but, according to the *Diario*, the vacancy lasted nearly four years. In two ordinations, in the month of December, this pope created five bishops, four priests, and four or five deacons. He governed the Church eight years and some months.

According to Fleury, in the seventh year of the pontificate of Saint Mar-

* *De Unica baptis*, chap. 13.

† *De Serv. Dei beat.*, p. 2, chap. 13, No 8.

‡ *Ann. Eccles.*

§ Vol. 1, p. 99.

|| *Omnia autem probate; quod bonum est tenete.* Saint Paul, 1 Thess. v. 21.

¶ *Difesa di Alcuni Pontifici accusati di errore*, chap. 12, p. 140.

cellinus, Diocletian passed the winter in Nicomedia. Galerius Maximian visited him there, after having vanquished the Persians, and wanted to persuade Diocletian to order a new persecution, which should everywhere cause paganism to triumph.

The old emperor for a long time resisted Galerius, and pointed out how dangerous it was to disturb the world, and to shed so much blood. But Galerius was not to be overruled by such arguments, and would have advice; for such was the malignity of his nature, that he wanted no advice when he would do good, but always required it when he wanted to do evil—so that he might cast the blame on others. Diocletian, finding that all around him were divided in opinion, sent an aruspice to Apollo of Miletus. That Apollo's reply was given, not by the medium of a priestess, but from the depth of a dark cave, that the just on earth prevented him from saying the truth, and that that was the reason why the oracles he gave from the tripod were false. The priestess of Apollo said the same, with her hair dishevelled, and she lamented the misfortunes of the human race. Diocletian asked his officers who were those *just* on earth; no doubt, answered the one who served at the sacrifices, those words mean the *Christians*.

The emperor was pleased with that reply, and resolved upon the persecution, being unable to resist the urgings of his friends, Apollo and Cæsar.

Then commenced the terrible persecution of Nicomedia, of Tyre, of Antioch, of Ancyra, and of Arabia. Fleury gives the terrible history, which makes us shudder with horror (Vol. ii., pp. 429–574).

30. ST. MARCELLUS I.—A. D. 308.



SAINT MARCELLUS I., a Roman priest, son of Benedict, belonged, according to some authors, to the illustrious family of the Savelli, and was created pope in 308. He instituted twenty titles or parishes in Rome. The priests whom he named as their titulars were charged with the administration of baptism and penance, to those converted from paganism to our faith. Those same priests were charged with the care of the sepulture of the martyrs. He created twenty-one bishops, twenty-five priests, and two deacons. He was imprisoned by order of Maxentius, who had ordered him to lay aside the title of bishop, and to sacrifice to idols; he was condemned to serve as a kind of slave in the imperial stables. Nine months afterwards, during the night, he was

delivered by his clergy, and received by Lucina, a Roman matron, who generously sheltered him in her house, which she then converted into a church. Maxentius being informed of this, ordered that church to be turned into a stable, and condemned Marcellus to the meanest labors about the horses. The holy pontiff obtained martyrdom after having governed the Church one year, seven months, and above twenty days.

A letter is attributed to him, addressed to the bishops of Antioch, declaring that the Roman Church should be called Primatial, and be recognized as the head of all the others. But Novaes says that both that letter and one addressed to Maxentius are to be considered spurious.

Marcellus was buried by the blessed Lucina, and John, a priest of the Roman Church, in the cemetery of Priscilla. His body was thence translated to the church of Saint Marcellus, which he had built. The Holy See was vacant twenty days. Fleury (ii. 573) says: "Pope Marcellus died this year, after having held the Holy See one year and nearly eight months. He had been odious to many, because he was for compelling those who had *fallen* during the persecution to do penance for their crime, and the disputes on that subject led to sedition and murder."

Marcellus only did his duty in proposing that penance, and Fleury, to the language we have just quoted, should have added that the conduct of Marcellus in that matter was conformable to the rules of the Church and to the duty of the pontiff, in order to make those rules respected by all Catholics.

31. ST. EUSEBIUS.—A. D. 310.



EUSEBIUS, of Cassano, in Calabria, said to be the son of a physician, and originally a physician himself, was created pontiff in 310. There were pointed out to him certain traitors (*traditori*) who had delivered to the officers of the imperial treasury the sacred vessels and books. Those *fallen* were desirous of being reconciled to the Church, but they intended to be Christian only in name, without veneration for the Christian mysteries. The old dispute about the *lapsed** then was revived with some acrimony, and Eusebius refused to consent to the restoration of the *lapsed*. Maxentius, informed of that act of

* See above, in Life of *Saint Cornelius*.

firmness, condemned the pontiff to exile. Three letters are attributed to Eusebius: one addressed to all the bishops of France, the second to the faithful of Alexandria, and the third to the bishops of Tuscany. Novaes affirms that modern criticism rejects those letters as spurious. In a single ordination, Eusebius created sixteen bishops, thirteen priests, and three deacons. He governed the Church only four months and a few days. The Holy See was vacant only six days.

32. ST. MELCHIADES — A. D. 311,



AS called by some writers *Miltiades*; he was created pope A. D. 311. He was an African; according to others, a native of Madrid. The Church, thus far pursued by the executioner, was now about to triumph. The preceding pope had the happiness to see the dawning of so fine a day. Throughout the Roman province, nothing was talked of but a new edict in favor of the Christians. The Emperor Galerius, according to Eusebius, was sinking under the torments of a frightful dropsy, and ordered the execution of several physicians, who were unable to cure him. One of them, seeing himself in peril, said to the tyrant: "You mistake, my lord, if you imagine that God can cure the evil that God has sent to you. Your disease is not human, nor amenable to our remedies. Remember what you have done against the servants of God, and against his holy religion, and you will see whither you should resort for relief." Galerius began to understand that he was only man. Conquered by disease, and urged by pain, he exclaimed that he would re-establish the temple of God and give satisfaction for his crime, and he ordered an edict to be drawn up in his own name, and in the name of Constantine and Licinius. The edict was in the following terms:

"Among the cares that we continually take of the public weal, we desired to restore all things into conformity with the ancient laws of Rome, and therefore to cause the Christians, who had quitted or might quit the religion of their ancestors, to return to it; for they were so preoccupied by certain reasonings, that they no longer followed the maxims of their fathers, but according to their own fancy made laws for their own observance, and assembled together the people in various places; and finally, as we made an ordinance for bringing them back to the maxims of the ancients, many of them have been put in peril, and many have actually perished."

When a government takes a retrospect, it deems it right to soften the statement of the evils that it has done. It was not many Christians who had been put in peril, but all of them; and it was not merely *many* Christians who had perished, but tens of thousands of them: in a few days a whole legion had been butchered. But now Galerius confesses himself vanquished. "And as we see that they for the most part remain in their sentiments, worshipping neither the God to whom worship is due, nor the God of the Christians, we, having respect to our clemency and to our custom to have mercy upon all men, have deemed it our duty to extend that mercy also to the Christians, so that they may be Christians as before, and re-establish their places of assembly, provided that they do nothing there contrary to rule. Then, according to the mercy that we bestowed upon them, they will be obliged to pray to their God for our health, for the State, and for themselves, so that the States may be prosperous on all sides, and that they may dwell in peace in their own houses."

This edict was drawn up in Latin, at Sardis, where the emperor then was, and thence distributed into all the principal cities, and translated into Greek for the East. It was published throughout Asia and the adjacent provinces, and especially in Nicomedia, which had witnessed so much cruelty of the executioners and so much intrepidity of the victims.

The following passage from Fleury (ii., 601) shows the effect produced by this edict which Sabinus the prefect, subsequently, by special order, interpreted favorably to the Christians.

"The governors and the magistrates of towns and rural districts, believing, in fact, that such was the emperor's intention, made it known by writing, and even commenced putting it in force. All the confessors of Christianity who were in prison were set at liberty, and those who were condemned to labor in the mines were recalled. It seemed that the bright light suddenly appeared after a dark night. In all the towns, the churches held their assemblies and made their usual collections. The infidels were surprised at so unexpected a change, and loudly confessed that the God of the Christians was great, and the only true God. The Christians who had been faithful in the persecution now regained all their former freedom; those who had *fallen*, eagerly endeavored to obtain the healing of their sick souls, begging those who had remained firm to extend the hand to them, and praying God to be propitious to them. The professors who were delivered from labor in the mines, returned home and traversed the streets, filled with incredible joy. On the high roads and in the public places, numerous companies of them were seen walking in procession and singing psalms and hymns to God, and thus ending their journey and returning into their houses with joyous countenances. The very infidels rejoiced with them."

But God had chosen another instrument of his power to deliver the

empire and Christianity from persecutors and tyrants. Constantine, who inherited the moderation of his father, after floating between the errors of his early education, and the brightness of the truth, at length filled with a divine vocation,* displayed the banner of the faith, and having driven Maxentius from power, soon planted on the throne of Rome that Cross to which he owed the brilliant prosperities of his reign.

Constantine, writes Fleury, reflected† that the emperors who during his time had been zealous for idolatry and the plurality of gods, had perished miserably; and that his father, Constantius, who throughout his whole life had honored the one true God, had received from that one only Sovereign Lord evident marks of his protection. He therefore resolved to attach himself to that great God, and earnestly prayed to know and to be protected by him. The Emperor Constantine was thus praying with the utmost fervency, when, towards noon, as the sun tended westwards, as Constantine marched through the country with his troops, he saw in the sky, above the sun, a luminous cross, and an inscription which said, *In hoc signo vinces—by this sign you shall conquer*. He was strangely surprised by that vision, and the troops that accompanied him, who saw it, were no less astonished. The emperor long afterwards related that marvel, and with the solemnity of an oath attested that his own eyes had witnessed it.

“During the remainder of the day the emperor was occupied in meditating what might be the meaning of that marvel. At night, as he slept, Christ appeared to him with the same sign that he had seen in the sky, and commanded him to have an image of it made, and to make use of it in battle against his enemies.”

Such was the origin of Constantine’s standard, the *Labarum*.‡

The battle against Maxentius was gained on the 28th of October, A. D. 312, near the Milvian bridge. The antiquary Fea, who has long studied the history of that period, affirms that the Milvian bridge here alluded to is not that which at the present time is still known as the *Ponte Molle*, but was a wooden bridge further up, but still on the Tiber.

Satisfied at first with granting liberty of worship to all, Constantine ere long showed himself the venerator and the indefatigable promoter of Chris-

* Cæsarotti, p. 71.

† Fleury ii., 622.

‡ Father Lacordaire thus speaks of it:—“When, after three centuries of tortures, Constantine saw in the air the *Labarum*, it was the blood of the Christians which had germinated in the shadow, which had descended like a dew to the skies, and there displayed itself in the form of the triumphant cross. Our public liberty was the fruit of an unexampled moral liberty. Our entrance into the *forum* of the princes was the fruit of our having exerted command over ourselves, even unto death. Such an apprenticeship of command qualified for reigning; the doctrine might well be covered with the purple after so much blood had been shed upon it. Moreover, the reign was not long, if we call by that name the time that elapsed between Constantine and the barbarians, that time of conflicts, when the Catholic doctrine never for a day ceased to battle with voice and sword.”

tianity, and he bestowed upon the hierarchy of the Church so many favors, privileges, and gifts, that the name of Christian, which among many Romans was still a mere by-word of hatred or contempt, became a proud and coveted title.

Unhappily, the Church was wounded by her own hands. The perversities of the Donatists ravaged Africa. We have already described the *traditori*, or traitors. That name was now reciprocally bestowed by both parties. A council of the bishops of Italy and Gaul was assembled at Rome. It consisted of eighteen bishops, and was opened on the 2d of October, 313, in the palace of the Lateran, and condemned the Numidian bishop Donatus. The Donatists, besides denying the validity of baptism when administered by heretics, rejected the infallibility of the Catholic Church, to which they gave insulting names, to prove its easy kindness. In the same council, Cicilian, bishop of Carthage, who had falsely been declared a *traditori*, was declared lawful bishop of Carthage, and the Africans were ordered to consider his previous deposition as not having taken place. Melchiades pronounced the final sentence, which evidenced his justice, prudence, and charity. So much moderation caused Saint Augustine, when speaking of Melchiades, to exclaim, "O excellent man! O true son of peace! O true father of the Christian people!"*

That same palace of St. John of Lateran had been bestowed on the Church. It formerly belonged to Plautius Lateranus, who was despoiled of it by Nero for the benefit of his treasury. To the gift of the palace itself Constantine added a fitting income for the proper maintenance of the dignity of the head of the Church. This statement is affirmed by Sangallo.

In one ordination Melchiades created eleven or twelve bishops, six or seven, or according to some writers, fourteen priests, and five deacons. He governed the Church two years, six months, and a few days. He was interred in the cemetery of Calixtus: his body was placed in the church of Saint Sylvester *in capite*, by Saint Paul I. Novaes (vol. i., p. 106) concludes this article in these words: The opinion of many learned men is, that the thirty-two pontiffs above spoken of have gained the glory of martyrdom in defence of the faith on account of the pains, fatigues, and anxieties to which they were subjected for the cause of God; but other writers attribute to some of those pontiffs only the title of confessors, because they did not actually die a violent death.

The Holy See was vacant one month and twenty days.

* See Saint Augustine, Ep. 105, *ad Donat.*, chap. 2; Ep. 43, chap. 5, *De Bapt. contra Donat.*, lib. 6, chap. 35.



Council of Nice



33. ST. SYLVESTER I.—A. D. 314.



SYLVESTER, a Roman priest, ordained by Pope Saint Marcellinus, was the son of Rufinus and Saint Justina, and was created pontiff on the 31st of January, 314. He addressed to the clergy a variety of orders and regulations, the importance and utility of which are generally admitted, and are praised by Bede and Sangallo. Among other regulations, this pope ordered that the head of the baptized should be anointed with the chrism by the priest; and he also ordered that the days of the week, excepting Saturday and Sunday, should be called *ferias*, a name which several authors, especially Tertullian, affirm to have been already in use. In that nomenclature Monday is called the second *feria*, Tuesday the third *feria*, and so on to Friday, which was the sixth *feria*. The first *feria* and the second *feria* are called by the ordinary names of Saturday and Sunday.

Sylvester continued to govern the Church, which Constantine enriched with gifts and protected with lively and firm determination. In the year 325, the holy pontiff held at Nicea (now called Isnich), in Anatolia, the first general council* convoked by Constantine to condemn the heresy of Arius, who asserted that Jesus Christ was not God, but merely man. The council was also to decide upon the dissensions in the Church concerning the celebration of Easter, and to endeavor to put an end to the

We give some details relating to the publication of the works on the councils. An anonymous French author has written a *History of the Councils General, commencing with the first Council of Nice, with explanatory notes and criticisms*, &c. Paris, 1694. Although that learned work was so useful, it was not continued, and we have but the first volume, containing the Council of Nice alone. Another French author has published the *History of the General Councils to the Council of Trent*. Paris, 2 vols., 12mo. Mark Battaglini has written, in Italian, a *Universal History of all the General Councils, and especially of Holy Church*. The fifth edition, published at Venice in 1724–29, is the fullest. The same general councils have been illustrated by Christianus Lupus, a celebrated Augustine monk. His entire works, in two volumes, were published at Venice in 1724–29, in folio. Father Catalana continued the publication with very sound commentaries, under the following title: *Sacrosancta concilia acumenica commentarius illustrata*, &c. Rome, 1749, 4 vols., folio. They were also illustrated by Xavier Binius, in nine vols., folio, printed at Cologne, 1618; then by the publishers of the *Collectio Conciliorum regia*, printed at the Louvre in 1644, in 37 vols., folio; then by fathers Philippe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart in the *Collectio, Magna Conciliorum*, &c., published at Paris in 1672, in 18 vols., folio. A supplement, in six vols., folio, was added in a Venetian edition by Monsignor Giaudomenico Mansi, printed at Lucca in 1748–52; and by Father Hardouin, in the *Conciliorum Collectio regia Maxima*, published at Paris in 1715, in 12 vols., folio.

schism of Meletius, bishop of Sicopolis, in Egypt, against the patriarch of Alexandria. The council consisted of three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides the pope's legates. The emperor attended in great state.

Arius, an African priest, poet, and musician, who composed spiritual songs for pious persons and work-people, put his erroneous doctrine into verse, and thus got it into circulation among the people. The same means had previously been employed by Valentinus and Armonius, and had often served the purposes of the heretics. Apollinaris also employed it after Arius, and by it, rather than by his writings, perpetuated his errors. On this point Ernest Cypriani may be consulted, who published (London, 1718) an 8vo volume entitled, *On the Propagation of Heresies by means of Songs*.*

The Fathers, after many deliberations, formed the symbol of the faith, *Credo in unum Deum*, &c., and declared, contrary to the opinion of the Arians, that the Son was consubstantial with the Eternal, his father. It was settled, against the *quartadecimants*, that the 21st of March would end the winter equinox, and that the Sunday after the fourteenth moon, which would be at full on the 21st, or after that day, should be the day for the celebration of Easter. It was ordered that the Patriarch of Alexandria should especially make public the day for the celebration of Easter, because, in that city, more than elsewhere, astronomy was carefully studied. Thence has come to us the use of the Paschal Cycle, of the Golden Number, and of the Indictions. In this council it was decreed that Meletius should remain without any jurisdiction at Sicopolis, and that those who had been ordained by him should be subject to the Patriarch of Alexandria. Twenty canons were formed for the reform of the ecclesiastical discipline.

It is not certain that it was Saint Sylvester who ordered that the altars should be of stone.

It was in his time that the custom commenced of consecrating the pontiff on a Sunday or feast day. Novaes thinks that that ceremony had taken

* We shall see that Arianism, after having spread throughout all the provinces, faded by degrees, so that by the end of the fourth century the Arians had not in the Roman empire either bishops or churches. If there were still some Arians, they no longer formed a body. That heresy took shelter among the Goths, who had embraced it even during the reign of Constantine; among the Vandals, who seized on Africa; and among the Burgundians, to whom it had been communicated by the Goths. The Franks embraced it when they ceased to be idolaters, and did not abandon it until after the conversion of Clovis. Arianism reappeared in Europe in the train of Luther's reformation; an anabaptist preacher affirmed that he was the grandson of God, son of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. This heretic found followers, so that in a short time his doctrine spread in Germany and Poland, and produced various sects; passed into Holland, and was imported into England by Orchin and Bucer, who was engaged by the Protector Somerset, guardian of Edward VI., to teach the doctrine of Zuinglius. Though Madame Meyer founded a chair, with an endowment for lectures against Arianism, the heresy has still its defenders and believers in England. [See *Bibliotheca Brit.*, vol. 7; and *Dictionary of Heresies*, article: *Arius*.]

place on a *ferial* day, except in the cases of Paul III., Clement VII., and Leo X. Sylvester is the first who is represented as crowned with the tiara. That which he wore was taken to Avignon, thence back again to Rome, and then placed in the church of Saints Sylvester and Martin *a'i monti*.

In six ordinations, in December, the Holy Father created sixty-two or sixty-three bishops, forty-two priests, and twenty-six deacons. He governed the Church twenty-one years and eleven months. He died 31st December, 335, and was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the Salarian Way.

There is no longer any controversy about the pretended donation of Constantine. One of the oldest authors who has spoken of it is Eneas, of Paris, who lived A. D. 854. The Abbé Fea treated the question with great ability and good faith. How many useless arguments do not the enemies of the Church still revive upon that subject! Dante has repeated the error in his beautiful verse; but even the greatest of modern poets may, in this, as in many other inspirations, be any thing rather than a trustworthy historian.

It was during the pontificate of Saint Sylvester that Helena, mother of Constantine, found, at Jerusalem, the true cross and the holy tomb, since intrusted to the guardianship of the minor brethren of Saint Francis of Assisiam.*

* At page — we have mentioned the question of the Paschal Cycle. We now add a few explanatory words on the same subject.

The Paschal Cycle is a cycle of 532 years. At the end of that period the Feast of Easter returns on the same Sunday. That cycle brings the new moons on the same days of the Julian year. It is the product of the nineteen years of the lunar cycle, multiplied by the twenty-eight years of the solar cycle.

The Indiction is a period or cycle of fifteen years, thus named from a tribute which the Romans levied annually in the provinces to provide pay for those soldiers who had served fifteen years. That period, according to some authors, commenced in 312; according to others, in 313. Those countries that still observe it, reckon it from the first of January. To find the year of the Indiction, add three to a thousandth of the Gregorian year, and divide by 15. The remainder indicates the Indiction, unless it be a cipher; in that case the Indiction is 15.

The Golden Number is a number which indicates the year of the lunar cycle to which any given year belongs, and the method of finding the Golden Number of any given year since Jesus Christ is as follows: Add one to the number of years that have elapsed since Jesus Christ, and divide by 19. The remainder will be the Golden Number sought for; but if there be no remainder, then the Golden Number will be 19.

34. ST. MARK.—A. D. 336.



OR a moment let us here pause. Christ came to redeem us, and to give us the most admirable precepts that can be offered to the human mind. Christ intrusted to his apostles the task of publishing the holy Gospels. The Christian religion was embraced with enthusiasm. Paganism resorted to the most cruel methods to destroy the altars of Christ. The courage of the faithful did not shrink before the ferocity of the torturers. Some emperors moderated the torments, and treated the Christians with gentleness; others invented the most frightful tortures for the annihilation of their enemies. At length an emperor (Constantine), victorious by the aid of the Cross, stretched out his hand to the Christians, raised them from their oppressed condition, heaped benefits upon them, allowed them to found a great number of churches, built some himself, and declared himself the friend and protector of the new worship, and publicly honored it. The dedication of a new Rome, called Byzantium, took place on the 11th May, 330. Sylvester continued to reside in the old Rome, the Rome of Romulus, of the great republic, of Cæsar, of Augustus, and of all the emperors to the time of Constantine. The pontiff freely exerted his spiritual authority, the temporal authority remaining entirely in the emperor or his delegates. Religion had obtained the most glorious triumph. Since the reign of Saint Peter, as we have seen, his successors have displayed the virtues of courage, learning, and piety. If the heretics are not utterly vanquished, they at least have been combated with purity, with wisdom, and with truth. We have to contemplate other times; we have to praise other models of evangelical purity. Let us not forget that God, when he granted us great benefits, and gave us unhopèd for tokens of benevolence, for our instruction, and for keeping within due bounds our human pride, prepared moments of new suffering. These destroying our confidence, could yet serve to remind us of our nothingness. A sincere distrust of ourselves must in such cases enlighten us and render us worthy of a more secure independence, and of a confidence tempered by reverses, but never so far weakened as to cause us to doubt of that imperishable glory promised to us by the words of the Lord himself. The Old and the New Testament are there to strengthen us, and the gates of hell cannot prevail against the holy Church which is our guide, and the dogmas of the faith that so many victims of recent cruelties have defended

with the courage of those martyrs of whose heroic and glorious lives we have treated.

Saint Mark was named successor of Saint Sylvester in the year 336. He had previously been made by Constantine one of the judges of Donatus, whence it may be inferred that that priest was already renowned for his spirit of piety and justice. Novaes maintains that previous to reaching the tiara, Saint Mark bore the title of cardinal, and that that title was then in use. Saint Mark, in one ordination, created seven, some say twenty-seven, bishops; five, or as some say, twenty-five priests; and five or six deacons. He governed the Church eight or nine months. He died on the 7th of October, 336, and was buried in the cemetery of Balbinus, on the *Via Ardeatina*. His body was thence removed to the church of Saint Mark, which he had built. The Holy See was vacant during a few months. Here we are compelled to say that towards the close of his life Saint Mark had the pain to see Constantine, till then so zealous a defender of the Church, seduced by the friends of Arius, restore that heretic to favor, as an innocent and calumniated man. So completely was the emperor imposed upon by the hypocrisy and the equivocal explanations of that sophist, that he would probably have been restored to the Church; but that mischief and disgrace were averted by the death of Arius under circumstances partaking of the miraculous. Though Arius was carried off just as he felt sure of triumph, Constantine was not convinced, and, unhappily, Arianism was not humiliated.*

35. ST. JULIUS I. -- A. D. 337.



SAINT JULIUS was created pontiff in 337. At the commencement of this pontificate Constantine died, after having been baptized.

We quote the three pages which Fleury devotes to that event.†

“The emperor was then about sixty-five years of age, and till then he had enjoyed such perfect health that he easily performed all the military exercises. Preparing to lead his troops against the Persians, he had named the bishops who were to accompany him, and had a tent prepared, and richly decorated,

* Cesarotti, p. 77.

† Fleury, iii, 229-232.

as a portable church, in which he might pray with them. The Feast of Easter having arrived, he passed the evening in prayer with the faithful, as was his custom, for he was the first emperor to celebrate that feast; and to render the celebration the more brilliant, he ordered that during the whole night not only all the churches, but the whole city of Constantinople, should be illuminated; and even appointed for that purpose lighted torches, and tapers, or rather columns of wax.

“When day appeared, he gave liberally to the people, in humble imitation of the benefits which our Saviour conferred. Having thus, in the year 337, celebrated as usual the Easter feast, he fell sick, and went to the hot-baths of Constantinople, and then to those of Helenopolis, where he spent some time in prayer in the church of the martyr Saint Lucian. It was then, feeling that his end approached, that he determined to receive baptism. Having maturely considered the necessity of that sacrament and its marvellous virtues, he threw himself upon the ground in that oratory and confessed his sins: then he received the laying on of hands with the first prayers, and was thus placed in the rank of catechumens. Thence he had himself removed to Achiron, near Nicomedia, and having sent for the bishops, he thus addressed them:

“‘The time has arrived which I have so much wished for, when I hope to obtain from God the grace of salvation, and that holy sign which gives immortality. I intended to receive baptism in the river Jordan, where our Saviour himself received it, to give us an example; but God, who knows what is best for us, wills that I shall receive that favor here; make, therefore, no difficulty in granting it to me. If I be permitted still to remain some time upon earth, I am resolved to mingle with all the faithful in the assemblies of the Church, and to lead a holy life in obedience to the laws of God.’ It was a common devotion in those primitive times to be baptized in the Jordan, or at least to bathe in it, as pilgrims still do.

“When the emperor had thus spoken, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and the bishops who accompanied him, baptized the emperor, observing all the usual ceremonies. Then they took the purple from him and clothed him in white garments, but of a richness becoming his dignity. His bed also was covered with white. Then, raising his voice, he returned thanks to God for the grace bestowed upon him, and ended with these words: ‘Now I am truly happy; I can believe myself worthy of eternal life, and of sharing the divine light. What misery it would be to be deprived of such blessings!’

“His captains, having entered his chamber, lamented his state, and prayed that God would prolong his days; but he said that he, better than any one, knew the great blessings that he was about to receive, and that he did not wish to delay in going to his God. All this occurred on the Feast of Pentecost.

“Constantine had made his will, by which he confirmed the division of the

empire which he had made during his life, between his three sons and his two nephews. He also ordered that Saint Athanasius should be recalled from exile, although Eusebius of Nicomedia tried to prevent him from giving that order.

"The Emperor Constantine having thus set all things in order, died at noon on the Day of Pentecost, the 20th of May, A. D. 337, having reigned thirty-one years, the longest reign since Augustus. The body, shrouded in gold, was conveyed to Constantinople. Constantius was the only one of his sons who was in time to be present at the burial. He had the body conveyed with great pomp into the Church of the Apostles, himself being in the procession; then he retired with the soldiers, he being only a catechumen. But the clergy and the people remained to pray and to offer the sacrifice. The body of the emperor was raised on a lofty catafalque during the prayers, and interred in the vestibule of the Basilica, near the door."

The memory of the Emperor Constantine is held in esteem in the Church for the great benefits that he bestowed upon her, protecting her with all his power, and in so many ways showing his zeal for the true religion. It must be believed that his baptism effaced all the faults of his life; yet we perceive great faults in it after he had seen the miraculous cross, and had declared for the Christian religion. Eusebius himself, though a great admirer of that prince, confessed that many Romans complained of his great easiness of character. He too often allowed free course to two great vices—the violence of those who oppressed the weak in order to feed their own insatiable greediness, and the hypocrisy of the false Christians who joined the Church only that they might obtain the favor of the emperor. However, we shall not greatly err in believing all the good things said of Constantine by Zosimus,* and all the bad things said of him by Eusebius.

The pontificate of Liberius was almost entirely occupied by the consequences of the persecution raised against Saint Athanasius by Arius. That heresiarch died in 336. Athanasius went to Rome to defend himself against the Eusebians, the partisans of the Arian doctrines. Pope Julius received him with honor. He sent legates to the Eusebians to invite them to the council which was to be held at Rome. Their reply not arriving in time, the council was held in 342, and Saint Athanasius was reinstated in the See of Alexandria. The Eusebians complained. Saint Julius replied to them in a letter which Tillemont affirms to be one of the finest monuments of antiquity. He reproached them with abandoning the doctrine of the Council of Nice to embrace condemned heresies. Those subjects of division between the Easterns and the Westerns made it desirable that a council should be held near the frontier of the two countries, with a view to

* Zosimus, a zealous pagan priest, paints Constantine for the most part in very dark colors.

reuniting the two Churches. It was held in 344, at Sardis (now Sophia), the capital of Bulgaria. There were present at it about three hundred bishops, besides the pontifical legates. Athanasius there obtained a new triumph; the judgment of the pope was publicly read to the Council of Rome, and loudly praised by the Fathers. Twenty canons were at the same time formed for the discipline of the Church, and are an appendix to those of Nice. Some time after, Saint Athanasius was definitively restored to the See of Alexandria. Saint Julius renewed the order to the notaries to collect and arrange all wills, donations, and other documents concerning the Holy See. Cluni believes that this is the formal and initial principle of the foundation of a pontifical library.

It is said that Julius I. ordered the Feast of Christmas to be kept on the 25th of December. Pagi (see *Breviar. Pont. Rom.*) is of that opinion; but in the very ample collection of the councils (vol. ii., p. 1255), it is shown that the institution of the celebration of that great feast is of later date than the pontificate of Julius.

In three ordinations, this pope, so eminent for his piety and for his firm and constant nature, created nine or ten bishops, eighteen or nineteen priests, and four or five deacons.

He died on the 12th of April, A. D. 352, after governing the Church fifteen years, two months, and fifteen days. He was interred in the cemetery of Calepodius, on the *Via Aureliana*, and afterwards removed to the church of *Saint Mary*, in *Trastevere*.

The Holy See was vacant twenty-five days.

36. LIBERIUS.—A. D. 352.



LIBERIUS, a Roman cardinal-deacon, created by Saint Sylvester, is said to have been of the Savelli family. Liberius was elected, against his own desire, on the 8th of May, 352. It is affirmed that he ordered that, during fast-days, litigation should cease, and that he reprimanded those of the faithful who, during Lent, enforced their claims upon their debtors. It is to one of his precepts that the custom is owing of abstaining from marriage during Lent.

The Holy Father was frequently invited to condemn Saint Athanasius, the energetic partisan of the doctrines of Nice; but the pope, no less cour-



ageous, showed the true rock of the Church. Bold against all threats, insensible to all promises, he had to be torn from his flock. Carried to Milan, before the Emperor Constantius, he dared to refuse the condemnation of the holy doctor, because he knew his innocence and the malignity against him of the Arians, and also because such a condemnation would have aimed a mortal blow at the Council of Nice, of which Athanasius was the most zealous defender. Constantius threatened the pope with exile. Liberius replied: "We have already given our last farewell to our brethren at Rome; and we attach more value to the ecclesiastical laws than to our continued residence in that city." That noble reply is testified by Theodoret and by Dom Constant. Cæsar instantly ordered that Liberius should be taken to Berca, in Thrace. Before his departure, he was visited by an officer of the prince, who offered him a sum sufficient for the journey. Liberius replied: "Tell the emperor to keep the money to pay his soldiers, and to gratify the greed of his ministers." He also refused another sum which was offered to him by the empress, and another sent to him by the eunuch Eusebius, one of the principal officers of the imperial court.

When the pontiff was in exile, a council was held at Sirmium, a city of Lower Hungary, of more than three hundred bishops, for the condemnation of Photinus, bishop of that city, who, with his master, Paul of Samosata, maintained that Jesus was not God, but only a man. In this council, the Arians drew up a formula of the faith. Some authors say that Liberius, depressed by threats of death, consented to the condemnation of Athanasius, and was reduced to enter into communion with the Arians. Novaes relates, but with a kind of regret, what Baronius says about that *fall*: "No truer history can be found." Natalis Alexander and Tillemont manifest the same feeling. Novaes adds, that many modern criticisms go to show that this is false, and very false. He quotes the critical dissertation on Pope Liberius, written by the Abbé Congne (Paris, 1733), who maintains the non-authenticity of the *fall* of Liberius. However, those who believe in the possibility of such fall, endeavor to show that the pope did not directly offend the Catholic faith. Sangallo, especially, takes that view. However, if this asserted weakness on the part of Liberius was true (which cannot be admitted), the pope subsequently effaced it by his exemplary conduct, since he has merited the title of saint in several martyrologies. Moreover, it is ascertained that the most distinguished among the Roman matrons demanded from the emperor the recall of Liberius from exile, which Constantius could not refuse.

When Liberius returned to Rome, a council was assembled at Rimini, in 359, at which there were present four hundred bishops, eighty of whom were Arians. In that council, which commenced favorably, but terminated disastrously, as says Saint Ambrose (*Letter* 21, § 15), the bishops, who at first

had confirmed the profession of faith of the Council of Nice, and condemned and excommunicated Arsacius and Valens, and their Arian accomplices, allowed themselves to be ill-treated by Constantius ; and, deceived by the intrigues of the Arian bishops, they subscribed the false formula of the Council of Firmium, which concealed the culpable intention. These bishops thus consented to the omission of the words *substance* and *consubstantial*, as the monks of St. Maur observe.*

Liberius, who doubtless was no longer in those circumstances in which the most upright intentions are sometimes misjudged, because ordinary men are inclined to believe that one must always submit when unfortunate ; Liberius, urged by Constantine to ratify that fraudulent consent of the bishops, not only gave a flat refusal, but, also—which at that time could not but make a great impression—actually excommunicated the signing bishops. Driven forth again from Rome, he concealed himself in the hallowed cemeteries, and remained there till the close of his life.

This pontiff, and John, a Roman patrician, had a vision, afterwards confirmed by a miraculous fall of snow on the Esquiline Mount, on the 5th of August, which made known the site and the form of the Church, which the mother of God desired to be built in her honor. Liberius traced the foundations upon which John built that Church, which was consecrated in 353, and called the Liberian. It is also known as Saint Mary Major, to show that among all the Churches dedicated to Our Lady, it holds the first rank. It is also named Mary *al præsipio*, on account of the relic of the manger, in which lay the infant Jesus, which is preserved in that same Church.

In two ordinations, Liberius created nineteen bishops, eighteen priests, and five deacons. He governed the Church fourteen years, four months, and two days, and died on the 9th of December, A. D. 366, and was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the Salarian Way. The Holy See was vacant ten days.

Though we have quite correctly given above, the date of 366, it will be noticed that *in the next chapter* we go back to the date of the year 359, the date of the accession of Felix, who probably had some intermediate authority during the troubles of Liberius.

* *In St. Ambros : lib. i., de Fid.*, chap. 18, p. 122.

37. ST. FELIX II.—A. D. 359.



THE pontifical authority, during the exile of Liberius, which lasted for two years, was exercised by Saint Felix, the second pope of that name. Authors differ as to the exact circumstances under which Felix thus acted. Did he act as the absent pope's vicar? Did he usurp authority? Or was he, with the absent pope's consent, actually, though privately and only temporarily, elected pope, with the understanding that on the return of Liberius, should that ever take place, Felix would retire? Be that as it may, it is certain that when Liberius did return, Felix laid down his authority, and went to practice the Christian virtues in retirement.

In a single ordination he created nineteen bishops, twenty-seven priests, and five deacons. While he held the supreme authority in the Church he had the courage to condemn Constantius as an Arian; and on the return of Liberius, the emperor in revenge condemned Felix II. to exile in the little town of Cori, on the Aurelian Way, seventeen miles from Rome. There he suffered martyrdom with great courage. It may not be useless to add, that even after the triumph of the Church great cruelties were inflicted upon the Christians. As the chief of the state was himself a Christian, there was no longer even the wretched excuse of a mistaken religious zeal; but heretics pursued those whom they deemed enemies as fiercely as any pagans could.

The body of Felix being brought to Rome, was interred at the baths of Trajan, and subsequently placed by Saint Damasus in the Basilica, which Felix himself had caused to be constructed on the Aurelian Way, two miles from Rome. From this the body was removed into the Church of Saints Cosmo and Damian. In the reign of Pope Gregory XIII., there arose a question between the Cardinals Baronius and Santorio as to whether the name of Felix should be retained in the Roman martyrology as pontiff and as martyr. Santorio maintained that it was clearly right, and on the 22d of July, 1582, the evening of the Feast of Saint Felix, that saint's body was found in the above-mentioned Church of Saint Cosmo and Saint Damian, and the inscription described him as having been pontiff and martyr. Many modern critics erase him from the list of pontiffs, on the ground that that inscription is not authentic.

Some writers maintain that the body is preserved at Padua, in the Church

of the Cordeliers, and that the coffin bears an inscription with the title of saint, placed in 1503.

Even in our own day there are different opinions as to the legitimacy of the papacy of Felix II. Various authors consider him a legitimate pope, and and Bellarmine even wrote an apologetical dissertation in support of that view. On the other hand, there are not wanting some who deny that he was either saint, or pope, or martyr, and consider that he was an antipope, and even erroneous in his doctrines; of this opinion are Natalis Alexander, Sangallo, Fleury, and Christianus Lupus. The celebrated Monsignor Borgia, afterwards cardinal, said upon this subject: "The legitimacy of Felix is demonstrated to those who believe in the fall of Liberius."

Shortly after the pontificate of Damasus I., who succeeds to Liberius and Felix, must be placed the reign of Julian, surnamed the Apostate, son of Julius Constantius, brother of the great Constantine. He was near perishing with his brother Gallus in a terrible massacre of his family by the sons of Constantine, and was only saved by the care of Mark, bishop of Aristus, who concealed him in the sanctuary of his church, a circumstance which subsequently added to the horror of his apostacy. Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was charged with the education of Julian and Gallus, gave them a tutor named Mardonius,* who endeavored to inspire them with gravity, modesty, and contempt for sensual pleasures. These young princes entered into the order of the clergy, and performed the duty of readers, but with very different sentiments upon religion. Gallus had much piety, while Julian had a secret leaning to the worship of false gods, and his inclinations broke forth when, at the age of twenty-four, he was sent to Athens, where he addicted himself to astrology, magic, and all the vain illusions of paganism. It is chiefly to that sacrilegious curiosity about the future that we must attribute the apostacy of that young prince, who gave no reason for suspicion till after the death of Constantius. Julian, being named Cæsar by Constantius, distinguished himself in Gaul, and gained a victory over seven German kings near Strasburg. Subsequently his soldiers declared him emperor. He was then at Paris, where he had built a palace, of which the remains are still visible. Subsequently, Julian was recognized as emperor in the East, as he already had been in the West. The pagan philosophers, by whom he was surrounded, persuaded him to annihilate Christianity and to revive idolatry. At first he employed only mild means, but he afterwards ordered cruelty and bloodshed. Iondot† says of this emperor, that "his character presents one of the most embarrassing problems of history. He was humane and sanguinary, disinterested and prodigal, harsh to himself, and too indulgent to the sophists, his favorites; he

* Feller iii., 719.

† *Biog. Univ.*, xxii., 140.

combined the contraries, and was at the same time an Alexander and a Diogenes." The Cardinal Gerdil, in his *Considerations upon Julian* (vol. x., Roman edition), has well described him. The edict of that emperor against the Christians is a tissue of false reasonings, of which Voltaire has reproduced the principal traits in his *Essay on Morals*, with the same logic and the same honesty. With the death of this emperor, the family of Constantine became extinct. In that family Christianity found alike its most generous friend and its most cruel enemy. One sentence, borrowed from Lebeau's *Histoire de l'Empire*, will complete one's knowledge of Julian: "He is the model of those persecuting princes who try to avoid the reproach of persecuting by an appearance of gentleness and equity."

Julian died on the 26th June, 363, at the age of about thirty-two years.

38. ST. DAMASUS — A. D. 366,



AS born at Guimaraens, in Portugal. Sent to Rome at an early age, he at first was writer and reader, then deacon, and at length cardinal-priest. Damasus has been called a Spaniard, because Portugal was then a part of Spain. It has been affirmed that, during the exile of Liberius, Damasus was his Vicar. While still young, he wrote the acts of the holy martyrs, Peter and Marcellinus, which he had learned from the lips of their executioner, Dorotheus. Subsequently, he contracted friendship with Athanasius, when the latter came to Rome, under the pontificate of Julius, and perhaps he was ordained deacon by that pontiff. Certainly he was deacon when Liberius was sent into exile. The schismatical author of the prefaces to the Memorial of Faustinus and Marcellinus, after Father Zaccaria, adds that Damasus did not follow Liberius into exile, but only feigned to do so, and then hastened back to Rome and usurped the pontifical authority. But the author of those prefaces, besides being a schismatic, showed himself the partisan of an *antipope*, named Ursicinus, who then tormented the Church. And, therefore, we need give no credence to what this opponent says against Damasus.

This cardinal-priest was elected pope at the age of sixty-two, on the 15th of September, 366. He began by using all the means in his power to put an end to the schism of Ursicinus. In 369, he assembled at Rome a synod of ninety-three bishops, confirmed the faith of Nice, rebuked the Council of

Rimini, and condemned the Bishop Auxentius, the disseminator of heresy in the diocese of Milan, and in the neighboring churches. Saint Basil, having sent letters to Rome by Dorotheus, deacon of Antioch,* the Holy Father, to show himself favorable to the entreaties of the pious bishop, sent to the East Sabinus, deacon of the Milanese church. The latter returned to Rome with letters from Basil, which were not satisfactory to the pontiff. He thought fit to send them back to Basil by Evagrius. Basil then sent again to Rome Dorotheus, recently consecrated priest.

On that occasion, the Holy Father, in 374, assembled another council, of whose acts only a single fragment remains.

Several letters from the pontiff to Paulinus of Antioch then caused some rumors in the East. Those letters contained a tacit but clear protestation by which the Holy Father recognized the said Paulinus as Bishop of Antioch, to the prejudice of Meletius. Basil, the friend of the latter, sent Dorotheus for the third time to Rome, with the view, in concert with other bishops, to procure a retraction of that decision. At that time, Damasus assembled a synod, in which he declared that he maintained his decree in favor of Paulinus, but without cutting off Meletius from the communion of the Church. In 377, Saint Jerome consulted Damasus on these questions. 1. May we say that in God there are three *hypostases*? 2. With which of the two parties, the Meletinian or the Paulinian, were the faithful to communicate? The pope replied that Paulinus was to be communicated with, and that in God three persons and one God were to be recognized.†

In the following year, Gracchus, Prefect of Rome, to whom is applicable Justinian's law *that no one shall be a judge in his own cause*, obtained baptism on condition that the authorities should destroy the infamous den of Mythra. In 379, peace was concluded between Paulinus and Meletius. The former held a council, the acts of which he sent to Damasus. In 380, the pope held a synod, in which he approved and confirmed the transaction of the two bishops of Antioch, received Meletius into perfect communion, establishing a confession of faith. The same year the Holy Father declared null the ordination, by some Egyptians, of the ambitious Maximus Cinicus, who dared to pretend to be Bishop of Constantinople, to the prejudice of Saint Gregory Naziensis, and he constituted, as his Vicar in the provinces of eastern Illyria, Acolius, Bishop of Thessalonica.

Priscilianus, condemned by the Council of Saragossa, then visited Rome for the purpose of justifying himself to Damasus, but the pope would not even admit him to his presence.

* Care must be taken not to confound the names and the men so remote from our own time. Just now we had to mention Dorotheus, an executioner; we now have another Dorotheus, a friend of Saint Basil.

† Novaes, i., p. 134.

At the solicitation of the Emperor Theodosius, Damasus, in 381, assembled at Constantinople the second general council. It was attended by a hundred and fifty or a hundred and eighty bishops, who gave honorable reception to the *Tome* of the Westerns, that is to say, the confession of Damasus to Paulinus, or the confession of faith established in the Roman council of the preceding year. The bishops in this council confirmed the Nicene creed against Macedonius, Ætius, and Eunomius, Arians, who, among other errors, denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The bishops added to the Nicene creed the words, *I believe in the Holy Ghost, Lord, &c.*, to which were added the words *filioque* in Spain, by the Council of Toledo, of 589. It was received by the churches of France and Germany, in the eighth century, and by the Roman church in the ninth.

Maximus Sinicus, usurper of the See of Constantinople, was deposed, and Saint Gregory Nazianensis was restored to his episcopal jurisdiction. But he, from his love of peace, renounced it, and in his place was appointed Nectairus, of the senatorial order, who was only a catechumen. In this council three or four canons were formed, in one of which primacy was given to the Bishop of Constantinople after that of the Roman pontiff. This was disapproved of by Damasus, who was too acute and far-sighted not to perceive the danger which might arise from that probably too hasty declaration. About the same time, when, on every side, measures were being taken to secure the peace of the Church, and to destroy heresies, some senators, partisans of the old system of the Gentiles of Rome, attempted to restore paganism by causing the altar of victory to be re-erected in the senate. In pursuance of that design, they were about to send Simmachus to the Emperor Gratian to obtain his consent. But Saint Ambrose, formally empowered by Damasus, exerted himself so effectively at court, that the embassy was not suffered to depart. That same year the Holy Father convoked a numerous council, all the acts of which are lost.

In 383, Damasus wrote a letter to the Eastern bishops against the partisans of Apollinaris, and, in 384, another letter to the Emperor Valentinian, in favor of Simmachus, who had been accused of showing his hatred of the Christians, under pretext of obeying the orders of the emperor. Damasus instituted the penalty of retaliation, by which the calumniator was to be subjected to the punishment which the accused would have incurred had he been unable to prove himself innocent.* To him also is attributed the custom of chaunting the Psalms day and night, but that custom prevailed in the primitive church in the time of Pope Pontianus. It is possible that it was even earlier. Saint Ambrose introduced into the West the singing of

* *Qualia fecisti, patiaris talia, jus est,
Huic sibi conveniens TALIO nomen habet.*

the Psalms, by two choirs alternately, it may have been that Damasus, by a decree, confirmed that new custom. On this point, Dom Constant refutes those who say that the *alternate* singing was either invented or confirmed by Pope Damasus. It is not exact to say that Damasus, following the example of the Church of Jerusalem, ordered the *Alleluia* to be sung at Rome. By the advice of Saint Jerome, he ordered that, as the *Alleluia* was sung at Easter time, it should frequently be sung at other times, that is to say, on Sundays. Those who write that the same pontiff ordered that at the end of the Psalms the *Gloria Patri* should be used, are mistaken, for they base their assertion upon a letter of St. Jerome, which is now known to be apocryphal. Novaes thinks that the *Gloria Patri* was in use in the primitive church. The Council of Nice added to it the words, *Sicut erat in principio*, in opposition to the Arians, who said that the Son of God was created in time. In general, the custom of saying it at the end of the Psalms was not usually commanded by the Church as early as is supposed; perhaps it was not ordered previous to the celebration of the Council of Vaison, in the acts of which we, for the first time, meet with a decree that relates to it.

Damasus summoned to Rome Saint Jerome, who served him as secretary, with the duty of replying to the letters which the Holy Father received from the councils and from the churches. By order of the same pontiff, Saint Jerome corrected and translated into Latin the version of the Septuagint, and he did the same for the Hebrew edition, done into Latin. He also most scrupulously corrected the Latin text of the New Testament, carefully comparing it with the Greek text.

In five ordinations, Saint Damasus created sixty-two bishops, thirty-one priests, and eleven deacons. He governed the Church eighteen years and about two months, and died at the age of eighty, in December, 384.

He was a man of brilliant virtue, learned in the Holy Scriptures, illustrious by his writings, and celebrated for the good and constant organization of the acts of his pontificate. This pontiff had also some disposition towards the cultivation of poetry, but excelled less in that kind of study than in all the others to which he devoted himself. Saint Jerome bestows this eulogy upon the continence of Damasus: *He was the virgin doctor of a virgin Church*. Tolerant as to offences offered to himself, Damasus would not endure such to the Church.

The genuine works of Saint Damasus were printed at Paris in 1672, in 8vo. That edition is preceded by the Life of the Pontiff, which is also to be found in the *Bibliothèque des Peres*, and in the *Ep. Rom. Pont.*, of Dom Constant, folio. An earlier edition was published in 1639, by Frederick Ubaldini, and there was another Roman edition in 1638. There is also an edition by the Canon Antoine Marie Merenda, folio, 1754.

A host of other authors have spoken of the works of Saint Damasus.

The council of Chalcedon called him *the ornament and the glory of Rome*. His intimate union with Saint Jerome is one of the finest acts of this pontiff. To select for his interpreter a writer of such splendid talent and such high renown, was to show an admirable modesty. The moral strength of the pontificate was doubled by such a circumstance. So great a head of the church, learned himself, and endowed with the most eminent literary qualities, still further summoned to his aid the eloquence, the force, the fervor, the calm style, the patience, and the almost universal learning, and finally, the advice of the most eminent doctor of the Latin Church.

Damasus added to his own intrinsic greatness by his confidence in Saint Jerome. Damasus was buried in the Basilica that he had raised on the *Via Ardeatina*. His body was removed into the church that he had himself founded, called Saint Laurence, *in Damaso*.

The Holy See was vacant thirty-one days. It is said that Saint Damasus introduced the use of organs. (*See the reign of Saint Vitalianus, seventy-seventh Pope.*)

We must here say a few words more about the *Antipope Ursicinus*. At the election of Damasus he did not fear to accept the part of an intrusive pope. Although that election shone with the intervention of the divine judgment, says Saint Ambrose (*Ep. 30, ad Valentin*), some priests, seven in number,* and three deacons, having placed themselves at the head of the faction opposed to Felix, created Ursicinus pontiff, in the Basilica of Sicinus, situated near the Esquiline, and he was ordained by the bishop of Tivoli; and then arose a sedition between the two factions, each of which desired the man of its choice to prevail. Juventius, then prefect of Rome, drove Ursicinus and his partisans from the city, but they speedily returned. Again expelled by Pretextatus, successor to Juventius, the Emperor Valentinian confirmed the order of exile, and declared Ursicinus a disturber of the Church, and all the partisans of the intruder schismatics. They attempted a new sedition, still maintaining that in Ursicinus they recognized their legitimate head; but the emperor by a new order sent the partisans to a distance of twenty miles from the metropolis, and banished the false pontiff into Gaul.

On the death of Valentinian, Ursicinus endeavored to return to Rome, and assembled his partisans, with a view to seizing the pontifical authority. He continued his intrigues and his seditious conduct during the whole reign of Damasus, but was unable to expel the noble friend of Saint Jerome. At the moment of the election of Siricius, successor of Damasus, Ursicinus endeavored to oppose it, but he was again repulsed from Rome, to which it seemed he could never return.

* This circumstance throws some light upon the then system of election.

Under this reign died Saint Macrina, sister of Saint Basil and of Saint Gregory of Nyssus. Saint Basil, surnamed the Great, was bishop of Cæsarea. The Emperor Valeus having sent a prefect to Basil to engage him to become an Arian, he refused with some force. The prefect observed that people never spoke to him in that manner, to which Basil cuttingly replied, "*Possibly that is because you are never in the habit of speaking to a bishop.*" "A reply," says Feller (I., 378), "full of energy and of the episcopal character, and one which pastors should never lose sight of." The *Hexameron* of Saint Basil (a work upon the six days of the creation) is looked upon as a masterpiece.

The Basilian religious orders, male and female, take their name from this holy doctor.

39. ST. SIRICIUS.—A. D. 384.



SIRICIUS, a Roman, son of Tiburtius, priest-cardinal of Saint Pudenziana *in Pastore*, or as some say, cardinal-deacon, created by Damasus, was elected pontiff in 384. It is affirmed that he is the author of the *Communicantes* in the mass. By a decretal written to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, he permits monks to receive the sacerdotal order which previously was prohibited. He forbade the ordaining of bigamists, and those who had married widows.

Saint Siricius ordained that, except in cases of urgent necessity, baptism should be administered only at Easter and Pentecost.

He condemned the Manicheans, those obstinate sectaries of Manes, a Persian slave, who propagated his errors in 273. They maintained that the body of Christ was altogether actual; that there are two supreme principles, the Good and the Evil, and that from this latter proceeded the old law. They forbade obedience to princes, as being dangerous. According to Manes, all the prophets were damned souls. The absurd dogma of the Metempsychosis, the prohibition to kill any animal whatever, or to use any kind of animal food, were some of the chief points of the heresy of Manes. He dogmatised publicly, and he sent disciples to preach his doctrines at first in the nearest provinces of Persia, and afterwards in India and Egypt. In imitation of the number of our Saviour's apostles, this man employed

twelve emissaries, three of whom are named Thomas, Hermas, and Buldas.*

Saint Siricius also condemned the Priscillianists, followers of Priscillian, bishop of Avila. That heresiarch adopted some of the errors of the Manicheans, and added one of his own—that men are subject to the influence of evil stars. Juvenian, a Milanese monk, was also condemned. He denied the Virginity of the Mother of God.

Some authors doubt the piety of Saint Siricius, because he did not promptly repel the mischievous errors of Rufinus, a monk of Aquilea, which errors were long kept concealed. They were at length made public by Saint Marcella, a Roman lady, and Pammachius, a Roman senator. The pontiff is defended upon this point by Florentini and Noris. Benedict XIV. also excuses the pontiff, especially in a letter to John V., King of Portugal. He moreover ordered that the name of Saint Siricius should be placed in the Roman martyrology. Baronius had previously accused him of having being cold in his relations with Saint Jerome, and of not continuing to him the confidence that Damasus had shown; but these circumstances did not influence the decision of Benedict XIV., which now has the force of a law. What must have especially struck that learned and sagacious Catholic legislator of the eighteenth century is that the works of Saint Siricius indicate great courage. In those letters the pontifical dignity shines forth in all its lustre. We recognise the spirit of the prince of the Church, of the lieutenant of God,† when he commands that his decrees shall be published in all the provinces, and that the primates of the Church see to their execution, on pain of their immediate deposition. The pontiff expressly declares that whoever shall refuse to obey his injunctions will be cut off from the communion of the faithful, and liable to the pains of hell.

Saint Siricius, in five ordinations, in December, created thirty-two bishops, twenty-seven (some say thirty-one) priests, and sixteen or nineteen deacons. He was the first pontiff who called himself pope.‡ Novaes discusses that question in his introduction to his *Lives of the Sovereign Pontiffs of Rome*. (*Dissert. IV.*, vol. ii., p. 3.) The following is his opinion upon this important point:

“When the new pontiff has accepted the election, he begins to be called *Pope*. I will not give here the catalogue of the various interpretations that authors assign to that name.”

* “This name,” Buldas, says the celebrated M. de Saint Martin, “may be merely indicative of the dogmas that these heretics borrowed from the Indian legislator, Buddh or Buddha, whose doctrine at that time predominated in India, was widely spread in the regions which separate that country from China, where it is said that Manes travelled.

† Cæsarotti, p. 91.

‡ Ignatius Baacii has written a little work in 12mo., entitled, “Etymology of the words *Pope* and *Pontiff*.”

He nevertheless does cite Barbosa (*Jur. Eccles.*, lib. i., cap. 2; *Petra, Comment ad Const. Apost.*, t. i., paragraphe 3, numero 7), the Bollandists, in the Chronological History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, vol. v., act. ss., p. 25; Raynaud, vol. x. (*Des Titres du Pontife Romain*, p. 80), and Lambertini (*De Syndicæces*, lib. i., chap. 3, para. 4).

Novaes continues thus :

“ This name is derived from the title of *Pater Patriæ* ; others derive it from *Pater Patrum* or *Pater Pastorum*. Some, again, say that the word is derived from the initial letters of the following words : thus, *Petri*, *Apostoli*, *Potestatem*, *Accipiens*.”

All those interpretations befit a name so mysterious.

“ At first,” continues Novaes, “ this name was applied in common to all priests, whence came the custom of giving the name of *father* to every regular priest. Then the name was given only to bishops. Papebrok (*in Conat. Chrono. Histor. ad Siricium*, p. 147, No. 9) says that Saint Siricius was the first who called himself *Papa* (pope), and that he so styles himself in many letters which he wrote to various provinces. Saint Leo the Great, elected in 440, follows that example ; in his *Epist.* 17, he entitles himself “ *Leo, Papa Universis per Sicilium constitutis Salutem*.” At the end of the ninth century, this name was no longer given to any one but the sovereign pontiffs of Rome. About the end of the tenth century, Arulphus II., Archbishop of Milan, having taken the title of “ Pope of the City of Milan, Gregory V., in 988, complained of it, and the Council of Pavia decreed that Arulphus must desist from that pretension of being pope.

“ The schismatics, however, usurped the name of pope. Gregory VII., in the Council of Rome, of 1076, strictly ordered that the title of pope should be unique in the Catholic world, and that no one should be allowed either to take that name for himself or apply it to any one but the sovereign pontiff.” (Baronius, *Martyrol.*, 10 jan. and 25 jan.)

“ Carni has published a dissertation on the question whether that degree of Saint Gregory VII. is genuine. (Vol. i. of his Works, p. 152.) It is written in Italian, and the title is in Latin.”

With the reign of Siricius are also connected the sedition of Antioch, the Massacre of Thessalonica, the letter of Saint Ambrose to Theodosius, and the penitence of that emperor, who for eight months refrained from entering the Church.* During that time, Siricius added his zeal to that of the great Saint Ambrose, in endeavoring to restore peace to the empire. Siricius governed the Church during fourteen years. He died in 398, at the age of seventy-four years, and was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla, on

* Fleury, iv., p. 559, *et seq.*

the *Via Salaria*. His body was removed by Pascal I. into the Church of Saint Praxedes. The Holy See was vacant nineteen days.

I must add that, under Saint Siricius, also appeared what Fleury calls (IV. 528) *the beginnings of Saint Augustine*. He had been made a catechumen by the sign of the cross, and by salt. At first he addicted himself to the pleasures of the world, and fell into the hands of the Manicheans who, leading him astray by their pompous discourses, gave him a taste for their reveries, and an aversion for the Old Testament. Saint Monica, mother of Saint Augustine, begged a bishop to bring her son back into the right way. The bishop replied that it was necessary to wait, and, as the mother replied to those words with a flood of tears, he added, it is impossible that the child of those tears should perish.

Under the reign of Saint Siricius, died Saint Gregory of Nyssus, brother of Saint Basil and Saint Moerina. Gregory was bishop of Nyssus, a city of Dardania; he is surnamed the Father of fathers. His principal works are *Funeral Orations, Sermons, Panegyrics of the Saints, Commentaries on Scripture, and Dogmatic Treatises*. He may be compared to the most celebrated orators of antiquity for purity, ease, strength, fecundity, and magnificence of style.

We must not forget the great Saint Athanasius, who died about this time (eleven years before the reign of Saint Siricius), after being bishop of Alexandria during forty-six years. During more than fifty years he was persecuted by the Arians, whom he opposed with an invincible courage. Erasmus was a great admirer of the style of Saint Athanasius; a style which is by turns noble, simple, elegant, clear, and pathetic.

40. ST. ANASTASIUS I.—A. D. 398.



ANASTASIUS I., a Roman, and son of Maximus, was created pontiff at the close of 388. He forbade the ordination of any deformed person. Pilgrims could no longer be ordained without a letter from their own bishop: whence the actual origin of letters dimissory. He ordered that the priests should stand up, keeping their heads bowed, while the deacons read the gospel during Mass, in order to show, says Bona, in his liturgic letters, that they were servants ready to fulfil the commands of the gospel. This decree was called forth by a dissension which occurred at Rome be-

tween the priests and the deacons. The latter (see Baronius), administering the goods of the Church, treated with not much respect the priests who, on account of that, disdained to rise up before the deacons, even when the latter were reading the gospel before the faithful; for, according to old custom, when the priests were seated the deacons were to remain standing.* The holy father, in order to put an end to that scandal, published the decree of which we have spoken, and which was registered in the pontifical book.

Saint Jerome calls Saint Anastasius *a man of very rich poverty and apostolic zeal*.

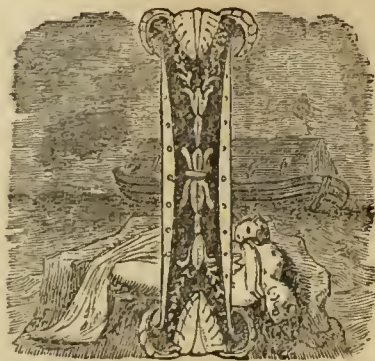
It was especially in defending Saint Chrysostom, whom they attempted to expel from Constantinople, that Anastasius evidenced a great devotion.

In two ordinations Anastasius created ten or twelve bishops, eight or nine priests, and five deacons. "He governed the Church," says Innocent I., "with purity of life, abundance of doctrine, and perfect strictness of ecclesiastical authority. He reigned three years and ten days, and died in 401.

Saint Jerome further says (Ep. 127), that under such a bishop Rome would remain. And, in fact, very shortly after the good pope's death, in 410, Rome was for the first time sacked by the Goths. Their king, Alaric, had assaulted it three times before he could take it.

Saint Anastasius was interred in the cemetery of the *Orso Pileato*, on the Esquiline, and afterwards removed by Sergius I. into the Church of Saint Sylvester and Saint Martin *ai Monti*. The Holy See remained vacant twenty days.

41. ST. INNOCENT I.—A. D. 401.

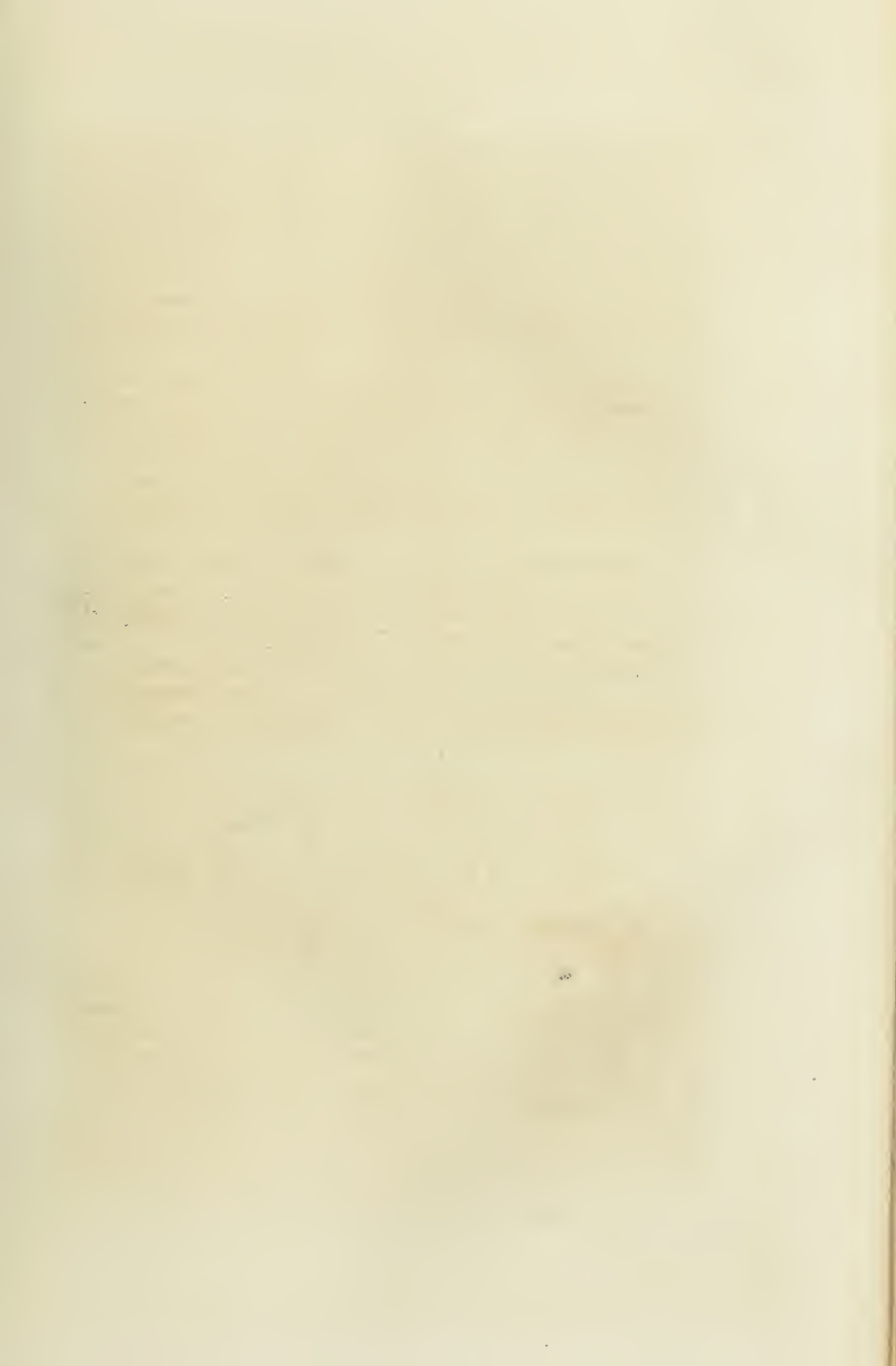


INNOCENT I., of Alba, in Montferrato, was the son of Innocent, and a cardinal-deacon created by Saint Damasus. He was elected pontiff at the close of 401. In 401 he went to Ravenna to converse with the Emperor Honorius, and obtain from him the confirmation of the capitulation concluded between King Alaric and the senate of the city of Rome, besieged by Alaric, and sacked by him in the following year.

Returning to Rome after a fruitless journey, the pope applied himself to

* Novaes, i., p. 146.

† See note at end of this chapter.





ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.



consoling and encouraging the Romans, restoring the churches, and ornamenting them anew with precious jewels of gold and silver. He at the same time busied himself in publishing constitutions for the discipline of the church, in destroying as far as he could in their beginning the heresies of Pelagius, an English monk, and his disciple Celestius, whose nativity is unknown, and in condemning the reviving heresies of the Donatists.

Saint Jerome calls Innocent the successor and the son of Anastasius, because the former, like the latter, had given proofs of his love of justice by protecting the cause of Saint John Chrysostom, unworthily deposed from the see of Constantinople, and driven from his church by the faction of Theophilus.* He who had condemned the two councils irregularly held against a bishop, whom no prudent man could deem guilty, could not but be inflexible against the Novatians, who, for more than a century, had kept up their schism.†

Innocent, of his own sense of duty, determined to anathematize both Pelagius and Celestius, who continued to torment men's consciences by their audacious doctrines on original sin, free will, and divine grace.

Saint Innocent ordered that all important causes, after the sentence of the bishop, should be remitted to the Holy See, "according to the religious custom," as he himself said. With the legacy of the matron Vestina, he built and erected into a cardinalate parish the church of Saints Vitalius, Gervasius and Protasius.

In four ordinations, in the month of December, this pope created fifty-four bishops, thirty priests, and fifteen deacons. He governed the Church fifteen years, two months, and ten days.

He was endowed with very distinguished intellect and singular prudence. He laid it down that a ruler should never dismiss the ministers of his predecessor, "for," said he, "new comers injure business before they learn how to do it."

He died on the 28th of July, in the year 417, and was buried in the cemetery at the *Orso Pileato*, and thence removed into the church of Saint Sylvester and Saint Martin, *ai Monti*.

The Holy See remained vacant twenty-one days.

It was under the reign of Innocent I. that Eutropius suffered martyrdom at Constantinople. Fleury, vol. v., book 21, chap. 38, says: "The prefect,

*It must not be forgotten that Saint John Chrysostom appealed from the sentence of the *Conciliabule du Chêne*, that the pontiff reversed the iniquitous condemnation, and that his sentence was respected by the whole Church. But there was a wide distance then from those false decretals which ignorant modern sectarians tell us are the source of appeals to Rome. (*Filler*, iii., 605.) The *Conciliabule du Chêne* was so called because held in the church of a quarter of the town of Chalcedon, to which a great oak had given its name.

† See life of Saint Cornelius, in p. — of this volume, for his opinion of the Novatians.

a pagan, and the enemy of the Christians, inflicted the most cruel tortures on the friends of Saint Chrysostom. Eutropius, reader and chanter, was put to the question. Fire was applied to him; he was beaten with straps of raw hides, and with sticks; his sides, his cheeks, and his forehead were torn with iron hooks, and, finally, lighted torches were plunged into the gaping wounds where the flesh had been torn completely away from the bone, and he expired.

The priest Tigrinus was also stripped, scourged upon the back, and tied hand and foot, and stretched so violently that the joints were dislocated."

In France, the barbarians furiously tortured the bishops; at Rheims, Saint Nicasia, with the virgin Eutropia, her sister; at Arras, Saint Diogene; at Auxerre, Saint Paterna; at Langres, Saint Didier. Every where the same deplorable horrors followed the triumph of the barbarians. It seemed as though Constantine had every where propagated Catholicism only that the victims might be the more plainly pointed out for destruction; and among those barbarians who thus tortured and destroyed Christians, there were some who pretended to believe in Christ.

NOTE.—The Abbé Francis Giusta, in his *Journeys of the Popes (Viaggide Papi)*, Florence, 1782, 8vo., describes the principal journeys undertaken by the popes for the benefit of the Church. The first journey is that of Innocent I., to have an interview in 409 with the Emperor Honorius, then residing at Ravenna. Then come the journeys of Saint Leo to Attila, in Mantua, in 452; that of Hormisdas to Ravenna, to Theodoric, King of the Goths; that of Saint John I. to Constantinople, to the Emperor Justinian, in 525; that of Agupetus to Constantinople to the Emperor Justinian, in 546. In 652 Martin I. was carried off from Rome, by order of the Emperor Constantius.

In the eighth century, Constantine went to Constantinople to the Emperor Justinian II., in 710. Other journeys followed. Saint Zacharias went to Turin, to Ravenna, to Pavia, and to Perugia, in 742, 743, and 750. Saint Stephen III. went to France, to King Pepin, in 754. Saint Stephen V. went to Rheims, to the Emperor Louis I. in 816. Gregory IV. went to France in 822; John VIII. went to Paris to the Emperor Charles the Bald in 877.

In the tenth century no pope left Rome. Saint Leo IX. went to France in 1049, and to Germany in 1053. Victor II. went to Germany to the Emperor Henry, in 1057; Saint Gregory VII. went to the Castle of Canosse in 1077. A century later, in 1177, Alexander III. went to Venice to treat for peace with the Emperor Frederic.

In the twelfth century there was no papal removal from Rome. In the thirteenth—in 1223—Honorius III. went to the congress with the Emperor Frederic II. Gregory X. went to Lyons in 1274.

Clement V. transferred the residence of the Holy See into France in 1306. Urban V. went to Avignon, in Italy, in 1363. Gregory XI. re-established the residence of the Holy See at Rome in 1376. Pius II. went to Mantua in 1459. Julius II. in 1511 besieged La Mirandola. Leo X. went to Bologna to confer with King Francis I., in 1515. Paul III. went to Savona in 1538, to Lucca in 1541, and to Busseto in 1543. Clement VIII. went to Ferrara in 1598.

In the seventeenth century there was no papal journey.

In the eighteenth century, in 1782, Pius VI. went to Vienna; Pius VII. went to Paris in 1804; in 1809 he was detained at Savona; in 1815 he went to Geneva, and, finally, Gregory XVI. visited Ancona in 1841; Pius IX. went to Gaeta in 1848.

42. ST. ZOZIMUS. — A. D. 417.



SAINT ZOZIMUS, made a priest by Saint Innocent I., was, according to some, a Greek, born at Cesarea, in Cappadocia; according to others, he was born at Bieti, in Calabria. He was elected pontiff on the 19th of August, A. D. 417. He was the first who to the title of *bishop* or *pope* added the words, *of Rome*. (Novaes i., 153.) He forbade that impure men or slaves should be received into the clergy; and he forbade the clergy to frequent taverns. He renewed the condemnation of Pelagius and Celestius, and he obtained from the Emperor Honorius, then residing at Ravenna, that the Celestians and the Pelagians should be banished from Rome, and every where known as heretics. African bishops assembled at Carthage, having condemned the Pelagians as heretics, the pope confirmed the sentence; and from that instant he neglected no precaution to hasten, every where, the destruction of the schism which concealed itself under false pretences of piety and of submission.

To settle some Church business, Saint Zozimus sent Saint Augustine to Cesarea, a city of Mauritania. The holy doctor speaks of that journey in his letters 190 and 209.

It is stated in the Martyrology that this pope ordered that deacons should wear the stole, hanging from the left shoulder to the right side. He granted to the parish churches the faculty of blessing the paschal candles, which previously had been permitted only to the great Basilicas. Some authors attribute to him the invention of the paschal candle, whence the *Agnus Dei* originated; but the opinion is not shared by other historians. The truth is that the custom of blessing and distributing the *Agnus Dei* dates from the infant church, and that that ceremony was performed on Holy Saturday.

Zozimus gave a decision relating to the difference which existed between the churches of Arles and Vienne, as to which should be the metropolitan of the *Viennoise* and *Narbonnaise* provinces.

He had some disputes with the bishops of Africa on the subject of Apiarius, an African priest, deposed from the priesthood by Bishop Urbain. There arose a difference of opinion between the Roman and the African church, which continued five years, and was terminated by Pope Saint Boniface I. Apiarius, when he appealed on the subject to Zozimus, availed himself of an established right. The African fathers recognized the right

of the Roman pontiffs to receive and decide upon all appeals made to the Holy See from all parts of the Catholic world. The Africans, in the case of Apiarius, did not directly contest the right of appeal to the Holy See; but they demanded the execution of the established rules to prevent the abuses committed by the clerics and simple priests in making such appeals with too great levity and in cases already well decided.* It was in vain that superficial writers or enemies of the Holy See quoted those regulations as against the right of appeal in itself. A power so old in the Church as to its essence, although it had not always been as active or extensive in its exercise, and those in whose hands it existed, could by no right-minded reasoner be termed a usurped power, when the circumstances, the wants of the Church and its discipline, required that the exercise of the same power should become more frequent and more habitual.

Saint Zozimus, in an ordination in December, created eight bishops, ten priests, and three deacons. He governed the Church one year, nine months, and nine days. He died on the 26th December, 418, and was interred in the Basilica of Saint Laurence, on the *Via Tiburtina*. The Holy See remained vacant one day.

It was in 418 that Saint Augustine wrote to a layman named Mercator, who had consulted him upon the errors of the Pelagians: "For myself, I confess it to you, I love rather to learn than to teach, for the sweetness of truth invites us to learn, and charity must constrain us to teach. But we should teach only when charity constrains us to do so."

43. ST. BONIFACE I.—A. D. 418,



ROMAN, the son of Zucundus, was made cardinal-priest by Saint Damasus. When about to be proclaimed pontiff, he had not voluntarily accepted that dignity, but he had at length given his consent, when some deacons and a very few priests, opposing themselves to the wishes of the great majority of the electors, named Eulalius, who had been made cardinal archdeacon by Innocent I. Symmachus, prefect of Rome, patronized Eulalius, and prejudiced the Emperor Honorius in favor of that antipope. The emperor being warned that Symmachus had written falsely to him upon the

* Feller, v., p. 814.

subject, thought fit to call upon both Boniface and Eulalius to attend before him at Ravenna. Eulalius, in contempt of the emperor's orders, left Rome for a short time and then secretly returned. That, of course, put an end to all dispute upon the subject of the pontificate; Boniface was solemnly recognized.

Unhappily it resulted from that dispute that as Honorius in that instance, so the kings of Italy and others subsequently, interfered in the papal elections. Of Eulalius we may sum up all that it is necessary to say about him, by merely adding that this intruder retired to *Porto d'Anzo*, and was subsequently bishop of Nepi.

Boniface, being firmly seated in the Holy See, ordered that no cleric should be ordained priest earlier than thirty years of age, as Saint Fabian had desired, and Boniface also followed Zozimus in excluding from that honor all impure men and slaves. He introduced the custom of singing on Holy Thursdays the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

This pope suppressed the *vigils* of the saints; which consisted in meeting at their tombs and passing the nights preceding their feasts in fervent prayer. Although those nights began, as it was fitting, in a holy manner, it must be confessed that they did degenerate into mere meetings for amusement; the pope limited such meetings to the feast days, but he did not suppress either the name of vigils or the fasting which was prescribed.

Boniface made a decree which forbade all canvassing in the pontifical elections; the true pope was to be he who should be elected by the divine judgment and the consent of all.

By apostolical and royal edicts he pursued the enemies of grace; he received the four books dedicated to him by Saint Augustine, which the latter had sent by Alipius. Those books refuted the letters of the Pelagians.

This same pope firmly maintained the rights of the Holy See over Illyria, which the patriarch of Constantinople aimed at separating from the Roman jurisdiction. It was under this pope that Saint Jerome died, that brilliant light that so long and so brilliantly illuminated all Christendom.

In one ordination, in the month of December, Saint Boniface created thirty-six bishops, thirteen priests, and three deacons; he governed the Church three years, eight months, and seven days. He died A. D. 422, and was buried in the Cemetery of Saint Felicitas, on the Appian Way, and near the Cemetery of Calixtus.

The Holy See was vacant eight days.

44. ST. CELESTINE I. — A. D. 422.



CELESTINE I., a Roman, cardinal-deacon, created by Innocent I., was the son of Priscus, and a very near relation of the Emperor Valentinian. This pontiff was elected in the year 422.

In 431, the Holy Father caused to be celebrated at Ephesus, formerly a city, and at present a village of Turkey, in Asia, the third general council, with the presence of two hundred bishops, and of three of his legates. This council established against Nestorius, nephew of Paul of Samosata, at first a monk, then a priest at Antioch, and, at the time referred to, bishop of Constantinople, that there was in Jesus Christ but one person and two natures, and that the most holy Virgin was to be called *Mother of God*. Nestorius was of a contrary opinion, and obstinately defended his false and erroneous opinion: he maintained that there were two persons in Christ, one divine and the other human. He said that the most holy Virgin ought not to be called *Mother of God*, but only *Mother of Christ*, because, according to him, it was the *Man* and not the *God* to whom she gave birth. The definitive decree of the council having been sent to Rome, was received there on Christmas Day with so much joy and acclamation, that to the angelic salutation were added the words: *Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis; Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us.**

In the history of the Church from its establishment to the pontificate of Gregory XVI., by M. the Abbé Receveur (vol. iii., book 13, p. 36), there is the following passage:

“On the very day of the arrival of the legates of Pope Celestine, the council held its second session in the episcopal house. The letter of the pope was read, first in Latin, then in Greek; and after numerous acclamations of the bishops, in honor of Celestine and Cyril (patriarch of Alexandria), the legates, remarking that the papal letter prescribed the execution of the judgment already pronounced by the Holy See, called the acts of the preceding session, that it might be certain that the council had proceeded regularly, and to confirm its decisions by the authority of the Holy See, if those decisions should be found conformable to what Pope Celestine had himself already decided. Firmus, of Cesarea, and Theodotus, of Ancyra,

* In support of this fact, Novaes quotes Baronius; then he adds that Bona and Mabillon maintain that this addition of words must be considered more recent.



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replied, in the name of the council, that in all things they had followed and executed the judgment pronounced by the pope, as would be proved to the legates by the reading of the acts.

“On the following day, a third session was held, in which were publicly read the acts which had already been privately read by the legates, after which the Priest Philip, one of the legates, said: ‘All know that Saint Peter, chief of the Apostles, and founder of the Catholic Church, received from Jesus Christ the keys of the celestial kingdom, with power to bind and loose, and that he, by his successors, still exerts his power.’ Our holy pope, Bishop Celestine, who now holds Saint Peter’s place, having sent us to supply his place in the council, we, by his authority, confirm the sentence of deposition and excommunication passed against Nestorius.”

Celestine expelled from Italy the Pelagians, who continued the propagation of their errors. Celestius, their head, having retired to Great Britain, Celestine sent thither two missionaries who, in two years, brought him back to the orthodox faith.* The Novatians still kept many churches open in Rome. The pope, if we are to credit Cassiodorus on that point, confined their last bishop to a distant quarter, and forbade that heresiarch to re-assemble his partisans.

Learning that some bishops of France were afflicted by new progress of the sect called *semi-Pelagians*, who had recently passed from Africa to Marseilles to oppose the doctrine of Saint Augustine on predestination and grace, Celestine wrote to those French bishops a letter, replete with wisdom and prudence. Finally, he sent into Ireland, Palladius, the Greek, first bishop of that country, and Saint Patrick, now the beloved apostle of the Irish.

In three ordinations, Celestine created forty-six, or, as others say, sixty-two bishops, thirty-two priests, and twelve deacons. He governed the Church nearly ten years. He ordered that his synodal decrees, and those of his predecessors, should in no wise be revoked or subjected to any new examination, when once ordered and decided. He was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the *Via Salaria*, and subsequently his body was removed into the church of Saint Praxedes.

The Holy See was vacant nineteen days. Under this reign died Saint Augustine. That celebrated father confounded the dangerous heretics of the time, among others, Celestius and Pelagius; and he enlightened the Church by his admirable writings. The same father, seconded by Saint Romain, his disciple, silenced the semi-Pelagians, who attributed the commencement of justification and faith to free will alone.†

* *Beda*, chap. xvii,

† Bossuet, *Disc. sur l’Hist. Univ.*, p. 73.

Saint Augustine has left in his "Confessions"* great details of his own life. Of all his works, this throws the most interest on the Bishop of Hippo. Science, virtue, and the courage of the saints are objects of eternal veneration. The piety of Saint Augustine was characterized by that impassioned love of God which in all ages has invariably delighted and attracted the faithful. The accounts that he has given of the errors and faults of his turbulent youth, the progressive effects of religious sentiments in his soul, which still remained weak long after being convinced, render him far less a stranger to us than most of the other fathers of the Church. The confessions of Saint Augustine are a continual prayer; he unceasingly addresses himself to God with a sort of familiarity of adoration which is at once singular and affecting; he supplicates God to give him the enlightenment necessary to the discovery of the faults that he had committed at the various stages of his life, and he forcibly breathes out his sentiments of shame and repentance.† The most complete of his works is *The City of God*. When, in 410, Rome was taken by Alaric, and the loveliest part of the civilized world was a prey to the barbarians, clamors arose against Christianity. The rest of the pagans and philosophers remarked that from the establishment of religion the world had become more and more subjected to frightful calamities. Saint Augustine then undertook to show that idolatry, even if enlightened by the purest philosophy, must still be powerless to secure even temporal happiness to mankind. Then he explained what is the city of God, that is to say, the Church of God, which subsists in all His glory, and of which some fragments are scattered about our terrestrial city. It is the continual opposition of the love of the things of this world with the love of divine things; their combat commenced with the fall of the angels. Almost the whole doctrine of Saint Augustine is contained in this book, which is undoubtedly the noblest picture of the Christian religion, which there, as in all the writings of the saint, is represented with a penetrating sweetness. He seems always to invite men to temporal as well as to eternal happiness. He speaks from his own experience. Himself full of passion and of scruples, he had found calmness nowhere but in the secure asylum of religion.

Saint Augustine has been surnamed the *Doctor of Grace*, and the painters have given him a flaming heart for symbol. Among his numerous works, the single book, *On the Christian Doctrine*, contains, in the opinion of Bossuet, more aid to the understanding of the Holy Scriptures than can be found in all the other doctors. His sermons, too, and his letters, should be read. All travellers who have visited the temple of Saint Peter will remember and confirm that passage in Fea's description of Rome, which says: "At

* *Biog. Univ.*, iii., 54 art., by M. the Baron de Barante.

† *Biog. Univ.*, iii., 55.



St. Augustine.

the tribune, called *Della Cattedra*, in the midst there is a great altar above which is placed the monument of the chair, that is to say, a seat of wood adorned with ivory, with open-work in gold. It is the very seat which Saint Peter and his successors had used in great ceremonies. That chair is inclosed in another great seat in bronze, crowned by two angels bearing the tiara and the keys. This magnificent seat is supported by four doctors, namely, SAINT AUGUSTINE and Saint Ambrose, doctors of the Latin Church, and Saint Chrysostom and Saint Athanasius, doctors of the Greek Church."

Rome, where the intellectual, the learned, and the men of profound meditation succeed each other to infinity, needs no teachings as to propriety, and it often happens that she has already fulfilled signally and solemnly the duty with which she is reproached for forgetting.

45. ST. SIXTUS III.—A. D. 432.



It was to Sixtus that Saint Augustine wrote his celebrated letter concerning grace. Sixtus was then only a priest of the Roman church. His nomination to the pontificate was made by unanimous consent, and even in the presence of two oriental bishops. Fourteen years previous to his exaltation, when he as yet was only a catechist, with great eloquence he anathematised the Pelagian dogmas.

Having become pope, he still more strongly opposed their criminal attempts. After having confirmed the Council of Ephesus, which had been approved of by his predecessors, he applied himself to dispersing the faction of Nestorius, who still had for partisans some bishops of the East.

He zealously labored to re-establish peace between Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, and John, Bishop of Antioch. This letter at length confessed that Nestorius, whose abettor he had been, had been justly condemned by the council. From the peace thus made, two metropolitans were excluded, Elladius of Tarsus, and Eutherus of Thyanis, who, in their obstinacy, appealed to the Pontiff Sixtus. He did not show himself favorable to their appeal, solely because they persisted in their preference for the errors of Nestorius.

The Pagi, in the criticism of Baronius, an. 433, No. 10, and in the Life of Sixtus III., freely and skilfully treat the question of that appeal, and prove

that the Oriental bishops, when dissenting, always appealed to the sovereign pontiffs, and not to the general councils.

In the year 433, the pope ordained, as Bishop of Ravenna, Saint Peter Chrysologus. It is said that the pope was miraculously invited to that ordination by Saint Peter himself. Saint Sixtus, wishing to erect a trophy in honor of the most holy Virgin, for the victory gained over the heresy of Nestorius, augmented and renovated the Basilica of Saint Mary Major, which he enriched with precious gifts and considerable income.

He left other proofs of his magnificence to the Basilica of Saint John of Lateran.

In four ordinations, in December, he created fifty-two bishops, twenty-two or twenty-eight priests, and twelve deacons. He governed the Church about eight years, died on the 28th of March, 440, and was interred in the catacombs* of Saint Laurence, beyond the walls. The Holy See was vacant one month and eleven days.

46. ST. LEO I.—A. D. 440.



SAINT LEO, son of Quintian, is called the Great, on account of his rare and eminent knowledge. According to some authors, he was a Roman, but others make him a native of Tuscany. Leo had been created cardinal-deacon by Pope Saint Zozimus, and he was absent from Rome at the time of the death of Saint Sixtus III., having been sent to Gaul by the senate, to establish a good understanding between the Roman generals, Aetius and Albinus. Theodosius knew him from having previously seen him in Asia, presiding over the Council of Ephesus, and had conceived a high opinion both of his talents and his piety.

* For details about the *Catacombs* of Rome, read Bosio, who wrote in Italian (*folio*, Rome, 1632) a fine work, translated into Latin by Father Aringhi. Bosio gives a very exact description of all the ancient catacombs where a host of martyrs were buried during the persecutions. There many Christians found at once an asylum, death, and burial. Among others are the catacombs of the Vatican, and the catacombs on the following *viæ*, or roads—Aurelia, Cornelia, Portuensis, Ostiensis, Ardeatina, Appia, Latina, Labinica, Præstina, Tiburtina, Salaria, and Flaminia.

The etymology of the word *Catacombs* fully justifies the use to which it is applied. Before proving that, we must at the outset admit that formerly, the word was not *catacombs* but *cata-tombes*. In the acts of Saint Cornelius and in those of Saint Sebastian, the latter word alone is employed, and in Saint Gregory (Book iii., *ep.* 30) we first find the use of the word *catacombs*. Baronius justly thinks that this word is derived from the Greek.

He had no ambitious feeling when he was named pope, in spite of his absence. He immediately applied himself to condemn and put down the still existing heresies of the Manicheans, the Priscillianists, the Pelagians, and the Eutychians. Father Cacciari, in his edition of the works of Saint Leo, has collected all the documents which tend to prove the great services which this pope rendered to the Church during the dangers which continued to threaten her both in the East and in the West. Among the letters then published, must be mentioned the celebrated Letter 24 to Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople. Of that letter we shall have more to say, when we reach the pontificate of Saint Hilary, who strongly confirms that decision in praising the wisdom of his illustrious predecessor.

Saint Leo soon had occasion to show the activity of his courage. Saint Hilary, Bishop of Arles,* had deposed from the See of Besançon the Bishop Celidonius, accused of having married a widow, and having as a secular judge pronounced sentences of death. For those two causes he could not be bishop, as it was strictly forbidden to raise to the episcopate a bigamist or a criminal judge. From the bishop's sentence Celidonius appealed to Saint Leo, who, finding him falsely accused and completely innocent, re-established him in his See. Sangallo, in his *Gest de Pont*, vol. iv., treats of that matter, and condemns Febronius and other enemies of the Holy See of our own time in applying the doctrine of Saint Leo.

In 451, Saint Leo had the fourth general council celebrated at Chalcedon. There were present six hundred and thirty-six fathers, exclusive of four legates of the pope; the Emperor Marcian, the Empress Pulcheria and many senators were present. This council condemned Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, and Eutyches, archimandrite, or abbot-general of a celebrated monastery of Constantinople, who recognized but one nature in Jesus Christ.

In this council also was treated the case of Bassian and Stephen, the former of whom had been deposed from the See of Ephesus, and the latter put in his place. It was decided that a third bishop should be ordained, and that the two contestants should be supported at the expense of the Church treasury, receiving two hundred gold crowns per annum "for support and consolation," as the council expressed it.† That was the origin of ecclesiastical pensions, until then unknown. Among the innumerable decisions of Saint Leo must be distinguished that by which he ordered the removal from ecclesiastical office and sacerdotal title those who should marry widows.

He strictly forbade usury, whether among clergy or laity. In 459 he forbade public confession, as never having been commanded by the Church.

* Novaes, i., 167..

† Labbe, *Conc.*, vol. iv., col. 705.

He called that confession a "presumption against the apostolical rule," secret confession being sufficient.

In the Canon of the Mass he added the words, *Sanctum Sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*; but it is not certain that it was he who also ordered the saying of the words, *Ite missa est*, and *Benedicamus Domino*.

It is inferred from Letter 84* that Saint Leo was the first to accredit apostolic nuncios to princes. In fact, in a letter addressed to the Emperor Marcian, the pontiff begins by begging the emperor to treat the Bishop Julian kindly; and he adds, "I beg your affection for your venerator, my brother, the Bishop Julian, his deferences will represent to you my presence. I trust entirely to the sincerity of his faith; I have delegated to him my powers against the heretics of our time, and I have required that, on account of the care he is to have for the churches and for the peace, he should remain near your person. Deign to listen, as though my own voice spoke, to his observations for the unity of Catholic concord." Many similar recommendations still in our own day are in the letters of credit of an apostolic nuncio.

One of the finest incidents in the life of Saint Leo was the determined courage with which, near Mantua, he prevailed on Attila, king of the Huns, a Tartar people, who called himself the scourge of God, to withdraw his army from Italy.† It was to escape from that scourge that the populations of Padua, of Vicenza, and of Verona founded the city of Venice. God had reserved yet another triumph to Saint Leo. Genseric, king of the Vandals, advanced with his army towards Rome. Leo met the conqueror six miles from the city. He could not obtain from him that the city should be spared, but the king promised that no depredation or hostility should be committed against those who should seek shelter in the Basilicas of Saint John, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul. The remainder of the city was sacked for fourteen days. Among other rich spoils, the plunderers found there the vessels of gold and silver which Titus had brought from Jerusalem. Until then those vessels had been most carefully preserved, but it was forgotten to conceal them in one of the Basilicas spared by Genseric. Trithemius, in his *Ecclesiastical Writers*, calls Leo the Tully of ecclesiastical faculties, the Homer of sacred theology, the Aristotle of arguments for the faith, the Peter of apostolical authority, and the Paul of Christian charity. Quesnel, on his part, in a kind of dedication at the head of his edition of the whole works of this pope, calls Saint Leo *an apostolic man, luminary of the Church, pillar of the orthodox faith, interpreter of the voice of Peter, defender of the apostolical dogmas, a man who has equaled the apostles, and who is equal to the angels*. In truth, this great pontiff was not only an author profoundly versed

* Edition of 1675, p. 608.

† See note at end of this article.

in sacred knowledge, but also very skilful in the profane sciences, as his letters and sermons attest. They display a just and exact doctrine, a more than ordinary gravity and eloquence, accompanied by a style which sometimes perhaps is incorrect, but which nevertheless pleases and charms by the imagery which adorns it.

M. Receveur gives the following judgment:—"Although the writings of Saint Leo are not free from some faults partaking of the bad taste of his age, they are remarkable for elegance and nobleness of style, precision, and neatness of ideas, strength of reasoning, and the pathetic movements of a brilliant eloquence which seizes the mind and penetrates the heart."*

In four ordinations, in December, this pope created a hundred and eighty or a hundred and eighty-six bishops, eighty-one priests, twelve, or as some say, thirty-one, deacons. He governed the Church twenty-one years, one month, and four days, and died on the 11th of April, 461. He was the first pontiff buried in Saint Peter's.† His predecessors had been interred in the subterraneans, beside the holy apostle, or in the portico. His remains have four times been removed into four different parts of that Basilica. The first translation took place in the reign of Sergius I., in the year 688. That pontiff had been removed from the *atrium* of the old Basilica into the interior. Gregory XIII., about the year 1580 had them removed to the chapel which he raised in honor of this saint in the present Basilica. The third removal was ordered by Paul V. in 1607. On the 26th of March the body was found almost perfect, with the pontifical ensigns and the *pallium*. Paul ordered that the precious relic should be placed on the following day under the altar of the blessed Mary Della Colonna, where were already deposited the bodies of Saints Leo II., Leo III., and Leo IV. Finally, Clement XI., in 1715, leaving the three bodies just named under the altar, ordered the body of Saint Leo I. to be removed, on the eleventh of April, the feast day of the saint, and with solemn pomp conveyed to the altar named after the saint previously erected by Innocent II. There is placed the celebrated *bas-relief* by Alexander Algardi, which represents the saint meeting Attila. The sculptor has not forgotten the apparition of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which produces an admirable effect in that dramatic composition. Saint Leo shows to the Scythian king the two apostles, and threatens him with their anger. That *bas-relief*, placed between two pillars of oriental granite, shows with an imposing majesty. It is one of the finest works of modern sculpture. Benedict XIV., while only promoter of the faith, and canon of Saint Peter, took part in this last translation, and he describes it in his work, on the canonisation of the Saints; part ii., cap. 23, No. 7, *et seq.* So many authors speak of Saint Leo, that it is

* III., 171.

† Læzio Cherubini, *Bull Rom* vol. i., p. 1.

almost impossible to cite them. But we must mention that the edition of Saint Leo's works given by Quesnel is accused of falsifications, and that full confidence may be given to the editions by Cacciari, of the order of Carmelites, (Rome, 1751; folio), and by the brothers Peter and Jerome Ballerini, learned priests of Verona, (Venice, 1755). The Jesuit library at Rome contains a manuscript entitled *S. Leonis I. vitæ compendium*.

NOTE.—Nicholas Olaüs, archbishop of Strigonia, and Callimachus Philip Esperiente wrote Lives of Attila, which Sambucco inserted in his history of Hungary. Another *Life of Attila* by Juvenus Celi Calanus of Dalmatia, under the title of Attila, king of the Huns, was printed in 1502, at the end of Plutarch's Lives. Baronius relates, on the authority of a writer of the eighth century, that Attila saw beside Pope Leo while he was speaking, two real persons, whom he believed to be Saint Peter and Saint Paul. It is very clear that the sudden retirement of that barbarian, at the bidding of a priest, is a greater marvel than any apparition.

47. ST. HILARY.—A. D. 461.



HILARY of Cagliari, in Sardinia, son of Crispin, a cardinal-deacon, created by Saint Zozimus, and Leo's legate to the council of Chalcedon, was elected pontiff on the 12th, and consecrated on the 17th of November, A. D. 461.

In the year 463, he ordered Victor of Aquitaine, a celebrated mathematician of that time, to compose a paschal canon, so as, if possible, positively to settle the difference of opinion between the East and the West as to the celebration of Easter.

In the Roman council, holden on the anniversary of his consecration, the 17th day of November, 465, among other decrees of ecclesiastical discipline he gave one which specified that no cleric should be ordained who had not cultivated rhetoric; that no bishop should be consecrated without the consent of his metropolitan; and, finally, that no bishop elect should thereupon choose his successor, as had been the practice of some bishops. The first Council of Nice had already decreed this last prohibition. This pope confirmed the general councils of Nice, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon,* and the celebrated letter of Saint Leo to Saint Flavian, called by Saint Gregory a volume and a definition; that letter, in which the whole

* Novaes i., p. 174.

controversy on the mystery of the Incarnation is examined and defined. The errors of Nestorius and Eutychius are condemned, and the Catholic doctrine lucidly displayed.

He ordered that the bishops should hold councils yearly ; the Council of Nice had proposed that it should be so every other year. He excommunicated anew Nestorius, Eutychius, and their abettors. He also ordered the establishment of libraries in the Basilica of the Lateran.

Saint Hilary so courageously resisted the Emperor Athemius, who had brought Macedonian heretics to Rome, that the emperor, overcome by the Holy Father, promised that he would no longer protect them.

Bury, in his *Notitia*, p. 70, says of Pope Saint Hilary : “ *Hilarius, opum neglectu et consiliorum magnitudine, inter sublimes pontifices effulsit* ; Hilary, by his contempt of riches and the greatness of his enterprises, shines among the most sublime pontiffs.

In one December ordination, he created twenty-two bishops, twenty-five priests, and six deacons ; or, as others say, eighty-six bishops, fifty-eight priests, and eleven deacons, in three ordinations. He governed the Church nearly six years, and died on the 10th of September, A. D. 467.

Saint Hilary displayed great magnificence in the churches. He was interred near Sixtus III., in the Catacombs of Saint Laurence, beyond the walls. The Holy See remained vacant nine days.

Under the reign of Hilary, died Saint Simon Stylites. Fleury says : “ Simon felt annoyed by the innumerable crowds that pressed around him to touch the skins in which he was clad, and thus obtain a benediction from them. He disliked both the excessive honors themselves and the continual pressure of the crowds ; and it was thence that he was induced to isolate himself permanently upon a pillar, which he caused to be erected, first six feet in height, then twelve, and finally thirty-six. Many censured so extraordinary a way of living, and some have ridiculed it ; but Theodoret believed that it was the effect of a special providence of God, that such a spectacle might strike mankind ; and the miracles worked by Simon, both before and after, furnish great reason for this belief.”

48. ST. SIMPLICIUS—A. D. 467,



OF Tivoli, a town in the Papal States, near Rome, was son of Castinus. He was created pontiff on the 20th of September, 467. With the same hereditary constancy which had been displayed by his predecessors Leo and Hilary, he resisted all the importunities of the Emperor Leo. That prince, urged by Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, solicited the Holy Father to approve the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, in which it was attempted to grant the first See to Constantinople, after that of Rome; which canon had been annulled by Leo. He also refused to restore Peter Mongus to the See of Alexandria, and that of Peter the Tanner to the See of Antioch. He ordered that the alms of the faithful should be divided into four parts: the first for the bishops, the second for the clergy, and the two other parts for the maintenance of the Church, for pilgrims, and for the resident poor; which subsequently was in more positive manner confirmed by Saint Gelasius I., Saint Gregory the Great, other pontiffs, and various councils.

It was an established rule, from the time of Saint Peter, that the pontiffs should always confer orders in the month of December; Simplicius was the first to confer them in the month of February; and so, after him, until the ninth century, all the popes conferred orders either in the month of December, or in the first week of Lent, or after the fourth Sunday in Lent, with the exception of Leo II., who administered that sacrament in the months of May and June, and Saint Gregory the Great once in September. No pope, however, conferred orders on the Saturday before Easter.*

In 482, the Holy Father named the Bishop of Seville as first bishop in Spain. It was a prerogative purely personal, which consisted in a power granted by the pope confiding to that bishop the care of seeing to the observance of the canons. That primacy of the Church of Seville continued till the celebration of the Council of Toledo, which took place in 681. In that space of time, from 482 to 681, the bishop of Seville was not alone in the enjoyment of that pre-eminence of vicar or legate of the pope; for Pope Hormisdas, in 517, gave nearly like power to John, bishop of Tarragona.

In three ordinations, in the month of December, and in the month of

* See Mabillon, *In ord. Rom.*, cap. xvi., p. 103; cap. xix., p. 126; and Novaes, i., p. 78.

February, Simplicius created thirty-six bishops, fifty-eight priests, and eleven deacons. He governed the Church more than fifteen years, and died on the 1st of March, 483, after having seen the extinction, in 476, of the Roman empire of the West, in the person of Augustulus, subjected by Odoacer, king of the Heruli. About that time, Zeno reigned in the East, and followed the errors of Eutychius. In the West, in Italy, reigned Odoacer, an Arian; in Gaul, the Burgundians, also Arians; further, the Goths were Arians; the Franks pagans. In Spain, the Goths and the Suevi favored the doctrine of Arius; in Great Britain, the Saxons remained pagan, and in Africa the Vandals showed themselves obstinate Arians. What was the situation of the Christian republic at that time will readily be imagined, and also what courage and what talents were required in its chief to enable him to defend and propagate the dogmas and his authority.

Saint Simplicius was interred in the Vatican Basilica. The Holy See remained vacant seven days.

49. ST. FELIX III.—A. D. 483.



SAINT Felix III., Roman, son of Felix, cardinal-priest of the church of Saints Nereus and Achilles, belonged to the Anicia family, the wealthiest, noblest, and most powerful in Rome. Felix was created pope on the 8th March, 483. It was evident in the very beginning of his reign that he would not degenerate from his predecessors, and would neither admit nor tolerate, in matters of faith, any equivocation or ambiguity of phrase. He declared that he would prefer the safety of dogma to all human respect, to all earthly prudence, and that he would always maintain open war with the contumacious, rather than an insidious and suspicious peace. He condemned, the following year, and repulsed from the episcopate and the Catholic communion, Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, author of the first schism between the Greek and the Latin Church, which lasted thirty-five years, down to Pope Hormisdas, who was created in 514. Acacius was also an indefatigable abettor of Peter Mongus, bishop of Alexandria, and of Peter the Tanner, or Gnaffeo, pseudo bishop of Antioch, both condemned as Eutychian heretics. The same penalty was fulminated by the pope against Vital, bishop of Yrento,* a city

* Novaes, i., p. 182.

of Picenum, now reduced to a small number of houses ; and against Misenus, bishop of Cumea, because, having been sent as legates to Constantinople about the affairs of the East, they had allowed themselves to be intimidated by the threats of Zeno and Acacius, and had betrayed the divine ministry with which they were intrusted.

Felix improved the *Henotic*, that is to say, the *Edict of Pacification*, the apparent object of which was to establish unity, but which really concealed a snare set by the ministers of the Emperor Zeno. The Catholics and the Eutychians were to be reconciled. Acacius, by the vilest flatteries, endeavored to persuade the emperor that he could decide questions of the faith. To that end the prince issued this edict, called *Unitive*, or *Uniting*. The intention seemed upright, and the decree seemed to contain nothing but what was openly Catholic. But Felix was endowed with a rare perception ; he noticed that in the *Henotic* there were omissions which might, to less attentive minds, appear to be innocent. But the sagacity of the pontiff at once perceived that they were suspicious, if not actually malicious, tending only to bring about an apparent political accommodation, while really confounding together the faithful with the false believers.

It must not be omitted to state how Acacius learned that he was excommunicated by Felix. It was necessary that the anathema should be published in Constantinople itself, amidst the glory and power of Acacius. One Sunday, as he was solemnly proceeding to church, some monks from Rome fastened to his robe the excommunication sent by Felix. The courageous monks paid for their boldness with their lives ; they were put to death on the spot.

Felix did not confine himself to bestowing tender and benevolent care upon the interests of the Church of Constantinople ; he did not lose sight of the African Church. He wrote to the emperor to interpose with Hunneric, king of the Vandals, to engage him to exercise no cruelties on the African bishops. He was the first pontiff who gave the emperor the name of *Son*. One of his letters to Zeno commences thus : *Gloriosissimo et serenissimo FILIO Zenoni Augusto, Felix, Episcopus in Domino, salutem.** This example was followed by Pope Anastatius II., when writing to the Emperor Anastasius. In two ordinations the Holy Father created thirty-one bishops, twenty-eight priests, and five deacons. He governed the Church eight years, eleven months, and seventeen days. The Holy See was vacant four days.

* Novaes, i., p. 183. The words *apostolicam benedictionem* do not occur until the time of John V.

50. ST. GELASIUS I.—A. D. 492.



ELASIUS, Roman, as he himself affirmed, and not African, was the son of Valerius, and was created pope on the 2d of March, 492. According to some writers he instituted the regular canons of Lateran.

Gelasius declared, in a council of sixty bishops held at Rome in 494, what were the sacred books in both the Old Testament and the New; what books were received by the Church; and, finally, what were the apocryphal books.

He commanded, in the same council, that the four general councils, that of Nice, that of Constantinople, that of Ephesus, and that of Chalcedon, should be respected.

He suppressed the Lupercal feasts, and caused them to disappear from Rome; those feasts in which naked men ran about the city, striking with goat-skin scourges all barren women. The Holy Father refuted, in a treatise, the senator Andromachus, who complained of the abolition of the Lupercalia.

Instead of the famous Lupercalia, Gelasius instituted the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin. Martinus maintains that it was long before celebrated in the East; however, we know that the pontiff Sergius, in the seventh century, added to it the procession with lighted tapers. Saint Gelasius refused to grant the communion and the *pacific* letters to Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople, until he had erased the name of Acacius from the sacred dyptics. The same pope also combated the remains of the Pelagian heresy which endeavored to steal into Dalmatia and Picenum, imitating herein his predecessors, Saint Innocent I., Saint Zozimus, Saint Boniface I., Saint Celestine I., Saint Sixtus III., and Saint Leo the Great, who never allowed any advance to the followers of that heresy. The more certainly to recognize Manichæans remaining in Rome, who abhorred wine, which they called *the gall of the prince of darkness and of the devil*, Gelasius ordered that the faithful should communicate in both kinds; and this continued up to the twelfth century. It was entirely and formally abolished in 1416, by the Council of Constance. However, according to the Council of Trent, this prerogative was granted to the kings of France on the day of their coronation, to the deacons and subdeacons of Saint Denis, near Paris,* for Sun-

* Novæus, i., p. 188.

days and solemn days, and, finally, to the ministers of the altars of the monastery of Cluny in France, for feast-days.*

Saint Gelasius published a code or missal for the right ordering of the Masses.

Gelasius was the first to allow the conferring of orders in all the ember days of the year.

In two ordinations, he created seventy-seven bishops, thirty-two priests, and twelve deacons; he governed the Church four years, eight months, and nineteen days. He died on the 21st of November, and was interred at the Vatican, the same year in which Clovis in France embraced the Catholic religion. This pope took part in that immense success of Catholicity. The Holy See was vacant six days. Gelasius was a model of purity, of zeal, and of simplicity in his conduct. His morals corresponded with his conduct.

It will have been noticed in the Life of Saint Hilary (see *supra*), that Saint Hilary confirmed the general councils of Nice, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and that in that confirmation nothing is said about that of Constantinople. Plantius, Fleury, and Novaes state the fact, without commenting on it. It is clear that Gelasius was more explicit. No doubt the three writers just named have all been imperfectly informed by the authorities on which they have relied.

51. ST. ANASTASIUS II.—A. D. 496.



NASTASIUS II. was a Roman, and born in the *Nicolo Capotoro*, on the Esquiline. He was created pontiff on the 28th November, 496. Being consulted as to the baptisms given during the life of Acacius, the pope replied that the baptism and the orders conferred by an excommunicated and suspended bishop were valid nevertheless.

He congratulated Clovis, king of France, on being baptized, and on having set that heroic example in presence of a great number of Frank warriors, at the solicitation of his wife, Clotilda.

* Mabillon, *In Ord. Rom.*, cap. 9 and 19.

The author of the *Liber Pontificalis* relates that many priests and clerics withdrew from the communion of Anastasius II., on account of his close relations with Photinus, deacon of Thessalonica, who had adhered to the party of Acacius, and because in this reign it had been thought proper to recall that same Acacius. Here, however, we must note an important truth upon that subject. The Holy Father could scarcely have conceived the idea of restoring the See of which that heretic had been deprived, inasmuch as that heretic died in 488, and under the reign of the predecessor of Anastasius, Felix III. The falsehood of the report surely requires no further comment. It has also been said that Acacius could not be reinstated by Pope Anastasius, because, before that pontiff could succeed in his design, he was killed by lightning. This was a mere calumny circulated by the partisans of the antipope Laurentius. The Anastasius who was struck dead in a thunder-storm was the *Emperor* Anastasius, and not the pope of the same name, as Baronius affirms in *An.* 497. In an ordination, in the month of December, the Holy Father created sixteen bishops and twelve priests. He governed the Church two years, all but six days. He died on the 16th November, 498, and was buried in the porch of Saint Peter's. The Holy See remained vacant six days.

52. ST. SYMMACHUS.—A. D. 498.



SAINT Symmachus, son of Fortunatus, was born in the village of Simagia, in the diocese of Cristagno, in Sardinia, and created cardinal-deacon by Saint Felix III. He was elected pontiff on the 22d of November, 498. On the same day, Festus, a Roman senator, corrupted by money, caused the election of the antipope Laurentius, archdeacon of Saint Praxedes. The intruder promised Festus that he would support the *Henotic* of the Emperor Zeno. This double election gave rise to violent quarrels; assaults and murders were deplorably numerous; blood flowed, the clergy and senate of Rome took part with one or other of the rivals, and at length the question was referred to the arbitration of Theodoric, king of Italy, who resided at Ravenna. He, although an Arian, decided in favor of Symmachus, on the double ground that he was first elected, and chosen by the greatest number. Symmachus, having

obtained quiet possession of his authority, endeavored to render his reign illustrious by the holy laws which he promulgated in six councils, all assembled at Rome.

He ordered that on every Sunday and holy day the *Gloria in Excelsis* should be said in the Mass, which Saint Telesphorus, the eighth pope, had only ordered to be done on Christmas Day. Perhaps under the latter pope only the *angelic words* were said; and then Symmachus may have ordered the rest of the hymn to be chanted. He was not the author of it, as some writers have pretended, for, before him, Saint Athanasius had made mention of it, in prescribing that prayer to a virgin. The decree of Symmachus extended to all priests; Saint Gregory the Great limited it to the bishops alone, permitting the priests to say it only at Easter. Symmachus forbade laymen, even kings, to take any part in the election of pontiffs.

The Emperor Anastasius continued to favor the Arians. Symmachus debarred them from the Communion, and redoubled his efforts for the expulsion of some Manichæans, who, in secret, still practised their false doctrines. The alms of the Catholics being at this time very abundant, Symmachus showed himself a vigilant administrator, and distributed his aid to the Basilicas and the Churches. It is known that he thus dispensed fourteen hundred and sixty-nine pounds of silver, besides precious stones, gold, and rare marbles.

In the year 500 the schism of Laurentius acquired new strength. The true pope assembled a council to consult means for restoring peace to the Church. In that assembly it was thought fitting, in order to satisfy the antipope, to name him bishop of Nocera, on condition that he would submit to his legitimate chief. After some hypocrisy, Laurentius again revolted, and endeavored to usurp the pontifical authority, in spite of the decree of the synod, and the repeated orders of Theodoric, who showed himself favorable to Symmachus. The schismatics ere long resorted to means unworthy any virtuous man. They accused Symmachus of the gravest crimes. They suborned false witnesses; Festus and another evil man supported those accusations. Theodoric, astonished at seeing so much perfidy employed for the purpose of ruining a man of austere morality and eminent virtue, sent to Rome Peter, bishop of Altino, in the Venetian state, to deal with such great scandals. Peter joined with the schismatics, troubling more than ever the affairs of the Church, and endeavoring to prejudice the king against Symmachus. Then, with the consent of this pope, a council was convoked. It was attended by one hundred and twenty-five bishops. There the innocence of the pontiff was loudly recognized. He had voluntarily promised to submit to the judgment of that council, though the fathers had declared that the bishop of the Holy See should not be subject to examina-

tion before inferior bishops.* Subsequently, the antipope Laurentius was exiled as a calumniator and heretic.

The decree of the council having become known in Gaul, the bishops of France deputed Saint Avitus, bishop of Vienne, to write to Rome, in the name of all of them, to complain of the bishops having presumed to sit in judgment on the pope. "It is hard to understand," wrote Avitus, "how a superior, and, above all, the head of the Church, can be judged by his inferiors." Nevertheless, he praised the fathers for having borne testimony to the innocence of the pope. Saint Avitus was right; as the fathers had pronounced judgment and declared him innocent, it might happen that they should believe themselves authorized to pronounce a condemnation.

Towards the end of the reign of Symmachus his authority ceased to be attacked. Even in the East, the Emperor Anastasius, by the reception which he gave to Saint Sebasius, exarch or superior-general of all the monasteries of anchorites near Jerusalem, showed a desire to protect the Catholics; but some courtiers endeavored to elude the benevolent orders of the emperor, and Saint Sebasius, the light of Palestine, was pursued and violently threatened. Other griefs afflicted the Church of the East, and in a long letter she implored the aid of Pope Symmachus. Some bishops had been repulsed from the Roman communion. Here Fleury gives us some important details: "The Orientals asked to be re-established in communion with the pope, without being punished for the fault of Acacius, because they had no part in it, and had received the letter of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. 'Do not reject us,' say they, 'on account of our communicating with your adversaries; for those of us who do so, do it not in mere attachment to their life, but from fear of leaving their flocks a prey to the heretics; and all, both those who apparently communicate with them, and those who abstain from doing so, hope, under God, for your succor, and that you will restore to the East that light which you originally received from it. The evil is so great that we cannot even go in search of the remedy; it is necessary that you come to us.'

"Finally, to show that they are Catholics, they end by giving an exposition of their doctrine, in which they plainly condemn Nestorius and Eutychius, and recognize in Jesus Christ two natures, the divine nature and the human nature in one person."

We have a letter from Pope Symmachus† to the Eastern Catholics, which seems to be in reply to the above, although the latter is not actually mentioned. The pope consoles them, and exhorts them to remain firm in what has once been decided against Eutychius, and to suffer, if need be, exile and all sorts of persecutions.

* Novaes, i., p. 196.

† Fleury, vii., p. 159.

In four ordinations, in the months of December and February, this pope created one hundred and seventeen bishops, ninety-two priests, and sixteen deacons. He governed the Church fifteen years and nearly eight months. His charity was equal to the firmness of his soul. He one day redeemed all the slaves that were in Liguria, Milan, and in other provinces. He magnificently assisted the African bishops who were sent into Sardinia by Trasamond, king of the Vandals, and who were in that island in great numbers. By most touching letters, he consoled them in their affliction. We shall hereafter see this beautiful example followed by Pius VI., that noble and charitable benefactor of the French clergy.

Symmachus died on the 19th July, 514, and was interred in the porch of Saint Peter's.

The Holy See remained vacant six days.

53. ST. HORMISDAS.—A. D. 514.



HIS Saint, who is also named Celius, was born at Frosinone, a town of Latium, and not at Capua, as stated by Muratori. He was raised to the pontificate on the 26th of July, 514, as Saint Cesarius, of Arles, had foretold to him that he would be.

This pope named as his primate or vicar, in Spain, the bishop of Tarragona, and confirmed the bishop of Seville, whom Pope Simplicius had named primate in Andalusia and in Portugal, giving to him the same solely personal prerogative, which consisted in the faculty of exercising the functions of the pope, but without encroaching upon the privileges of the metropolitans for the observance of the canons, the preservation of the integrity of the Catholic faith, the settlement of causes and differences, and the preservation of harmony among priests. As regarded most difficult and important affairs, they were to be referred to Rome.

By a Decretal letter, directed to all the bishops of Spain, Hormisdas commanded that priests should be ordained conformably to the canons, not *per saltum*, but with the prescribed intervals. Public penitents could not be ordained; long and careful inquiry should be made as to the probity and the knowledge of those seeking holy orders. A bishopric was not to be obtained by gift or sought by flattery. Finally, the provincial synods were



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to be held twice in every year, or, at the least once, as being a very efficacious means of preserving discipline.

Hormisdas desired to send his legates to the Emperor Justin, to demand the union of the Greek and Latin churches, which had been divided for thirty-five years by the schism of Acacius. The Holy Father was sanguine of effecting this union; but as he joined to his many religious virtues a rare and profound political foresight, he feared that the departure of the legation might offend Theodoric, king of the Goths. The latter, after having completed the conquest of almost all Italy, had fixed his royal residence at Ravenna. Hormisdas repaired thither in 518, and obtained the consent of the king, who, although an Arian, showed himself kind towards the Catholic faith.

It is known that this pope received ambassadors from Clovis, king of the Franks, who recognized him as the true Vicar of Jesus Christ. The king sent to the pope a crown of gold, and promised him that he, the king, would preserve pure and unspotted the Catholic faith, which he had received under the reign of Saint Anastasius II. Saint Hormisdas reprobated, as being liable to erroneous and mischievous interpretation by heretics, the proposition of some monks of European Scythia: *Unus de Trinitate passus est in carne*. That controversy lasted twenty-five years, and was carried on with great vigor.

It was under this pontiff, about the year 520, that the order of Benedictines was instituted by Saint Benedict. A great number of monks joined with him, and they established various monasteries. The holy patriarch retired to Monte Cassino, where he formed his rule which served as the model of the monastic orders of the West. France received the rule from the hands of Saint Maur, a disciple of the founder. Pope John XXII., created in 1316, after having ordered exact researches in the pontifical registers, containing the number of canonized saints, ascertained that the Order of Benedictines had produced twenty-five holy pontiffs, nearly forty thousand saints and beatified, five thousand five hundred of whom were from Monte Cassino; nearly two hundred cardinals, seven thousand archbishops, five thousand bishops, fifteen thousand abbots, whose confirmation depended on the Holy See; and more than two hundred and twenty-four sons of kings and emperors.

We will remark on this subject that opinions differ as to the number of Benedictine pontiffs. Pope Gregory XV., in his Constitution vi., No. 1, declares that, during a long succession of ages, the Church received her pontiffs from the Benedictine family. Mabillon says that in the eleventh century there were so many Benedictine popes that it seemed that the pontifical authority had become hereditary in that order. Spondanus, in the Annals of the Church, year 1334, gives different figures; but not

as relates to the twenty-five holy pontiffs, about whom there is no dispute.

Hormisdas was a model of modesty, of patience, and of charity ; he watched over all the churches with an unwearying attention ; he recommended to the clergy the virtues befitting their state, and gave them instructions in psalmody. The Collection of the Councils contains eighty-one letters of this pope. In one of those letters, written to Sallust of Seville, his vicar in Spain, we perceive how potent was the authority which the popes exerted over the Church long prior to the pretended Isidore Mercator.* In various ordinations, Hormisdas created fifty-five bishops, twenty-one priests, and ten deacons. He governed the Church nine years and eleven days. He died on the 6th of August, 533, four years after he had put an end to the schisms between the Greek and Latin churches, which had been separated during thirty-five years, on account of the former having kept on its books the name of Acacius, condemned by Felix III. Hormisdas had the happiness to see the Burgundians renounce Arianism ; the Ethiopians paganism ; and the Omerites the Jewish superstition. Saint Hormisdas, in ornamenting the churches of Rome, employed five hundred and seventy-one pounds of silver, furnished by the charity of the faithful.

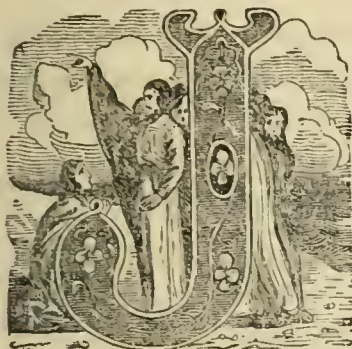
He was interred in the Basilica of Saint Peter. The Holy See remained vacant six days.

Under this pope flourished Saint Fulgentius. He wrote courageously to Trasamond, king of the Vandals, who consulted him upon some points of religion. "It is rare," wrote he, "to see a barbarian king, so constantly occupied with the care of his kingdom, inspired with so ardent a desire to obtain wisdom. In general, it is only men of leisure and Romans who so strongly apply themselves to wisdom." Neither the Vandals nor any of the other conquerors, considered the name of barbarian an affront, but called themselves barbarians in contradistinction from the Romans.

It may be added that there were two kinds of Romans,—the Romans of Rome, and the inhabitants of Constantinople, who also called themselves Romans.

* Feller iii., p. 531.

54. ST. JOHN I. — A. D. 523.



JOHN I., son of Constantius, of Sienna, in Tuscany, was cardinal-priest of Saints John and Paul, in *Pammachio*, and was created pontiff on the 13th of August, 523. Some time after his election he was called to Ravenna, by King Theodoric. That Arian prince determined that John should go to Constantinople to demand three things from the Emperor Justin :

1. That the Arians, previously compelled by Cæsar to receive the Catholic religion, should be permitted to return to their sect ; 2. that the churches taken from the Arians in the East should be restored to them ; and, 3, that for the future no one should be ordered to abjure the sect of the Arians. On the first demand, the pope was pretty fully resolved to say nothing to the emperor ; it is said that as to the two others, he obtained some mitigation. The pope knew, moreover, that, in a spirit of vengeance, the king would inflict torments upon the Catholics, whom he had it in his power to persecute in Rome and Italy.

On reaching Corinth, Pope John was received as in triumph. At Constantinople he was received with still more magnificence. The whole population met him, carrying lighted tapers in their hands. The emperor promptly appeared and knelt, thus rendering to him the homage which he would have rendered to Saint Peter. On the 30th of March, 535, the Mass was celebrated in the cathedral, in the Latin language, and with the Roman ritual. John crowned Justin, and was the first pontiff who had decorated an emperor with the imperial insignia ; for the other emperors had only been crowned by the bishops after verbally and in writing professing the Catholic faith. Justin, in his turn, clothed the pope in the *Augustal vestments* (*vesti Augustali*), at the same time granting the use of them to him and his successors.

Justin gave the pope a *paten* of gold, weighing twenty pounds, and enriched with jewels, five vessels of silver, and fifteen palls of gold tissue.

John immediately sent those presents to the churches of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint Mary, and Saint Laurence. That noble example has invariably been followed by the popes who have succeeded John. They have always transferred to the churches or the public establishments the gifts sent to them by princes. “But,” says Cæsarotti, “John, who found homage in the East, was to find a prison in the West.” Scarcely had he returned to

Ravenna, where it was soon known that he had not wished for the entire success of his difficult mission, than he was thrown into prison, and Theodoric gave orders that he should be rigorously treated. This conduct has drawn down warm censure on the prince who till then had shown himself great, generous, and clement.

John was weakened by his long journey, and he sank beneath his fatigues on the 27th of May, A. D. 526. Four years afterwards his body was transferred to Rome, and interred in the Basilica of Saint Peter.

The Holy See remained vacant one month and twenty-seven days.

55. FELIX IV.—A. D. 526.



FELIX IV. belonged to the Fimbri family, of Benevento, and was cardinal-priest of Saints Sylvester and Martin *ai Monti*. He was elected pope on the 24th of July, 526. The secret reasons which had led Theodoric to imprison Saint John I. began to be known. That prince was bent upon exercising great power over the election of the popes. It was Theodoric who indicated the choice that ought to be made on this occasion. The Roman clergy wisely respected the will of the Gothic king, whose will in truth they had no power to resist with success. In this will the clergy avoided a schism which might have led to fatal consequences. It was not, however, entirely without opposition that the clergy submitted to the will of the king. Calm spirits represented that Felix was distinguished alike for science and for piety. The Roman senate had also shown some resistance, not to the elected, but to the manner of the election, which had been conducted contrary to ecclesiastical law. That question was not well settled, till it was agreed that the clergy by their vote, and the Roman people by its consent, should, according to ancient custom, elect the Roman pontiff. That mode of election necessarily continued in force as long as Gothic kings remained in Italy. In default of those kings, the emperors of the East usurped that privilege.* “From that Imperial usurpation,” says Baronius,† “it followed that the clergy studied to choose pontiffs who would be agreeable to the emperors; as were Vigilius, in 538; Gregory the Great, in 590; Sabinian, in 604; Boniface III., in 607; and Pascal I., in 817.” Previous to becoming pontiffs they had

* Novæ *Dissertationi*, i., p. 12.

† *Ann. Eccles.*, an., 607, No. 1.

resided at the imperial court as political agents. Muratori adds, that from that circumstance the electing clergy could not doubt that residence at Constantinople necessarily gave the *apocrisarii*, or political agents, a profound knowledge of public business.

Saint Felix IV. dedicated to Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian the temple which had been built in honor of Remus and Romulus in the Roman forum. He decreed that laymen should not be ordained priests excepting upon authentic certificates of good life and irreproachable morals. In two ordinations, in February and March, the Holy Father created twenty-nine bishops, fifty-five priests, and four deacons.

He governed the Church four years, two months, and eighteen days. Felix was beloved for his simplicity, his spirit of benevolence, and his unalterable charity to the poor. He died on the 12th of October, 530, and was interred in the Basilica of Saint Peter. The Holy See remained vacant three days. We may mention, in proof of this pontiff's humility, that the error of the semi-Pelagians having taken root in Gaul, Saint Cesarius, bishop of Arles, applied to Felix for advice and directions. Felix could think of nothing more appropriate to the occasion, or better calculated to preserve the faithful from seduction, than the extracts from the works of Saint Augustine, of the most luminous passages on Grace and Free Will, which he transmitted to Cesarius, as containing precise and unequivocal the traditional doctrine of the Church.

56. BONIFACE II. — A. D. 530.



BONIFACE II., Roman born, but son of Sigibald, a Goth, was cardinal-priest of Saint Cecilia, and was created pontiff on the 16th of October, 530.

On the day of his election, a fraction of malcontents named, as pope, Dioscorus, a former legate from Hormisdas to the Orientals; but that false pope died seventeen days after that intrusion, and even after his death he was excommunicated, because he had been guilty of the crime of simony.*

Boniface, being thus left in peaceable possession of the Holy See, in order to provide a remedy against the intrigues and especially against the preten-

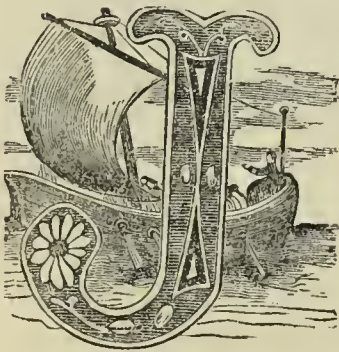
* Novæus i., p. 211.

tions of the Gothic kings, assembled a council in 531, and named Vigilius as his successor. Boniface, repenting of having violated the holy laws* and the canons, principally those of Nice, and of having offended the liberty of the holy *comitia*, called the council together again, and annulled the decree that he had issued as to the election of his successor. By the approbation which he bestowed upon the acts of the second Council of Orange, celebrated by Saint Cesarius, the illustrious bishop of Arles, the pope might fairly claim that he helped to extinguish that heresy of the semi-Pelagians, which during so many years had afflicted France. On that occasion, he gave to Saint Augustine the same praises which had already been given to him by Saint Felix IV.

Boniface II. governed the Church a little more than two years. He died on the 16th of October, 532, and was interred in the Basilica of Saint Peter.

The Holy See remained vacant two months and fifteen days.

57. ST. JOHN II.—A. D. 532.



JOHN II., surnamed Mercury, on account of his eloquence, was a Roman, the son of Projectus, and is reckoned among the pontiffs of the Conti family. Made cardinal-priest by Saint Clement, he was created pontiff in the church of Saint Peter *in vincula*, on the 31st of December, 532. Simony ravaged nearly all the diaconates; unfaithful agents pledged even the sacred vessels in support of their candidates for the benefices. Simony did not respect even the election of the bishops and that of the pontiffs. John II. obtained from Athalaric that simonists should be severely punished by the civil law, as the ecclesiastical law could not sufficiently reach that fatal crime.

An edict of the king interposed in this important matter, and the prince even had that law, graven in marble, placed in the porch of Saint Peter's.† By the same constitution, Athalaric established the amount of the sum which the pope and the bishops were to pay for confirmation in their benefices. The product of that tax was devoted to the relief of the poor. Thus, a sovereign pontiff was to pay three thousand pieces of gold; the metropolitans two thousand, and the bishops five hundred, for their consecration. It was a tyrannical edict.

* Novaes, i., p. 211.

† Baronius, *an.* 533, No. 39.

The Holy Father approved, as Catholic, the proposition of the Scythian monks, when thus amended—*Unus de Trinitate passus est, IN CARNE*—*One person of the Trinity suffered IN THE FLESH*. The monks had ardently defended that proposition, which Pope Hormisdas had treated as a novelty, and had suspected of being intended to lend aid to some fallacious pretension of the Eutychians. Hormisdas had not pronounced that proposition positively heretical in itself. John signified to the monks that if they did not cease to condemn that proposition as heretical, the authority of the Holy See would separate them from the Church.

The apparent opposition of views between Hormisdas and John will, perhaps, surprise some readers; but the following statement will speedily satisfy them. The contradiction is only apparent: Hormisdas questioned; John decided. The first considered the proposition with relation to prudence; the second analyzed it with reference to the dogma. It displeased the first, because he suspected it to be a device of the Eutychians; but he did not condemn it as absolutely heretical in itself.

In an ordination, in December, the Holy Father created twenty-one bishops and fifteen priests. He governed the Church two years, four months and twenty-six days. He died the 27th of May, 535, and was interred in the Basilica of Saint Peter.

The Holy See remained vacant six days.

58. ST. AGAPETUS I.—A. D. 535.



SAINT Agapetus I., Roman, archdeacon of the Holy Roman Church, the son of Gerdian, was created pontiff on the 3d of June, 535. The Emperor Justinian immediately sent his profession of faith to the pontiff. It was all that could be desired; and Agapetus, in his reply, congratulated the emperor upon the victories of Belisarius. He censured the acts, already revoked by the council, by which Boniface had chosen his successor. He also revoked, for reason unknown, the excommunication which the same Boniface had launched against the antipope Dioscorus. In the following year the Holy Father was obliged, by Theodatus, king of the Goths, to set out for Constantinople, to demand that the army sent to Sicily with orders to pass into Italy, under the command of Belisarius, should be recalled to Byzantium. But, on account of the great expense attendant upon raising so many soldiers, the emperor could not

comply with the entreaties of the Holy Father. Agapetus, giving his attention to other matters, sought for the means of re-establishing peaceful relations among the Eastern priests. He deposed Anthymus, bishop of Trebisonde, whom he perceived to be a concealed Eutychian heretic, who, under the patronage of Theodora, wife of Justinian, had usurped the See of Constantinople. Agapetus appointed Mevas to that See, and consecrated him with great pomp. He was a man illustrious alike for virtue and for doctrine, and was the first Eastern bishop who was consecrated by a pope. Justinian, listening to bad advice, resolved to reinstate Anthymus, and threatened the pope with exile. The pope, full of courage and constancy, replied to that threat: "We believed that we had a Catholic emperor, but it appears that we have to do with a Diocletian; but Diocletian must learn that his threats do not alarm us."

Subsequently, the pope proposed to the emperor that Anthymus should be subjected to an examination as to his sentiments. Anthymus, when questioned as to the two natures of Jesus Christ, refused to confess them. Then Justinian perceived the fraud of the heretical bishop; and the emperor threw himself on his knees before the pope, who so firmly upheld the Catholic Church and faith, approved the deposition of Anthymus, and, on the 16th of March, transmitted to Agapetus his own imperial confession of faith, signed with his own hand.

The Holy Father accredited, as his nuncio to the emperor, Pelagius, the pope's archdeacon, who afterwards was himself pope, and the Holy Father then prepared to return to Italy. Previous to setting out, he held an ordination, at which he created eleven bishops and four deacons. But soon after he fell dangerously ill, and died before he could leave Constantinople.

His death occurred on the 22d of April, 536. He was very learned in ecclesiastic laws and regulations. Gregory the Great called him, *Apostolic Vessel, Trumpet of the Gospel, and Herald of Justice*. There has been no pope who in so short a time (ten months and nineteen days) has done such great things, and borne so much fatigue. His labors procured him the admiration of both East and West. His body was translated to Rome, and interred with great solemnity in the church of Saint Peter, in the month of September.

According to Novaes, the Holy See, at the death of this pontiff, remained vacant fifteen days. But there must be some error, for, in those days it took a courier more than fifteen days to go from Constantinople to Rome, by land, and a still longer time by sea. Before he went to the East, that indefatigable pontiff formed a design of establishing public schools for the instruction of persons intended for the sacred ministry. Cassiodorus agreed with the pope, but his death prevented, for the time, the founding of establishments so useful.

During the pontificate of Agapetus, an event occurred, strikingly illustrative of the vanity of conquests. It relates to the sacred vessels of Jerusalem, taken from the Jews by Titus, at the time of the taking of the holy city, and taken from Rome by Genseric, king of the Vandals. Fleury* speaks of this matter as follows :

“Belisarius triumphed at Constantinople, and among the wealth that was displayed to the populace during the procession of the triumph, the most remarkable objects were the sacred vessels of Jerusalem, which the Emperor Titus (or rather Titus, before he was emperor, for at the taking of Jerusalem he commanded under his father, Vespasian, who was then emperor) had brought to Rome, and which Genseric, on pillaging Rome, carried to Carthage. A Jew having seen them, said to a man known to the emperor, “It is not right to put those vessels in the treasury of Constantinople ; their only proper place is where Solomon put them. It is in punishment of that offence that Genseric took the Roman capital, and that the Romans have taken that of the Vandals.”

This calls to mind the celebrated Greek horses, the fate of which seems to be connected with that of empires. They adorned, in succession, Constantinople,† Venice, and Paris ; thence they returned to Venice, whence some revolution may compel them to migrate once more.

59. ST. SYLVERIUS.—A. D. 536.



HE martyr, Saint Sylverius, of Frosinone, was the son of Pope Hormisdas, who had contracted a legitimate marriage before he received holy orders. According to some, this pope was cardinal-priest ; according to others, a regionary deacon at Rome. He was created pope the 22d of June, 536 ; so that the vacancy lasted one month and seventeen days. Anastasius, the librarian, writes that Sylverius was named in obedience to the expressed desire of

Theodatus, king of the Goths ; but authors of that time make mention of no violence against the Roman clergy.

* Fleury, vol. vii., p. 334.

† It has been asserted that these horses, taken by the Venetians from the Hippodrome of Constantinople, belonged to Corinth, and had first been taken to Rome. All this is imaginary ; their style especially proves that they are of the time of the decline of art

It is known that Vigilius had been accredited to Constantinople as *apocrisiarius*, or political agent. He is the same Vigilius whom Boniface II. named as his successor. The Empress Theodora endeavored by her promises to induce Vigilius to allow himself to be placed in the Holy See. The testimony of Novaes seems to be less reliable than that of Feller,* who says: "Belisarius had taken Rome. Theodora determined to avail herself of that opportunity to extend the sect of the Acephali, a branch of Euty-chianism;† she endeavored to attach Saint Sylverius to her views, but, failing to do so, she resolved to have him deposed. He was unjustly accused of having improper understanding with the Goths. A letter was produced which he was said to have addressed to the hostile kings; but it was proved to have been forged by an advocate named *Marcus*; yet this did not prevent Sylverius from being sent into exile to Patara in Syria, and Vigilius was ordained in his place on the 22d of November, 537. The bishop of Patara, whose name, unfortunately, has not come down to us, boldly defended Sylverius, went to the Emperor Justinian at Constantinople, and said to him: "*There are many kings in the world, but there is only one pope in the universe.*" Justinian, learning the real state of affairs, ordered that Sylverius should be reinstated in his See. As he returned to Italy he was again arrested by Belisarius, at the solicitation of that general's wife, Antonina, who wished to propitiate the Empress Theodora. The pope, deserted by all, was sent back to the isle of Palmeria, opposite to Terracina, where, according to Liberatus, he died of hunger, in the month of June, 538. Feller believes that Vigilius committed no offence either before or after that event. Novaes has indulged in some severity towards that pope, and believes culpable promises to have seduced him. Novaes founds that belief on the former circumstance of Vigilius consenting to receive from Boniface II. the succession to the tiara.

Previous to his exile, Saint Sylverius had created, in one ordination in December, nineteen bishops, thirteen priests, and five deacons. He governed the Church two years and a few days, and was interred on the isle on which he died.

The Holy See remained vacant six days.

Justinian, under the reign of Saint Agapetus I., published a second and more regular edition of his code. He had already endeavored to reduce into one body all the most useful works of the ancient jurisconsults. The extracts were arranged under certain titles, and bore the name of *Digests*, or *Pandects*; subsequently he composed his *Institutes*, to serve as an intro-

* Feller, v., p. 502.

† The Acephali, says Fleury, vii., p. 346, set up altars and baptisteries in the private houses of towns and suburbs, and *despised everybody*, on account of the protection they had from the palace. The word *Acephali* signifies the *headless*.

duction to those books. Trebonian had a large share in those important works. Justinian also promulgated laws, enforcing respect to Catholicity. They are all comprised in his *Novella*, as being *newer* than the publication of his code. He recommends the observance of the canons, and forbids the alienation of the property of any of the churches.

60. VIGILIUS.—A. D. 538.



WE have no doubt that Vigilius ardently desired the tiara, for, after being named, probably with his own consent, as successor to the papacy without any election, he afterwards figured as antipope, under Sylverius. But those facts do not justify prejudices, still less do they justify false accusations against him. Let us examine the actual pontifical career of this pope, who on more than one occasion will show himself a courageous soldier of Christ.

He was Roman, the son of John, of a consular family. Boniface II. named him *apocrisiarius*, or political agent at Constantinople. On the death of Sylverius, Vigilius was legitimately elected. Belisarius, his patron, commanded at Rome, and the clergy desired peace in the Church. Moreover, the Holy See was occupied by a man distinguished for his talents, and for a profound knowledge of public affairs. Suddenly an unhopèd for change appeared in the inclinations of Vigilius. Had he promised Theodore to admit the communion of the heretics? We shall learn that. It is of the life, the actions, and the writings of Vigilius that we have now to speak. He will make Theodora aware that he has no intention of acceding to the wishes of the enemies of Catholicity; it will be seen that if he imprudently entered into engagements he will not ratify any such promises, but will confirm the excommunication of Anthymus and his sectaries. With relation to Anastasius, Vigilius wrote to the empress:—"We have spoken wrongly, senselessly; now we will by no means consent to what you require of us. We will *not* recall an anathematized heretic." Peremptorily ordered to repair to Constantinople, he did not hesitate to order the necessary preparations for the journey, but he did not show extreme haste. It was he who, in 545, named as his primate the bishop of Arles, a city of the States of Childebert, in France, and sent to him powers similar to those that some of his predecessors had given to the primacy in Spain.

In 546, the Emperor Justinian published an edict, in which he ordered the bishops to condemn the *three chapters*. The first concerned the writings and the persons of Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuesta, accused of Nestorianism; the second formed part of the writings of Theodoret, bishop of Civo, against the twelve chapters of Saint Cyril; the third consisted of a letter written by Ibas, bishop of Edessa, to a Persian heretic, named Marin. The Holy Father, Vigilius, disapproved of this condemnation by the emperor, and his example was followed by some bishops. They naturally rejected errors opposed to the faith; but they would not condemn the persons to whom those errors were attributed, fearing lest they should in some sort offend against the canons of the Council of Chalcedon. The emperor, urged on by the representations of Theodora, that actress who had become empress and arbitress of the destinies of the empire, demanded also that Anthymus should be reinstated in the See of Constantinople, and repeated his order to Vigilius to repair to that city.

Arriving in Constantinople in January, 547, he was received with great honors. Theodora being dead, the emperor, of his own accord, begged Vigilius to condemn the three chapters, and obstinately pressed the subject upon him.

Vigilius, having assembled seventy bishops, was told by them that without prejudice to the Council of Chalcedon, the *three chapters* might be condemned. Then he condemned them, and sent to Mennas, bishop of Constantinople, a decree, in which he distinctly noted that he did not by that condemnation intend any prejudice to the acts of the Council of Chalcedon.

The pope supposed that he had satisfied both parties;—the Greeks, by his condemnation of the three chapters; and the Latins, by accompanying the condemnation with the necessary reservation in favor of the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. But he found that he was mistaken. The East burst out against him as a violator of that council, and some of the African bishops went so far as to cut off the pontiff from their communion. To appease the tumult, the Holy Father revoked the said constitution, and threatened to excommunicate the Greek bishops who should consent to any thing concerning the three chapters without the consent of a general council. Justinian, on the request of Theodorus of Cesarea, published another decree against the three chapters. The Holy Father convoked the Greek and Latin bishops in the Placidian palace, and forbade, on pain of excommunication, obedience to the imperial decree. Justinian, irritated, ordered the imprisonment of Vigilius. All appeared to become orderly; but the peace was of no long endurance. Theodorus, bishop of Cesarea, and even Mennas, bishop of Constantinople, were excommunicated. At this crisis the conduct of Vigilius was sublime. Compelled to take refuge in a church,

he was followed by the prætor and armed soldiers. The pope embraced the pillars that supported the altar; the people compelled the prætor to retire. It was in the midst of this violence that the intrepid pope exclaimed: "We declare to you that though you hold us captive, you do not hold Saint Peter."

Justinian, conquered by so much constancy and so lofty a virtue, revoked his edict; and Vigilius, who had fled towards the city of Chalcedon, returned to Constantinople. It was agreed that, in order to terminate the controversy, it should be referred to a general council, consisting of Greek and Latin bishops in equal numbers. But the emperor broke his word, and Vigilius found himself obliged to convene the council on the 5th of May, 553, without waiting for the arrival of the Latin bishops. In the conduct of the emperor there was neither justice, nor dignity, nor respect for the Church. Vigilius would not be present in the council. He published a new *Constitutum*, in which he protested that such a council, *having only one arm, could not condemn* the three chapters. Nevertheless, they were condemned by that council, which is called the *Fifth General Council*, at which there were present one hundred and sixty-five bishops, among whom were three patriarchs. Vigilius, not wishing to confirm this decree, was sent into exile, nor was he recalled until he had confirmed with his authority the condemnation of the council. Thus the pontiff changed his views without prejudice to apostolical truth, as the question was not of faith but of persons. It only evinced a want of prudence.

We may add here that it was also confirmed by this pope's successors, Pelagius I., John III., Benedict I., Pelagius II., and Saint Gregory the Great. The confirmation by this last-mentioned pontiff explains why Vigilius perceived the necessity of conduct which, far from being contradictory, proved the extreme attention with which the pope watched events, their power, and their inevitable requirements, and finished by a skilful act, after having exhausted all the phases of determination and the loftiest courage.

The emperor allowed Vigilius to depart; but he had scarcely arrived in Sicily when he was attacked by a painful disease, of which he died at Syracuse in 555, after a reign of sixteen years and about six months.

In two ordinations, in the month of December, he ordained eighty-one bishops, sixteen priests (some say forty-six), and sixteen deacons.

The body was transferred to Rome, and interred in the Church of Saint Marcellus, on the Salarian Way.

The Holy See remained vacant about three months.

A law of Justinian, published under this pontificate, provides that the four General Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon,

shall always have the force of law, and that the pope is the first of all the bishops. To this law it was added that the general council holden at Constantinople, 553, should also be recognized as holy. That fifth council is also known as the second of Constantinople.

Under this pontificate, Totila took the city of Rome, plundered it, and threw down the walls, but Belisarius soon appeared, and restored them.

61. PELAGIUS I.—A. D. 555.



ELAGIUS I., Roman, son of John Vicarianus, named cardinal-priest by Saint Agapetus, and nuncio to Justinian, as Liberius and Vigilius had been, was created pontiff on the 11th of April, 555. Like Vigilius, he had condemned the three chapters; he was therefore held in some suspicion of being false* to the Council of Chalcedon.

The populace, in violent tumults, disowned allegiance to Pelagius. Unhappily, religious men and noble citizens both shared and showed the same feeling to such an extent, that though two bishops were prepared to consecrate him, the third one, who was necessary to the canonical fulfilment of the ceremony, could not be found.

At length, Pelagius was consecrated by the bishops of Perugia and Ferentino, and by Andrew, arch-priest of Ostia. Father Berti demonstrates that that consecration was valid, though not in conformity to what usually took place.†

When the Romans, besieged by Totila, were suffering from famine, Pelagius had rendered them great service by passing in provisions to them. That bygone benevolence was now remembered, and a desire was shown to establish with the new pope relations of respectful submission. It was also mentioned that once, when he was accused of entertaining factious feelings against Vigilius, he rushed to the preacher's pulpit, in Saint Peter's church, placed the Gospel on his head, and protested his innocence of the crime. Pelagius confirmed the fifth general council approved by his predecessor; and to appease the differences which had sprung up among the Western bishops on the subject of the *three chapters* condemned in the council, he en-

* Novaes, i., p. 225.

† Dissertation VI., vol. xvii., of the Dissertations collected by Zaccaria. Rome: 8vo, 1775.

deavored to get them condemned anew by the African, the Illyrian, and even the Italian bishops. "To that end he employed," says Fleury (vii., p. 468), "the authority of Narses, and he was pious and fearful of offending against religion. Pelagius, in one of his letters, exhorts him thus: "Pay no attention to the vain speeches of people who charge the Church with exciting persecution when she represses crime and labors for the salvation of souls. To persecute, is to compel one to do evil; otherwise, all the laws, divine and human, which order the punishment of crime, would be deserving of abolition. Now the Scripture and the canons teach us that schism is an evil, and that it ought to be suppressed, even by the secular power; and all who separate themselves from the apostolic See, sin, and undoubtedly are schismatics."

During the reign of Pelagius, the famous Cassiodorus died in extreme old age. He belonged to the most famous Roman nobility, and was born at Squillacia, in Calabria, about the year 470. He was the principal minister of King Theodoric. After he had retired from public life, he composed, in a monastery that he had founded, *Commentaries on the Psalms*, and *The Institution of the Scriptures*. At the age of ninety-two years he wrote several other works, and a treatise on orthography, extracted from twelve authors,—the twelfth being Priscian. Cassiodorus always showed a respectful attachment to Pelagius.

The French having declared Pelagius suspected of heresy, he defended himself before them in a profession of faith, which he sent to King Childbert, and signed with his own hand, that he condemned and excommunicated wanderers from the doctrine of the letter of Saint Leo, and the acts of the Council of Chalcedon.

The bishops of Tuscany refused to adhere to the fifth council, and withdrew from the communion of Pelagius. He wrote to them in these remarkable terms: "How can you doubt that you are separated from all Christian communion, when you do not pronounce our name, according to custom, in the holy mysteries, since, however unworthy we personally may be, it is in us that at present subsists the solidity of the Apostolic See, with the succession of the episcopacy?"

In two ordinations, in the month of December, Pelagius created forty-eight or forty-nine bishops, twenty-five or twenty-six priests, and nine deacons. He died the 28th February, 560, after governing the Church four years, ten months, and eighteen days.

The Holy See was vacant four months and sixteen days, because at that time it was necessary to await the imperial consent from Constantinople, to the pontifical election: although the election had not previously been so long deferred. The right claimed by Justinian to interfere in the election of the popes, which right was maintained by the successors of that emperor subse-

quently, occasioned vacancies in the See of Rome much longer than before. Nevertheless, from the days of Odoacer the sovereigns of Italy pretended to direct or rather to disturb that election. When Pope Pelagius died, he had begun to build the church of the Holy Twelve Apostles.

62. JOHN III.—A. D. 560.



JOHN III., called Catelinus, son of Anastasius, a noble Roman, was created pontiff on the 18th of July, 560.

He allowed the appeal of Sagittarius, bishop of Embrun, and of Salonius, bishop of Gap, deposed from their bishoprics by the second Council of Lyons, and restored them to their dignity.

John confirmed the fifth general council, of which he showed himself the zealous defender. It is said that on an occasion of his notice being directed to some crying usurpations upon the legitimate possessors of ecclesiastical property, he determined to put an end to those spoliations, and that he ordered* that every usurper of such property should be mulcted in four times the value. He finished the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles, which his predecessor had commenced—as we mentioned in the preceding article—and he consecrated it on the Feast of Saint Philip and Saint James, erecting it into a cardinalate, or parochial district. In that church he had several historical subjects represented, partly in colors and partly in mosaic.

Pope John enlarged and repaired the cemeteries of the martyrs, and ordered that, for the sacrifice of the Mass, celebrated in the Catacombs, the church of Saint John of Lateran should furnish the bread, the wine, and the lights.

In two ordinations, in the month of December, John created sixty-one bishops, thirty priests, and thirteen deacons. He governed the Church twelve years, eleven months, and twenty-six days. He died on the 13th of July, 573, after having seen, in the ninth year of his pontificate (A. D. 568), the commencement of the reign of the Lombards in Italy. These Lombards, or Longobards, were thus called on account of their long beards,

* Novaes i., p. 228.

which they never shaved, and were a people of the Scandinavian peninsula, whom Narses, Justinian's general in Italy, became a traitor to his sovereign, called in to sustain his revolt.

The first king of the Lombards, Alboïn, established his capital at Pavia. Then the emperors of the East were compelled to govern what remained to them in the peninsula by captains, and to confide Ravenna to officers called exarchs. That state of things continued a hundred and eighty-four years.

John was buried at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant ten months and twenty days, for the reason mentioned at the close of our last article, and in consequence of the troubles which the Lombards excited throughout Italy.

63. BENEDICT I.—A. D. 574.



BENEDICT, or Bonosus, was a Roman, the son of Boniface ; he was recognized as pope on the 3d of June, 574, and consoled Rome, afflicted by those two great scourges, famine and the Lombards.

He drew from the retirement of a monastery, and created cardinal-deacon, Gregory, who succeeded finally to the pontificate, and is known as Gregory the Great.

After the example of his predecessors, Benedict confirmed the fifth general council.

In one ordination, in the month of December, he created twenty bishops, fifteen priests, and three deacons. He governed the Church four years, one month, and twenty-eight days ; died on the 30th July, 578, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant four months.

64. PELAGIUS II.—A. D. 578.



ELAGIUS II., Roman, a Benedictine monk, the son of Vinigild, a Goth, was created pontiff on the 30th of November, 578. This time the consent of the emperor was not awaited, as Rome was closely besieged by the Lombards.

This misfortune secured the right which otherwise might have been withheld. Besieged Rome was not defended by the exarch or imperial lieutenant in Italy, who could scarcely defend himself in Ravenna. The loss of a pontiff, too, would have been insupportable to Rome. However, amid the vicissitudes of war, Pelagius was consecrated, a man distinguished for wisdom, moderation, and virtue. The Lombards had pillaged the abbey of Mount Casino, and the monks were obliged to take refuge in Rome. To arrest the incursions of the barbarians, the pope gave plenary powers to Gregory, his *apocrisarius*, or political agent at Constantinople, who was then at the commencement of his clerical career and who afterwards became renowned as Saint Gregory the Great.

Pelagius, learning that France was in a sufficiently peaceful condition, wrote to the bishop of Auxerre a letter in which, in the name of the Holy See, he deplored the ill-treatment inflicted upon so many sufferers by the Lombards. This communication was joyously received by an eminently Catholic people, and it subsequently made a powerful impression on Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne. Pelagius II., in that letter recalled the fact that the French monarchs were bound to defend with all their might the religion which had procured them so many triumphs.

The metropolis of Aquilea was disturbed by the enemies of the Roman faith. Pelagius permitted the archbishop elect to transfer the metropolis to Grado. Unfortunately, in a council of the year 587, celebrated by that same archbishop elect, and at which there were present eighteen bishops, his suffragans, those prelates having become schismatic, swore never to admit the fifth general council. They acted thus under pretence of not doing prejudice to the Council of Chalcedon.

Pelagius, hoping to soften their obstinacy, announced by his legates, and by letters, that the *three chapters* were justly condemned, and that the Council of Chalcedon had not been offended by that condemnation. But the zeal of the pontiff was useless; and the exarch, residing at Ravenna, was then called upon to labor to bring back those erring bishops to their duty.

In his time there appeared an extraordinary plague,* as sudden as it was violent. The patient frequently died while in the act of sneezing or yawning.

Pelagius himself died of it on the 8th of February, A. D. 590. This pope was the first who, in the diplomas of his chancery, marked the time by the Indictions that Constantine the Great had instituted on the 24th of September, A. D. 312. They form, as is well known, a course of fifteen years; when those years are ended, the Indiction recommences.

In two ordinations, in December, Pelagius created forty-eight bishops, twenty-two priests, and eight deacons. He governed the Church twelve years, two months, and ten days. Very liberal towards the poor, and especially towards the aged, he assembled so many of them in his palaces that they resembled hospitals. Pelagius was interred in the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant six months and twenty-five days.

65. ST. GREGORY I.—A. D. 590.



GREGORY I., surnamed *the Great*, doctor of the Church, was born about the year 540, and was the son of Gordian, a Roman senator,* afterwards regionary cardinal-deacon, and Sylvia, a very pious lady. He was grand-nephew of Pope Saint Felix III., of the Anicia, now the Conti, family. In the year 572 he was prætor, not, as some writers have stated, prefect of Rome. That fact is proven

by a letter written by Gregory himself to Constantius, archbishop of Milan.

At the death of his father, Gregory found himself master of an immense fortune. Then he built six monasteries, among them one, in 575, at his own palace in Rome; he became a Benedictine monk, and lived in the monastery of Saint Andrew, which he had himself caused to be built, and which belonged to the Camaldolese Benedictines. Some writers, and among them father Thomassin,† of the Oratory, maintain that Gregory belonged to no religious order. Be that as it may, he was named cardinal-deacon by Pelagius, whose secretary he had been; subsequently, the same pope sent him as nuncio to Constantinople, to the Emperor Maurice.

* Novaes, i., p. 234.

† *De Vet. et nov. Ecclesia disciplinæ*, 1, part i., cap. 3, p. 24.

Gregory, on his return to Rome, was against his wish created pontiff; the choice of the clergy, of the Roman clergy, and of the Roman people, had unanimously fallen upon Gregory, who wrote to the Emperor Maurice, begging him to oppose the election.* Germanus, Prefect of Rome, intercepted the letters, and substituted others in the opposite sense, containing the text of the decree of election. Gregory then left Rome, and concealed himself in a retired place. The people flocked from all parts in search of Gregory, who was at length discovered by a dove hovering over his head. He was surrounded, and intreated to accept the authority, and he was consecrated on the 3d of September, in the year 590. At the commencement of his pontificate, he wrote to the patriarchs of the East a letter, in which, according to the custom of those times, he included his profession of faith.† At the same time, he confirmed the General Councils of Nice, of Constantinople (*i. e.*, the first council of that city), of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon. He ordered that those four councils should be respected as the four Gospels.‡ The same confirmation was pronounced as to the second Council of Constantinople, called the fifth œcumenical council. The pope demanded that that council should be plainly acknowledged by all, in order that the defenders of *the three chapters*, which that council had condemned, should desist from their culpable obstinacy. Three years previously, Pelagius had ordered that those subdeacons in Sicily who were married should separate from their wives. Gregory, thinking this decision too stern and severe,§ permitted subdeacons to marry, provided that they should not receive higher orders; and, subsequently, he forbade the ordination of any subdeacon before he had made the vow of continence in the proper form before the bishop.

He allowed the Spaniards to baptize by only a single immersion. (See Book I., letter 43, *to Leander*.) The authority of Gregory was followed by the fathers in the Council of Toledo (IV. Cant., 6.) That permission, contrary to previous custom on that subject, was granted, in order that the true Catholics might be distinguished from the heretics, in Spain, who, by a triple immersion, fancied that they authorized their errors relating to the Trinity.

He forbade that Hebrews should be compelled to receive the faith of Christ; he ordered that entrance into the monasteries of nuns should be forbidden to both men and women who were strangers to what concerned the administration of those monasteries. He ordered that at the commencement of Lent the blessed ashes should be placed on the foreheads of the faithful.|| Gregory also ordered that the Lent fast should be kept uninter-

* Novacs, i., p. 325.

† Gregory himself mentions this work in his letter 52, book ix.

‡ Novacs i., 236.

§ Novacs, *ibid.*

|| Up to the time of Celestine III., created pope in 1191, it was the custom to place the holy

ruptedly, and not, as formerly, discontinued on Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays. Thus, fasting commenced from Septuagesima. He also ordered that from Septuagesima to Easter the Alleluia should not be sung. He permitted the priests of Sardinia to administer confirmation in the absence of the bishops, who ordinarily administer that sacrament, as was solemnly declared by the Council of Trent. Benedict XIII. subsequently granted the same privilege to the abbot of Saint Paul, outside the walls of Rome, and to the custodian of the Holy Sepulchre, of the order of Minor Observantins, of the convent of Aracoeli.

In 592, Pope Saint Gregory caused the removal to Rome of the tunic of Saint John the Evangelist, and placed it beneath the altar of Saint John, in the Lateran Basilica. The same year, the Emperor Maurice rendered a decree by which he prohibited men of the legal profession, as well as persons charged with debts to the treasury, from entering the clerical, and soldiers from entering the monastic profession. The Holy Father, in his letter (book ii., ep. 62), written in 593, praises that part of the decree which relates to men of the law, but disapproves the two other parts, which he induced the emperor to revoke.

Saint Gregory also remedied two abuses—the one consisted in demanding a price for the burial of the dead in churches, and the other in building churches where the dead had been interred. The pope was unwilling that there should be any risk of the bones of the profane being mingled with those of martyrs.

Father Thomassin, already quoted, maintains that it was not until the reign of Gregory that Christians began to be buried in the churches; for which reason that pope disapproved of the custom. But Muratori proves that the custom was long anterior to Saint Gregory. The Council of Braga, in 563, was the first to forbid burial in the churches, and subsequently many synods, especially in France, prohibited the custom, but with exceptions as

ashes on the head of the pope, as they are now placed on the heads of the faithful, and to repeat the well-known formula—"Remember, man, that dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." But, under Urban VI., elected pope in 1378, a different custom was introduced, which obtains to this day; that, namely, of strewing the ashes upon the head of the Holy Father without saying a word. Monseigneur Antonelli, in a letter addressed to the Cardinal Gentili, inquires into the reasons for which the masters of the ceremonies refrain from saying the words. He considers that the action of strewing the ashes during the repetition of the formula is a venerable remnant of the rite formerly practised with the penitents on Ash Wednesday. Ashes were given to them, accompanied by those words which remind us of our mortality, and, so reminding us, are a wholesome humiliation. At the present time, the public penance, whence that ceremony came down to us, being a species of ecclesiastical judgment, to which the Roman pontiff ought not to be subjected, it was resolved that, as regarded him, the fact should suffice without the formula; that is to say, that the action of placing the ashes on the head sufficiently suggests the mortal condition of the pope, without there being exercised upon him that shadow of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to which the head of the Church is in no wise subject. Novaes, in his introduction, &c., vol. ii., p. 234, gives details of that ceremonial of the pontifical chapel.

to certain persons. But the Roman Church has always maintained the ancient custom of burying in churches, as appears in the reply of Nicholas I. to the Bulgarians, about the year 860.*

Many persons affirm that Saint Gregory the Great instituted what is known as the Gregorian Chant. But the learned Dominick Maria Manni, in his *Dissertation upon the Discipline of the Ancient Ecclesiastical Chant*, printed at Florence, in 1756, and reprinted in the collection of Zaccaria, in 1794, proves that Gregory did not invent that chant, but reduced it to a more fitting form, and rendered it more easy to be studied. And we have it on the authority of Anastasius the Librarian, that a chant similar to the Gregorian was known in the time of Saint Hilary, created pope in 461; and, according to the testimony of Peter, bishop of Orvieto, there was a very similar chant in the time of Pope Saint Sylvester; i. e. two hundred and seventy years before the time of Saint Gregory. However, it is certain that this pope instituted, at Rome, a school of chanters, for whom he had two houses built: one near the Basilica of Saint Peter, and the other near the patriarch's of Saint John Lateran. Into this college of chanters only seven deacons were admitted, and in addition, some boys who, when necessary, took their parts in high tone.

Saint Gelasius having arranged the recital of the prayers or collects in the Mass, Saint Gregory put them in better order, and compiled a volume which he entitled the *Sacramentary*.†

Saint Gregory instituted the processions on the day of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, and the Litany of the saints on the Feast of Saint Mark, on account of the increased virulence of the plague that had carried off Pelagius. The disease always ended in a fit of sneezing or of yawning, and the pope ordered that *God bless you*, should be said to those who sneezed, and that the sign of the cross should be made on the mouths of those who yawned. The plague having ceased, the antiphon *Regina cœli lætare* was introduced into chants of the Church. It is affirmed by pious writers, that at the moment when the plague decreased in virulence, there appeared on the

* During the French occupation in 1809, public cemeteries began to be in popular request, and such cemeteries were afterwards authorized by Pope Pius VII. Only persons of very high rank are now interred in the churches.

† The analysis of the *Sacramentary*, given by M. Receveur (iii., 449), is very exact. In the same author (iii., 455), I find as follows: "In the *Sacramentary* of Saint Gregory and in the Roman rubrics, we find, in addition to the ceremonies of the Mass, those of baptism, of ordination, and of the processions, with the blessing of tapers and ashes, and many others noticed in the *Sacramentary* of Saint Gelasius. Some persons have complained that Saint Gregory had adopted several practices from Constantinople, but he showed that he had only re-established old customs; and as it seemed to be feared that the Greeks would draw some advantage from it, 'Who doubts,' said he, 'that that church should not be subject to the Holy See, as the emperor and the bishop of Constantinople on every occasion show that it is?' If that Church or any other has some good practice, I am ready to imitate that practice of even the lowest of your inferior churches."

top of the mausoleum of Adrian an angel sheathing his sword. Thenceforth, that mausoleum was called the castle of Saint Angelo, and an angel in marble was placed on it, for which Benedict XIV. substituted the one in bronze, which still remains there.

Gregory found it necessary to repress a claim of John the Faster, a man, however, whom the Greeks represent as a prelate of such great virtue,* that he was placed among the number of the saints, a step to which the approval of the congregation of the Propaganda was given afterwards. John assumed the title of the *Universal Bishop*. The predecessor of Gregory had censured that title; and Gregory had already deprived Eulogus, bishop of Alexandria, of the similar title of *Universal Patriarch*. The Holy Father then entitled himself, in all his letters, with a sentiment of humility and modesty, *servant of the servants of God*. That custom has continued to our own day, and Pius IX. uses the same formula. At the close of the tenth century,† some bishops wished to take that title; but it is now confined solely to the Roman pontiff.

Gregory was the first pontiff who ordered that pontifical diplomas or bulls should be dated from the incarnation of our Saviour.

Formerly, the Church had the custom of calculating time from the consular fasti (it is known that they commenced, dating from the year 244, from the foundation of Rome, or 245, according to the epoch of Varro, that is to say, five hundred and nine years before Christ), but under Diocletian appeared Dionysius, called, from his short stature, Dionysius the Little, who abandoned the eras of the Consuls, and the Emperors Augustus and Diocletian, which till then had been followed all over the world. In 527, Dionysius introduced a paschal cycle for ninety-five years, and made the years commence on the 25th of March, saying that he dated them from the Incarnation of the Lord; but he left the three months from the Circumcision, which commence on the 1st of January. So the year of the Incarnation, according to Dionysius, commenced three months after the Circumcision, which dates from the first of January; while the year of the Nativity commenced on the 28th of December, and that of the *Indiction* on the 24th of September, but for the Roman Curia, on the 25th of December.

Saint Gregory was also the first pontiff who employed the phrase *to speak ex cathedra*.

He ratified the baptism given by heretics in the name of the most Holy Trinity. He ordered that on the 29th of June the memory of the two princes of the apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, should be celebrated in the Church of the Vatican, and that on the following day the Feast of Saint Paul should be celebrated specially.

* Novaes, i., p. 242.

† Muratori, *Ann. d'Italie*, iii., part 2, an. 595.

From the letters of this pontiff we learn that the Holy See then possessed rich patrimonies in Sicily, in the city of Syracuse, in Palermo, in Calabria, in Apulia, in the country of the Samnites, in Campania, in Tuscany, in Sabina, in Nercia, at Carseoli, one called Appia, at Ravenna, in Dalmatia, Illyria, Sardinia, Corsica, Liguria, in the Cottian Alps, in *Germaniciana*, in Syria, and in Gaul. The last-named patrimony, according to Saint Gregory (Ep. 52, book V.), produced but little revenue.* Each of those patrimonies was intrusted to a distinct administrator, who had the title of *defender* or *rector*, and was always one of the first clerks of the Roman Church. It also possessed other patrimonies in the East, which yielded a net revenue of nearly fifty thousand Roman crowns of the present day.†

Finally, Saint Gregory, after having, by Saint Augustine,‡ a Benedictine monk of the abbey of Saint Andrew, at Rouen (a monastery known to have been founded by Saint Gregory), converted the Anglo-Saxons to the true faith, gave him orders to establish two metropolitans, one at London, and the other in the city of York; and the metropolitans were then to ordain twelve bishops.

Gregory confounded the Arians who remained in Spain, and the Lombards who occupied a large portion of Italy. He illustrated the Church by the prodigious number of works he has left us, although interrupted by serious difficulties. After meriting the praise of Saint Ildefonsus, who said of that great pontiff, "He excelled Anthony in holiness, and Augustine in knowledge, and after governing the Church thirteen years, six months, and ten days, died on the 12th of March, 603, aged sixty-four years.

In two ordinations, one in Lent, and the other in the month of September, he created sixty-two bishops, thirty-eight or thirty-nine priests, and five or fifteen deacons.

He was adorned by the most sublime virtues, and his court consisted of subjects worthy to be near him. He kept laics out of his council, and took for his advisers only clerks endowed with great prudence, and learned pious monks. He received them whenever they chose, whether by night or day; nothing was wanting to religious perfection in the palace, nothing wanting of the pontifical duties in the Church. Andres, at the beginning of his book, *On the Origin, Progress, and Present Condition of all Literature* (vol. I., chap. vii., p. 94), pronounces the following judgment on Gregory: "He possessed doctrine, learning, and eloquence superior to those of the time in which he lived; the arts and sciences found a worthy temple in his

* See Cenni's appendix to Father Orsi on the Temporal Domain of the Popes, reprinted in 1754.

† The Roman crown corresponds nearly to our dollar.

‡ The history of the Church has nothing finer than the entrance of the holy monk Augustine into the kingdom of Kent.

palace. He had not a single servant who had not received a good education, and whose words were not worthy to be heard around the ancient throne of the Latin language. In the court of the Great Gregory the studies of the fine arts took a new vigor. Nevertheless, all the advantages of a lettered mind could not protect him from the calumnies of those who were determined to consider him the sworn enemy of good taste and of the sciences and fine arts. Tiraboschi courageously came forward in his defence, and the memoir of that holy doctor triumphed over many unworthy accusations."

The grave cares of the pontificate did not prevent Gregory from indulging in practices of the most ardent charity. Every day he invited twelve paupers into his palace, and personally waited upon them at table; and, according to the legends, that humility was rewarded by his one day seeing an angel make the thirteenth of the company at that table. Thence came the custom of daily inviting thirteen poor persons, generally priests, in the name of the pontiff, who himself served them at table; they were selected in the hospital of the Most Holy Trinity. In the monastery of Saint Andrew he had his portrait placed, showing him to have been of noble stature, his face long, his head bald in front, with tufts of black hair at the side.

A passage, altered from the Polycratic of John of Shrewsbury,* was made to accuse Gregory of the burning of the Palatine library, founded by Augustus—that is to say, of all its classic works.

This error is completely refuted in the *Art of Verifying Dates*. It was also said that during his reign Gregory ordered the destruction or mutilation of the statues and monuments which still existed in Rome, so that strangers who from religious motives might visit Rome should not go to admire the triumphal arches and other wonders of ancient Rome. Platina† exclaims,—“*Absit hæc calumnia a tanto pontifice Romano præsertim cui certe, post Deum, patria quam vita charior.* Away with such calumny against so great a Roman pontiff, to whom, after God, his country was dearer than life.”

Platina further observed that the mutilations were made by the Romans to build new palaces. These barbarians tore away the ornaments and fixtures, in order to get at some paltry bronze nails, or the vases (*ollee*) which the ancient architects had placed in circus walls, to render them more sounding; and Platina adds: “This was done by the Romans themselves, if we may give the name of Romans to Epirotes, Dahmatians, Pannonians, and the scum and offscouring of the whole world.”

In regard to the statues, Platina, in his fine Latinity, continues to justify

* *Biog. Univ.*, xvlii., p. 385.

† *Opus de Vitis ac Gestis Summorum Pontificum*. 12mo., 1634, p. 159.

Gregory, especially against the charge of having caused the statues to be decapitated. "*Jacent statuae,*" he says, "*tum propter vetustatem collapsæ, tum ; etiam quia basibus sublatis, vel æris, vel marmorum causa, stare tantæ moles non poterant. Quod atem capitibus careant, mirum nequaquam videri debet, cum ipsius statuae casui, ea pars utpote fragilior et ad accipiendum lesionem paratior, potissimum frangatur.*" The statutes lie upon the ground, not only overthrown by time, but also because their bases had been removed by those who were in quest of bronze or marble, and such great masses thus undermined could not remain erect. Nor need it be wondered at that the statutes were headless, for when the statue fell, the head, the most fragile and easily injured part, was of course the first to be broken."

66. SABINIANUS.—A. D. 604.



SABINIANUS, of Volterra, in Tuscany, is by some said to have been born at Bied, a ruined town, a few miles from Viterbo. He was the son of Bono, and was a cardinal-deacon, named by Saint Gregory, whose *apocrisarian* he had been to the Emperor Maurice during some four or five years.

Sabinianus was elected pontiff on the 13th of September, 604, and consecrated bishop without previously receiving the priesthood, as was also the case (says Novaes ii., 3) with Valentine, the one hundred and second pope, in 827, and Nicholas I. the one hundred and seventh pope, in 858. We may add that the same is to be said in the cases of Felix II., in 355 ; Agapetus I., in 535, and Vigilius, in 540. Monsignor Borgia, afterwards cardinal, in his apology for the pontificate of Benedict X., (*parag. i., c. 3, annot. 2*), after having shown in support of that fact that Cecilianus was named bishop of Carthage, when he was only a deacon, adds that the only argument in favor of such promotions, *per saltum*, is the silence of writers ; and he asks his readers if such an argument can be deemed to be sufficient on a question of such importance. To Sabinianus is attributed the invention of church bells. Others give the glory of that invention to Saint Paulinus, bishop of Nola, in the Campaina, about 401, and they infer that it is on that account that a bell is called *nola* or *campana*.

This invention is ascribed to Sabinianus by Polydore Virgil, Genebrard,

and Panvinus; the last named of whom shows that opinion in his *Epit. Rom. Pont.* cap. 27.

According to Oldoin, in his reflections upon Chacon, Sabinianus did not, indeed, invent the use of church bells, but prescribed the use of them, at the canonical hours, that the sound of them might quicken the devotion of the faithful.

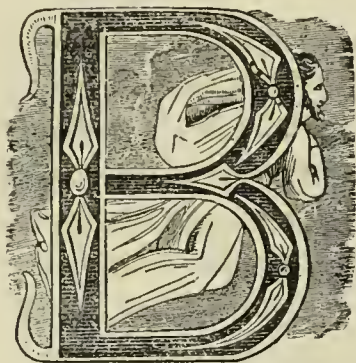
What can be most confidently said upon this subject is, that the use of bells in the Western Church was known before the sixth century, *i. e.*, A. D. 496. In the life of Saint Colombanus, written in the sixth century, and published by Mabillon, we read that at midnight, Saint Colombanus, *at the sound of the bell*, went to the church to meet the brothers of the monastery there.

In the Eastern Church, bells were introduced at a much later period. In the ninth century, between 864 and 867, Orso, Doge of Venice, made a present to the Greek emperor, Michael, of twelve bells, which the emperor placed in an elegant belfry, built by him in the church of Saint Sophia. Until that time the Greeks called the faithful to divine service by means of a wooden table, which was struck upon with an instrument called *synantrum*, not unlike the wooden rattle used in the closing days of Holy Week. The table, block, or plank of wood was sometimes, perhaps, replaced by a sheet of iron, and the wooden club or mallet by an iron hammer. We know that in the East the instrument had the name of *ferrum sacrum*.* However it may be, if Sabinianus did not invent bells for church use, it is nevertheless true, that, as we have already said, he ordered the canonical hours to be announced, and the people called to church by the sound of bells. In one ordination in September, Sabinianus created twenty-six bishops; he governed the Church three years, and three months, and nine days; died on the 22d of February, 606, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant eleven months, and twenty-eight days.

* See Maggi, chap. 15, *De Tintinnabulis*. To all the above, taken from Italian scholars, we must add a contribution from French erudition. Saint Loup, bishop of Orleans, being at Sens when Clothaire besieged that city, spread terror throughout the camp, and put the besieging army to flight, by having the bells of Saint Stephen's rung, which proves that bells were not then commonly known.



67. BONIFACE III.--A. D. 607.



BONIFACE III., a cardinal-deacon, created by Saint Gregory, and son of John Candiote, was elected pope on the 19th of February, 607. And, no doubt, he deserved the election, for Saint Gregory, in naming him as nuncio in 603, had said of him, "He is a defender of the Church, and we can amply testify to his purity and fidelity from our long experience of them."

In a council that Boniface III. held at Saint Peter's, in which he assembled seventy-two bishops, he ordered, on pain of excommunication, that no one should busy himself about the election of the pope, or any other bishop, until three days after the death of the late pontiff or prelate. That interval of time, not observed by some of the successors of Boniface, was extended to ten days by Gregory X.

Boniface obtained from the Emperor Phocas what Saint Gregory had been unable to obtain from the Emperor Maurice. The Emperor Phocas, by a decree, declared that to the Roman pontiff exclusively belonged the title of *Universal Bishop*, the title which had been arrogated to himself by Cyriacus, successor to John the Faster, in the patriarchate of Constantinople, who had usurped that same title. The Emperor Justinian, who lived eighty years before Phocas, had confessed that John II., fifty-seventh pope (see Labbe and Hardouin), *was the head of all the holy Churches*.

In the 131st of his Novellas, chap. ii., he calls him the "first of all priests." So that the decree was not issued by Phocas to establish any novelty, as the centuriators of Magdebourg (*Centur. vii., cap. 7, page 121*) suppose, but to declare and establish the right of the pope to take that title of *Universal*, as is shown by the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine. Upon this question, Cæsarotti is wrong, where, in order to weaken the force of the decree, he speaks of it as having been given by Phocas, a bad emperor. As we have just seen, Phocas only confirmed a decision of Justinian.

In one ordination this Holy Father created eleven, or, as some authors say, twenty-one bishops; he governed the Church eight months and twenty-two days, and died on the 10th of November, 607. He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant ten months and twelve days.

68. BONIFACE IV.—A. D. 608.



BONIFACE IV., of Valeria, a town of the Abruzzi, in the kingdom of Naples, was the son of John, and a Benedictine monk in the monastery of Saint Sebastian of Rome, and afterwards a cardinal-priest. He established in his house a monastery, which he enriched with valuable gifts. With the consent of the Emperor Phocas, he consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, and all the holy martyrs, the Pantheon, that was built by Marcus Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus. That same church, called Saint Mary, *of the Rotunda*, on account of its form, Gregory IV., in 834, dedicated to all the saints, in honor of whom he instituted on the same occasion, *All Saints Day*.

Novaes quotes a dissertation of the Father Lazzari, which would tend to prove that this temple was not dedicated to any pagan deity; but he does not venture to say to what other purpose the temple could originally be erected. Father Lazzari was undoubtedly wrong, and should be refuted. In an inscription on the architrave, after the name and titles of Septimus Severus and Caracalla, are the following decisive words: *Pantheum vetustate corruptum cum omni cultu restituerunt*; i. e., the inscription tells that *Septimus Severus, &c., and Antoninus Caracalla, &c., have, with great magnificence rebuilt the PANTHEON, which time had injured*. Had the temple *not* been pagan in its original, whence its name *Pan-theon*?

To prove to how great an extent the popes have been generous conservators, and free from all jealousy as to their predecessors, and moved by respect for the material works of those pontiffs, we will, in a few words, give the history of the Pantheon, which certainly bore that name formerly; considering it only in its relations to the sovereign pontiffs of Rome.

Phocas granted the temple to Boniface IV., who altered its interior into a church. All the idols were removed. In the year 663, Constantius II., being in Rome, though it was converted into a Catholic church, treated it with so little respect as to despoil it of the metal which covered the roof and porticoes, in order to send it to his own royal city of Constantinople. This injury was repaired in 731, by Gregory III., who covered the roof with lead. Anastasius IV., in 1153, erected a palace for himself, communicating with the church. Martin V., in 1420, and Eugenius IV., in 1435, re-covered the roof with lead. The last of these popes made some alterations, and in the

niche which is beneath the porch, placed the two basalter lions, and the fine porphyry urn, which now stands at the tomb of Clement XII., in Saint John Lateran. Those who reared the tomb of Clement XII. may be pardoned for removing the urn, as it was improperly exposed under the portico of the Pantheon. It was Eugenius IV. probably, who placed the antique altar at the bottom of the gallery, the existence of which is attested by engravings of the fifteenth century.

Urban VIII., in 1639, replaced in the portico the angular column, bearing in the capital a bee, the armorial device of that pope. Alexander VII., in 1660, gave the two other columns which were wanting on the right side, removed the paltry buildings which had been reared against the church, and lowered the grade of the square,—perhaps a little too much, for the Pantheon square, being thus lower than the Tiber when swollen, is subject to inundations. Benedict XIV. about 1750, varied the attic ornaments, and every pope, since that time, has added some useful embellishments. Pius VII., following the advice of Cardinal Gonsalvi, also contributed to repair, maintain, and perfect, if one may so speak, the sole remnant of Roman antiquity, which remains entire in the midst of that city, twice the metropolis of the world. This is a right fulfilment of the duty of the sovereigns of that land which contains so many masterpieces of art. We shall have many other occasions to notice this admirable vigilance constantly observed by the popes, and it is especially in the church of Saint Peter's, that this family spirit, as it may not improperly be termed, has been the most manifested. It is useful to direct attention to that pontifical greatness, that love of the past, that veneration for predecessors, and that passion for the arts, which so well become the august inheritors of the great city of Rome. This is, in fact, the worthy guardianship of the deposit intrusted by Saint Peter.

From the time of Sabinianus, the pontiffs, with the clergy, repaired to the rotunda on the Sunday before Pentecost, to celebrate Mass; when a sermon was preached on the coming of the Holy Ghost. Roses were thrown from the top, whence that Sunday was called *Rose Sunday*. To the present time, roses are on that Sunday distributed to the canons seated in the choir. Saint Mary of the Rotunda, was erected into a cardinalate, and was that of the Cardinal Gonsalvi when he died.

In a council assembled at Rome in the year 610, Boniface gave a check to those who, more tormented by jealousy than inflamed by zeal, maintained that the monks had no right to administer the sacrament, either of baptism or penance. The decree of Boniface on that question was confirmed in 1096, by Urban II., who inserts a eulogy upon the religious orders.

In two ordinations, the Holy Father created thirty-six bishops, some priests, and nine deacons. He governed the Church six years, eight months,

and thirteen days, and died on the 7th of March, 615. In the Roman martyrology he is named on the 25th of May. He was interred near the Vatican. Boniface VIII. raised a new altar for him, which was destroyed when the new Basilica of Saint Peter's was built. Paul V. having discovered the ashes of Boniface IV. on the 20th of October, 1605, caused them to be removed to the altar of Saint Thomas the apostle.

The Holy See was vacant for five months and twelve days.

69. ST. DEUSDEDIT—A. D. 615.

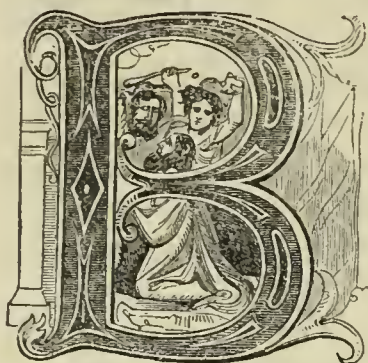


SAINT DEUSDEDIT, son of Stephen, a subdeacon, but not a subdeacon himself, though elected pope notwithstanding, was created pontiff on the 19th of October, 615. He endeavored to restore the ancient order in the Church, and greatly distinguished himself by his piety and his charity to the sick. Saint Deusdedit meeting one of the lepers, kissed him on the face; and all the holy legends agree in saying that the leper was cured, owing to the prayers of Saint Deusdedit. The gifts of celestial grace descend only upon souls of supernatural piety.

In three ordinations, Deusdedit created twenty-nine bishops, thirteen priests, and five deacons. He governed the Church nearly three years, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant one year, one month, and sixteen days.



70. ST. BONIFACE V.—A. D. 619.



BONIFACE V. son of John Fummini, and born at Naples, was a cardinal-priest of Saint Sixtus, when he was elected on the 23d of December, 619. There were at that time a great many priests, and this pope wished no more ordained except to fill up vacancies caused by deaths.

His memory is attacked by the heretics, because he said in a letter that Jesus Christ redeemed us from original sin alone. The letter in question was addressed to Edwin, king of Northumberland, who at the entreaty of his queen Ethelburga, had embraced the Catholic faith. Novaes discusses the point, and declares that in the letter alluded to the word *alone*, does not occur, and that if even it were there, Boniface would not therefore be censurable. The Holy Father—I now quote from Novaes*—only meant to say that original sin is that for our redemption from which Jesus Christ died. It is the only sin common to all mankind, many of whom, including infants, are free from any other.†

Boniface opposed the authorities which sought to abolish the right of asylum in the Churches.

In two ordinations, in December, Boniface created twenty-nine bishops, twenty-six or twenty-seven priests, and four deacons. He governed the Church five years and ten months, and died in the month of October, 625, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant only five days, as the confirmation of the election of Honorius I., the succeeding pope from Constantinople, had not to be waited for. The exarch of Ravenna, who was at that time in Rome, pretended to revive the old custom of giving confirmation in the name of the emperor.

But Catholicity was about to be opposed by new enemies. If the great Gregory had courageously begun to establish the temporal power of the popes, the successors of Gregory were thenceforward to see a population eager in attacking them, and anxious to destroy them.

A man hidden in the far depths of the Arabian deserts, forged, in his obscurity, springs whose strength he knew not, and whose prodigious working was to prostrate the authority of the Greek empire and of the Persian kingdom, and to change the face of the world. Italy herself was to see the audacious sectaries of Mahomet land upon her shore. The Arabian

* Novaes, ii., p. 15.

† See Bellarmine, *De Rom. Pont.*, Book iv., cap. 10.

impostor could still command his proselytes, even when he was obliged to fly from his country. That flight was more famous than the most celebrated victories, and served the Mussulmans as an era from whence to date their annals.

But the zeal of the Roman pontiffs never slackened, and we shall see, under the reign of Gregory III., what chastisements the faithful Catholics of Gaul, directed by that pope and commanded by Charles Martel, inflicted upon the Mahometans, who, no longer content with invading and disturbing Italy, desired to establish themselves in France, and smite it with all the evils that accompany slavery, imposed by a pitiless conqueror.

71. HONORIUS I.—A. D. 625.



HONORIUS I., son of Petronius, of the illustrious Della Marra family of Capua, and a regular canon, was elected pontiff on the 27th of October, 625. By a letter of this pope to the republic of Venice, we are informed that she then enjoyed the title of *Most Christian*.* There is still extant another very precious letter, in which the pope exhorts the Northumbrian king, Edwin, firmly to abide in that Catholic faith which he had recently embraced.

This pope sharply reprimanded the Scots, because, contrary to the rule established by the Council of Nice, they celebrated Easter on the Sunday that fell on the fourteenth day of the moon in March, and not on the Sunday which followed.

In 630 he deposed from his See Fortunatus, patriarch of Grado, a heretic and traitor to the republic, and replaced him by Primogenius, regionary subdeacon of the Roman Church. Honorius extinguished the schism of the bishops of Istria, who for seventy years had defended the *three chapters*.

Honorius loved to erect magnificent churches, and to rebuild such as were falling into ruins. He covered the roof of Saint Peter's with bronze plates, which the Emperor Heraclius allowed to be taken from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. He also adorned the altar of the holy apostle with incrustations of silver.

* See Labbe and Baronius.

In three ordinations, in December, Honorius created eighty-one bishops, and thirteen or thirty-one priests. He governed the Church twelve years, eleven months, and sixteen days. He died on the 12th of October, 638, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant one year, seven months, and seventeen days.

The memory of this pontiff, says some historians, would have been among the most glorious, had he not shown himself somewhat negligent in rooting out at its commencement the heresy of the Monothelites, a branch of the Eutychians, who attributed but one will, the divine, to Jesus Christ.* The author of that heresy was Theodore, bishop of Faran, in Arabia. Honorius, it is said, deceived by the letters of Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, and a secret professor of Monothelism, prohibited disputation upon the question whether there was in Jesus two operations or wills, so that those who should affirm that there was only one should not seem to favor the party of Eutychius, which party admitted only one nature in Christ; and that those who affirmed that there were two, should not appear to follow the error of Nestorius, who obstinately persisted in affirming two persons in Christ, in whom nevertheless Honorius recognized two wills.

Some authors, calumniating Honorius, have declared him a sectary of the Monothelites. The most that can be said is, that he was only guilty of negligence when he should have extinguished that heresy, which did so much mischief to the Church, and which was condemned by the sixth general council, in 680.

I cannot refrain from giving here the spirit of the remarks of Novaes on this point, as it appears to me to sum up with talent the great question of the guilt or innocence of Honorius.

To vindicate the honor of that pontiff, many authors of many varieties of opinion have discussed the question; all their various opinions have deserved praise, but they are not all equally solid. A remarkably reserved and conciliatory spirit dictated this note: "Cardinal John Torrecremata, in his second book, *De Ecclesia*, chap. 93, thinks that Honorius did not err at all, but that it was the sixth council that committed *an error of fact*. Misinterpreting the Catholic letters of the pontiff to Sergius, Witasse, in his *Treatise on the Incarnation* (p. 293, *et seq.*, of the Venice edition), quotes the authors who, after Torrecremata, have defended that opinion.

"Witasse, nevertheless, attacks him. On that subject, Bernard Desirant, hermit of Saint Augustine, published an apology, entitled 'Pope Honorius defended, saving the integrity of the sixth council, or the History of Monothelism, against the last subterfuge of the Jansenists (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1711; 4to.)'. Melchior Cano took another way. He argued that Honorius, in

* Petau, *Theolog. Dog.*, vol. iv., Book 1, chap. 19.

writing to Sergius, really erred in the faith, but that his error was that of a private man, and not of the pope. Tournely and Thomassin subsequently adopted this opinion.

“Albert Pighi, the two cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, Boucat, and Father Merlin, the author of a dissertation which appeared in 1733, under the title of ‘An exact and detailed Examination of the action of Honorius,’ deny that Honorius was condemned by the sixth council, and think that, against the will of the Fathers in council, the name of Honorius was inserted instead of that of Theodorus.

“But very distinguished men who have written on this subject, such as Christianus Lupus, Jean Garnier, Natalis Alexander, Pagi, Pierre de Marca, Jean-Baptiste Tamagnini, have received as genuine and sincere, the acts of the sixth council. Father John Gisbert, a Jesuit, printed at Paris, in 1688, a defence of Honorius. He argues that the letters of this pope to Sergius contain no definition of faith, but only the precept not to make use of the term *two operations*. ‘Those letters,’ says also that Father of the Society of Jesus, ‘when they were written, did not directly injure the faith; the cause between the Catholics and the Monothelites was still pending; and while a cause is pending, the judge can impose silence on both parties, saving the right of one of them. Subsequent to that, when the sixth council terminated that controversy, the letters of the pontiff began directly to wound the faith; for, where a controversy is at an end, all hesitation or vacillation in the faith is contrary and offensive to the faith. Consequently, although Honorius did not adhere to the opinion of the Monothelites, the general council could yet condemn his letters as documents which, issuing from the Papal See, began to be injurious to the faith.”

Father Francis Marchesi, of the Roman oratory, in his *Clypeus Fortium*, or, a Defence of Honorius I. (Rome, 1680; 4to.), maintains, with great vivacity, that Honorius was not condemned by the sixth synod while it was general and œcumenical, that is to say, until its eleventh session, but afterwards, when it was already dissolved. Boucas declares for this opinion, in his Treatise on the Incarnation, Dissertation 4; and Torrecremata, Bellarmine, and many others, are of nearly the same way of thinking.

“The most common opinion of modern authors is that which Garnier defended, and to which Serry and Witasse gave their adhesion, namely, that Honorius was not tainted with Monothelism, and yet deserved condemnation because of his imprudent dissimulation and his not putting down the new heresy. In support of that view of the case, a letter is quoted, of Leo II. to the Spanish bishops, which letter Labbe has given in his Councils (vol vi., col. 1247). Baronius deems the letter apocryphal, while Christianus Lupus believes it genuine.

“Monsignor Jean-Baptiste Bertoli, bishop of Feltre, in his excellent

Apology for Honorius I. (Feltre, 1750 ; 4to), takes an absolutely new way of defending Honorius, not from the charge of an error as to the faith, for he will not, for an instant, imagine that error, but from any negligence of any kind whatever. His arguments have such a manly solidity, and are adorned by such powerful erudition, as to dissipate all doubt. All must follow the road marked out by the prelate." The elaborate note of Novaes ends in the following words : "I submit my judgment in this matter to that prelate, and to the fine extract from him given by Zacchary, in his *Literary History of Italy*, vol. ii., book ii., chap. 24, p. 21, *et seq.*"

Finally, after thus explaining the dispute, nothing remains to controvert the infallibility of the Church as to dogmatic facts, as Havelange shows in his learned and orthodox work, *The Infallibility of the Church as to Dogmatic Facts*. (See the *Historical and Literary Journal* for April 1, 1790, p. 530.*)

Honorius, towards the close of his reign, had to deplore the progress of Mahometanism ; but God granted him the consolation of seeing Croatia become Catholic, and the Holy Cross taken from the Persians by the triumphant armies of Heraclius.

72. SEVERINUS.—A. D. 640.



EVERINUS, a Roman, son of Labienus, was elected pontiff on the 28th of May, 640, after the Holy See had been vacant more than a year and a half, because the emperor would not ratify the election, as Severinus had not approved the *Ecthesis*, or profession of faith, published in 638, by the same emperor, which imposed silence on the question of one or two wills in our Saviour. This latter the Monothelites denied. In this manner they endeavored to obtain a confirmation of their heresy.

The legates sent by Severinus perceived that they would obtain nothing until that *Ecthesis* should be approved at Rome ; they went so far as to promise the signature of the pope, and they returned to Italy after the confirmation of the election of Severinus was obtained. But the pope showed himself averse to all approbation on that point. It was a decree in favor of the Monothelites ; and that work which Sergius had recommended was con-

* Feller, iii., p. 560.

demned by Severinus. Heraclius, offended at this, gave orders to his ministers, and especially to Isaac, exarch of Ravenna, and Mauritius, governor of Rome, to sack the treasury of the Lateran Church. They were to spare the Blessed Sacrament. Severinus, deeply afflicted, fell sick, and died after a pontificate of three months and four days.

In one single ordination, this pope created nine bishops. He died on the 1st of August, 640. He was esteemed for his virtue, his piety, his mildness, and his love for the poor. He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant four months and twenty-four days.

The refusal of Severinus, who was the acquaintance and friend of Honorius, would, if needed, suffice to prove that the celebrated letter written to Sergius by Honorius does not permit the accusation of that pope as a Monothelist, and only tended to impose upon all an absolute silence respecting that anti-Catholic question.

73. JOHN IV.—A. D. 640.



JOHN IV., son of Venantius, of Zara, in Dalmatia, cardinal-deacon, was elected pontiff on the 24th of December, 640. Before he was consecrated, he addressed a letter to the bishops of Scotia, and he condemned some of them, who, on the subject of the celebration of Easter, had not obeyed the decrees of the Council of Nice. At the same time, he begged the faithful to beware of the heresies of Pelagius, which had revived in that country. Subsequently, in a council, he condemned the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius, and the error of the Monothelites. He approved the doctrine of Honorius I., as conformable to the true faith. The heretics took unfair advantage of his letters to defend their heresy; he declared every attack upon Honorius to be unjust and calumnious. He sent to Constantine, son and successor of Heraclius, a letter, begging that the new emperor would revoke the *Ecthesis* of his father, which was done by Constans, successor to Constantine I., in 641.

In a question which arose between the priests and the monks, as to the administration of the parish churches, the pope decided that the latter might administer such as should be committed to their charge.

John caused to be removed from his own country, Dalmatia, often exposed to the incursions of the barbarians, the remains of the holy martyrs, Ve-

nantius, Anastasius, and Maurus, and placed them in the Church of Saint John Lateran, where they repose in the oratory, known, since 1575, as the Madonna of Saint John.

The Holy Father created eighteen bishops, one priest, and five deacons. He died on the 11th of October, 642, after governing the Church one year, nine months, and eighteen days, and he was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant one month and thirteen days.

74. THEODORE I.—A. D. 642.



THEODORE I., a Greek by descent, but born at Jerusalem, was elected pontiff on the 24th of November, 642. He wrote to Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, synodal letters, in which he ordered an examination of the cause of Pyrrhus, a Monothelite, who then came to Rome, abjured his error before the pope, and was received into the Catholic communion. This same Pyrrhus, having retracted his retractation, Theodore assembled a council in 648, and condemned the relapsed heretic. The sentence was written with a pen dipped in a chalice which contained the blood of our Lord. That ceremony again practised by the fourth Council of Constantinople, the eighth general council, in which Leo pronounced sentence against Photius, and many years afterwards, at the conclusion of peace between Charles the Bald, king of France, and Bernard, Count of Toulouse.

In the same council, Theodore condemned Paul, who had instigated the Emperor Constantius to publish the *Type* or formulary.

In the *Type*, the emperor forbade all disputation between the Catholics and Monothelites. He threatened those who should disobey with deposition, privation of trust, confiscation, banishment, and even corporal punishment.* The absurd zeal of the author of this edict, invoking the name of the emperor, considered no punishment too severe for those who differed from it in opinion. We shall relate with some particularity what occurred at Rome when that writing appeared. It was thenceforth, by the liveliest and most just resistance that the popes manifested their independence.

* *Italy* : Didot, p. 39.

Their political position appeared more secure than ever. The Lombards lived more peacefully with the pontificate than with the inhabitants of Ravenna. The exarchs gave themselves up to debauchery and to schemes of avarice and robbery, as had been the case under the reign of Pope Severinus. It was considered at Rome that the *Ecthesis*, though contradictory in its terms, and imposing silence on all, yet seemed to pronounce in favor of the Catholics, and it was probably for that reason that Pope Honorius, at the time of the publication of the *Ecthesis*, maintained the prescribed silence, and on the whole had acted rather as a private individual than as pope; for while the *Type* left the question undetermined, and absolutely forbade explanation on either side, Catholics and heretics alike were to be silent. Pope Theodore and his bishops, even the Lombard bishops, resisted that edict, which they deemed dangerous, because, said they, it closed the mouths of the orthodox, confounded truth and error, *and left the faith mute and in captivity*.

Theodore caused the church of Saint Valentine, on the Flaminian Way, near the Ponte Molle, but now destroyed, to be built and richly ornamented.

From the Nomentanian Way, where they were first interred, he removed, to the church of Saint Stephen the protomartyr, the bodies of the holy martyrs, Primus and Felicianus. He also built two oratories, the one at Saint John Lateran, and the other outside of Saint Paul's gate; the former dedicated to Saint Sebastian, and the latter to Saint Euplus.

In one ordination, in December, Theodore created forty-six bishops, twenty-one priests, and four deacons. He governed the Church six years, five months, and nine days, and died on the 13th of May, 649.

He was affable to all, and especially to the poor. In some martyrologies he has the title of Saint, but the Roman Martyrology does not give him that title, the necessary documents being wanting.

He was interred at the Vatican, and the Holy See remained vacant one month and twenty-two days.



75. ST. MARTIN I.—A. D. 649.



SAINT MARTIN I., son of Fabricius, a rich and noble personage of Todi, a town in the States of the Church, was elected pope on the 5th of July, 649, and consecrated without waiting for the consent of the emperor, who afterwards accused him of taking the pontificate irregularly, and without his consent.* This pope himself informs us, in a letter which is contained in Labbe's Councils (Vol. v., p. 65), that this was the reason why the pontiff of Rome was persecuted. He convoked a council in the church of Saint John Lateran, which was attended by five hundred bishops. Here the *Ecthesis*, where necessary, and the *Type*, were condemned. Such declarations required martial support, and the Lombard kings did not seem disposed to withhold it; they declared for Pope Martin against the Emperor Constans. The emperor endeavored, by stratagem, to punish the pope for his opposition, and gave orders for his assassination. But Martin never went forth except attended by a number of the clergy, and the exarch, Olympius, who had received the order to commit the crime, failed to execute it. However, being eager to obey, he one day sent to beg that the pope would give him communion in the church of Saint John Lateran.† Constant watch was kept for designs against the Holy Father. The bishops were foremost in showing zeal and eagerness to honor and serve the pontiff. No one supposed that Olympius, clothed in the great dignity of exarch, would thus draw the pope into an ambush, and dare to commit a sacrilege in the church itself. Nevertheless, as the faithful at that time received communion at the place in the church where they prayed, and as the pontiff carried it to them, as at the present time it is carried only to the pope in the Roman ceremonial, Olympius was to be apart, surrounded by his guards, and his personal attendant ready to stab the pontiff at the moment when he stooped to pronounce the words of communion. The pope, attended by his bishops, advanced, and Olympius knelt to receive the communion, but the assassin was appalled, and Martin retired unmolested. Olympius demanded why his attendant had not killed the pope. He replied, that at the moment when the communion commenced he seemed to be suddenly stricken with blindness, and in his agitation and a trembling which he could not control, it seemed to him that the pope disappeared.

* Novaes, ii., p. 28.

† Italy, p. 19.

Olympius, who already began to feel some remorse for the crime that he had contemplated, did not punish his attendant, but, on the following day, threw himself at the pope's feet, confessed the horrible project of assassination, confided to him the order that had been sent from Constantinople, promised not to execute it, and solicited his pardon. Martin, much affected, raised Olympius from the ground, embraced and pardoned him. Constans recalled Olympius from his exarchate, and sent him to Sicily to fight the Mussulmans, who had already invaded that island. Theodore Calliopas was appointed to succeed Olympius in the exarchate, and ordered to reside in Rome, to execute important orders. Calliopas arrived, with the determination to obey the severest orders.

Italy, though subject to different masters, had but one feeling towards Pope Martin. He was a pontiff of eminent piety, patient in bearing wrongs, and inflexible in his desire to defend the faith. Simple and frugal in his expenses, he was sumptuous only in his alms. He reconciled differences, and maintained the union essential to preserve Italy from useless disasters.

Men never spoke unmoved of the spectacle of the conscience-stricken assassin, of the remorse of Olympius, and the impious obstinacy of the emperor; the words of Calliopas were noted, his fury or his treachery was everywhere dreaded, on the public ways, in the palaces, in the processions, and even in the very sanctuary.

Martin acquired, by a new title, the veneration and gratitude of the Christians, when he sent to Sicily considerable sums to ransom the unfortunate Christian inhabitants, whom the Saracens had reduced to slavery after a defeat, of which Constans was the real author, because he deprived Olympius of the means of defending the towns.

Here we must remark, that the custom of the Mussulmans to reduce the vanquished to slavery compelled the Christians, notwithstanding the representations of the popes, to resort to reprisals, and to re-establish, at least, during the wars with the Turks, the odious institution of slavery.

Martin, then, was regarded at Rome as an angel of peace, and as a worthy successor of the apostles; but as soon as he lost the displeasure of the emperor, the court could see in Martin only a malignant and dangerous man, a pontiff destitute of virtue, and a rebellious subject. When he sent money to the Saracens for the ransom of Greeks and Italians, and even the soldiers of Olympius, the pope became, in their eyes, an enemy of the emperor, seeking to deliver Italy to the Saracens. Such is ever the envenomed spirit of cowards and sycophants!

Calliopas did not delegate to another, as Olympius had, the task of gratifying the emperor. He strengthened the military posts along the intrenchments erected by Aurelian, in the form of an arm on the right and left of the tomb of Adrian, on the bank of the Tiber, and now known as the

castle of Sant Angelo ; he appeared in public, escorted by soldiers and by Theodore Pellurius, chamberlain of the emperor, who was to receive the person of Martin when he should be seized. The pope fell sick. Calliopas sent an officer to him, who said—"The exarch learns that the pontifical palace has become a garrison, where arms and stones are collected ; he knows no cause for this, but he cannot refrain from condemning such measures as preparations for revolt."

The pope ordered the officer to be shown over the palace, to convince him that there were neither weapons nor stones there. The exarch had adopted the stratagem to learn whether the palace had any means of defence. Satisfied on that point by the report of his officer, Calliopas no longer concealed his designs. Martin then had his bed removed into the church itself, as into an inviolable asylum. Calliopas broke in the doors and rushed in, followed by his soldiery, shouting and striking their shields with their swords. He destroyed the candlesticks, the tapers, and the seats, and placed soldiers around the bed of the almost dying pontiff. He then communicated to the clergy a letter of the emperor, ordering the election of another pope, on the ground that Martin was an intruder. Then, in spite of the cries of the clergy, who pressed around their father, whom they wished to accompany, and from whom they implored not to be separated, he seized the person of the pontiff and carried him away a prisoner.

On the following day Martin was delivered into the hands of Pellurius, who threw him into a bark on the Tiber, allowing him to take nothing with him but his torn clothes and a drinking-cup. The vile chamberlain took his victim to Porto, thence to Messina, where a vessel awaited to take him to Constantinople.

The voyage was prolonged, in order to weary out the patience of Martin, and the vessel was kept three months on the coast of Calabria. Suffering from a dysentery which enfeebled him extremely, and shrinking from even the most nourishing food, nothing was allowed the pontiff except the coarse food of the common sailors.

If priests, or the faithful in the neighboring places, brought him any refreshment, they were ill treated, and told, "You must be enemies of the emperor, as you love this man. At length the vessel sailed for Naxos, where the pontiff was allowed to go on shore, but only to be imprisoned in a house in the town, where he was kept for an entire year. On the 17th of September, 654, Martin, dragged violently from his prison, arrived before Constantinople. The clergy at Rome, and the Lombards at Pavia, had written to commend Saint Martin to the emperor ; but those entreaties only increased the fury of the heretic. He ordered Martin to be kept on the shore a whole day, lying on a mat and exposed to the insults of the populace. At last, confined in prison, he was harshly

questioned by the emperor, deprived of the pallium, dragged through the streets and courts with a chain round his neck, and chained to his jailer, as an indication that he was condemned to death. The executioner carried before Martin the headsman's sword. Staggering with weakness, and marking his passage with tracks of blood, he was then cast into another prison, where he would have died of cold had not his guards taken compassion upon him. At the end of three months he was transported to Cherson, then the place of exile of great criminals. Here this noble pontiff died of fatigue and suffering, on the 16th of September, 655.

The Romans had elected Pope Eugenius, during the life of Martin, who, from his Cherson prison, approved the election, in order that the chair of Peter should not remain vacant.

Thus ended the life of Martin, a worthy, learned, and courageous pontiff, firm in the opinions that he had professed, and in the principles of order that all Italy maintained against the Greek rhetors, even in that state of political dismemberment and that host of reciprocal capitulations to which she was reduced.

As it is requisite to establish the duration of the pontificate of Martin, the decision of the *Diario* of Rome is followed. It states that Martin governed the Church six years, two months, and twelve days. Novaes gives this reign only five years, two months, and three days, basing his estimate on the opinion of those authors who maintained that Martin ceased to be pope after that election of Eugenius I. which he approved of in prison.

In two ordinations, in December, Martin, previous to his exile, had created thirty-three bishops, five or eleven priests, and five deacons.

His body was taken to Rome, and deposited in the church of Saint Martin *ai Monti*. The Latins celebrate his feast on the 12th, and the Greeks the day of his death, and also on the 13th of April, with great solemnity.

Reckoning from the departure of Martin to the election of Eugenius, the Holy See remained vacant one year, two months, and twenty days.



76. EUGENE I.—A. D. 654.



UGENE I., a Roman, was elected on the 8th of September, 654, with the consent of the still living, but imprisoned pope, Saint Martin I. The Roman clergy were forced to this step by fear of seeing the election of a Monothelite pontiff. Cardinal Baronius* thinks that Eugene, during the life of Martin, was only that pontiff's vicar, and did not become truly a pope until Martin's death.

Feller,† in the short article that he has devoted to Eugene, says briefly: "Eugene was vicar-general of the Church during the captivity of Pope Saint Martin, and succeeded him in the pontificate in 656."

Peter, successor of Pyrrhus, in the patriarchate of Constantinople, and an ardent abettor of the Monothelites, hoped to baffle the vigilance of him who exercised the functions of pontiff, and sent him, according to ancient custom, the synodical letter. It was full of cunning and treacherous expressions as to the wills and operations of Christ, and was calculated to impose upon any one who read it without serious attention. The Roman clergy, accustomed to distrust Greek faith, and justly indignant against the patriarchs of Byzantium, the authors of the sufferings of Pope Martin persuaded Eugene to abstain from celebrating Mass, until he solemnly promised neither to receive nor to approve the synodical letter. Eugene, who needed not that advice, firmly rejected the letter as suspicious, and as secretly heretical; he sent his own synodical to Constantinople, and ended by condemning his own *apocrisiaries* at the imperial court, who, seduced by the patriarch, had begun to stray from the Catholic faith.

This pontiff died on the 2d of June, 657, and was buried at the Vatican. He governed the Church, reckoning from the year 654, two years, eight months, and twenty-four days.

In two ordinations he created twenty-two bishops. The Holy See was vacant two months and nine days.

* *Annal. Eccles. ad An. 652, No. 14, et ad An. 654, No. 6.*

† II., p. 757.

77. ST. VITALIAN—A. D. 657.



SAINT VITALIAN, son of Anastasius Pontiacus, of Legni, a town in the Roman Campana, or born according to others at Svernia, a castle in the Abruzzi, was elected pontiff on the 11th of August, 657. He immediately dispatched his legates to the Emperor Constans with a synodal letter, announcing his election, and exhorting him to abandon the Monothelites. The legates were well received, and brought back, as a gift to the church of Saint Peter, the gospels covered with gold and precious stones. The Holy Father received the present with marks of joy.

Meanwhile Constans resolved to abandon Constantinople, expel the Lombards from Italy, and re-establish Rome as the seat of the empire. "*The mother,*" said he, "*deserves more consideration than the daughter.*" He therefore fitted out a fleet, and embarked his treasures about the year 662: he directed his empress, whose name history has not preserved, to join him in the port, with their three sons, Constantine Pogonatus, Heraclius, and Tiberius. But Andreas, his chamberlain, and Theodorus of Colonos, stirred up the populace, who felt bound to show their detestation for a tyrant, combining in himself all the cruelty of Nero, Commodus, and Heliogabalus. The Byzantines accordingly prevented the family of Constans from joining him. This did not for an instant turn him from his purpose. He mounted to the deck of his vessel, spat at the city, and immediately set sail. After wintering at Athens, he set out for Italy early in spring, and reached Rome on the 5th of July, in the year 663, and remained there for a few days. The emperor was continually boasting that he would destroy the Lombards, but soon renounced all hope. Pope Vitalian, at the head of his clergy, went out to meet the emperor, and conducted him to the church of Saint Peter, where the dissembler, in order to mask his evil intentions, left a rich present. Subsequently he visited Saint Mary Major, where also he made an offering. On the following day he again went to Saint Peter's, which he surrounded with his troops. He heard Mass, and laid upon the altar a piece of cloth of gold. On the following Sunday he again heard Mass at Saint Peter's, and after the sacrifice the emperor and the pope embraced and bade each other farewell. This was the twelfth day after the arrival of Constans. Up to this time he had displayed signs only of devotion and pious liberality. But the Lombards had defeated his rear-guard at Naples,

which deprived him of his hope of remaining at Rome. Before leaving the city, he pillaged the churches, took back all the presents he had made, and carried off all that was most precious in the city. He had been solicited to adorn the Pantheon, transformed into a church in 608, by Pope Boniface IV., with the permission of the Emperor Phocas. But Constans II. preferred plundering that temple of all the metal plates on the roof. Thus a Roman emperor was guilty of greater violence than can be charged on the Goths and Vandals. He immediately hastened away with all his plunder to Syracuse. Such conduct could not fail to strengthen the power of the popes in Italy.

Platina states that Vitalian introduced the use of organs in churches, for divine service: others attribute that custom to Saint Damasus, but the prevailing, if not the correct opinion, attributes it to Saint Vitalian. Moreri states that organs were invented in the time of Saint Aldric, bishop of Mans, who died in 856, and was among the first to place organs in churches. But Ladvocat says that the invention was earlier by four centuries, inasmuch as Claudian describes an organ. In fact, it is certain that before Pope Saint Vitalian, Venantius Fortunatus, who died in 606, says, with reference to Saint Germain, bishop of Paris, that in his time there were organs in the churches of that city. The following verses show that Fortunatus was acquainted with organs.

"Exiguïs attemperat organa cannis,
Ructat ab ore tubam—
Cymbalæ noces—
Fistula dulce sonat."

Bingham (*Orig. Eccles.*, liv. 8) affirms that organs were not known before the time of Saint Thomas Aquinas. But such an opinion cannot possibly be sustained.

Saint Vitalian sent back to the church of Lappa, in Candia, John, who had appealed to the universal pontiff from the sentence of deposition pronounced by his metropolitan, Paul. The pontiff excommunicated Maurus, bishop of Ravenna, who, proud of the favor of the exarch, refused to appear at Rome to answer an accusation, and, shaking off the authority of the Roman Church, had solicited and obtained from Constans a decree declaring Ravenna an *autocephalic church*.

The Holy Father, in four ordinations, created ninety-seven bishops, twenty-two priests, and ten deacons. He governed the Church fourteen years and ten months, and died on the 27th of January, 672.

In erudition, Vitalian may bear comparison with the most learned pontiffs; he was inferior to none of them in zeal for the propagation of religion, and courage in its defence. He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant two months and twenty-four days.

The Emperor Constans, while in such constant dread of the Lombards, seems to have had no fear of a far different danger which was one day to threaten his successors in their own capital.

The doctrine of Mahomet has caused so many evils to the Holy See, and has given it so many opportunities of displaying its constancy and its courage, that it merits especial attention here.

Mahomet, at twelve years of age, was instructed at Bosra, by a Nestorian monk, whose name, according to some Eastern authors, was Felix, son of Aba-Absalibi, driven from Constantinople on account of his errors, at the time when the Nestorians had lost all credit in that city. This monk, Felix, shared the errors of the Nestorians, and he gave Mahomet his own gross idea of the Christian religion. The fatal seed germinated in the bosom of Mahomet; at first he felt horror of the idolatry in which he had been born, and that feeling being sharpened by ambition, he conceived the audacious design of reforming the religion of Arabia, and making himself master of the country.

It was to Felix that Mahomet, who could neither read nor write, owed many passages in the *Koran* that prove an indirect and imperfect acquaintance with the dogmas of Christianity. According to M. de Saint Martin, Felix, not to be an utter apostate, induced the impostor so far to compromise matters, as to confess Christ to be a prophet, and the son of God.

During the latter years of Mahomet's life began that cruel war, which continued for eight hundred years, between the Mussulmans and the Greek empire. This war occasioned the Crusades, which cost France Saint Louis, and which, interrupted only by brief intervals, covered with its ravages Asia, Africa, and especially Italy, where the Saracens,* landing in 846, advanced almost to the walls of Rome.

* The name of Saracens does not come from Sara, with which their origin has no connection, but from the Arabic word *Schark*, which signifies *East*. From *Schark* is derived *Scharkiia*, that is to say, *Orientalis*. Hosts of etymologies have no better origin, though there is a fancy for connecting them to the most ancient formulas. There is an almost universal mania for thus giving a high nobility to both names and things. Our lineage from Saint Peter will never need the support of such misrepresentations,—it is the TRUTH, in all times, in all languages, and for all ages to come.



78. ADEODATUS I.—A. D. 672.



DEODATUS I., by many authors called Deusdedit II., was the son of Jovian, and was a Benedictine monk of Saint Erasmus of Rome, on the Celian Mount, and afterwards cardinal-priest. He was elected pontiff on the 22d of April, 672. He confirmed to the Venetians their right to elect their Doge.* That fact is a proof of the agreement which then subsisted between Rome and Venice.

The Venetians, who, to rid themselves from the disturbances of democratic anarchy, had wisely resolved to choose for themselves a more concentrated and more stable government, could do no better than procure for their new constitution a sacred sanction,† which could at once awe the tumultuous multitude, and give the Venetians a new title to disengage themselves the more frankly from the servitude in which they were kept by the emperors of the East. On the other hand, the pontiff must have seen, with satisfaction, a free people coming to him to implore an investiture that it believed to be necessary.

Adeodatus ratified the privilege granted by Crotbert, bishop of Tours, to the monastery of Saint Martin, which privilege consisted in freeing that monastery from the authority of the ordinary. Feller says that Adeodatus was the first who employed in his letters the formula—*Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem*.‡

Anastasius the Librarian describes Adeodatus as a pontiff of mild disposition, affable, liberal, and compassionate to the poor.

In one ordination, in December, he created six, or, as some authors say, forty-six bishops, fourteen priests, and five deacons. He governed the Church four years, two months, and a few days. He was interred in Saint Peter's. The Holy See remained vacant four months and five days.

* Peter Giustiniani, *Pier. Venet.*, lib. i., p. 6.

† Cæsarotti, p. 198.

‡ We have already treated that question.

79. ST. DONUS I. — A. D. 676.



DONUS I. is also called Domno, Domnion, Cono, and Cunone. He was a Roman, the son of Mauritius, and was elected pontiff on the 1st of November, 676. Reparatus, archbishop of Ravenna, wiser than his predecessor Maur, recognized the obedience that he owed to the Holy See. Donus magnificently ornamented with marble tables the *atrium* of the church of Saint Peter, and which was named Paradise. He restored the Basilica of Saint Paul. Anastasius speaks of a comet that was visible for three months during the reign of this pontiff. The Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, after having concluded quite a glorious peace with the Saracens, who were animated with the conquering fury of their founder, Mahomet, desired to restore calm to the Greek and Latin Churches, and asked that the Holy See should convoke a new œcumenical council, in which the great question upon the will of Christ should be solemnly debated. He desired that the faithful should at length receive a certain rule for their faith. The letters of Constantine did not arrive until after the death of Donus, and were referred to his successor.

Donus created, in one ordination, six bishops, ten priests, and five deacons. He died on the 11th of April, 678, and was buried at Saint Peter's. The Holy See was vacant two months and fifteen days.

80. ST. AGATHO. — A. D. 678.



SAINT AGATHO, son of Pannonius Amon, was born, according to some, at Aquilano, at *Valle Siculiana*, in the Abruzzi. Bury says that this pope was a Sicilian, and there is reason to believe that such is the fact. Being a Benedictine monk, he lived in the monastery of Saint Ermes, at Palermo. He was elected pontiff on the 27th of June, 678. He was then, according to Novaes, a hundred and three years old; but Platina, Bury, Fleury, Feller, the *Biographie Universelle*, and M. Receveur speak of no such age.

After receiving the letters of Constantine, written with such pious intentions, Agatho celebrated a synod at Rome, in the year 679. It was attended by a hundred and twenty-five bishops. In this Synod the Monothelites were condemned, and legates were elected to represent the pope, in the general council that was convoked at Constantinople. The legates were bearers of two letters, one from Agatho, and the other from the synod, addressed to Constantine. In that of the pope, the following remarkable words occur: "We send you our legates. Do not expect to find in them secular eloquence, or even perfect knowledge of the Scriptures. How could those universal enlightenments be preserved amidst the tumult of arms by prelates compelled to gain their daily bread by the daily labor of their hands? The patrimony of the churches has become the prey of the barbarians. All that these prelates have been able to save from so many ravages is the treasure of the faith, such as our fathers transmitted it to us, with nothing added to it and nothing taken from it."

In the same letter, Monothelism was refuted by the constant tradition of the Roman Church. "The Catholic universe," says the pope, "recognizes this Church for the mother and the mistress of all the others. Her primacy came from Saint Peter, the prince of the Apostles, to whom Jesus Christ intrusted the care of his whole flock, with a promise that his faith should never be found wanting." That letter having been referred to the Fathers of the council, they received it respectfully, and declared that *Peter had spoken by the mouth of Agatho*.

This general council, commonly called *in trullo*, from the round form of the vault where it was held, is known as the sixth general council, and the third of Constantinople. There were two hundred and eighty-five Fathers present. It condemned the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius, the *Type* of the Emperor Constans, and the Monothelites. Finally, it declared that there were two wills in Christ.

After the council, in which the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus gave so many proofs of pure Catholicity, the pope obtained from him the remission of the three thousand *solidi* of gold which were exacted by the emperor on the election of each pope, and it was agreed that thenceforth that tribute should not be imposed upon the Holy See. That abuse had been introduced under Athalaric, and continued under some emperors of the East. Agatho sent chanters to England to teach the clergy of that country the Roman chant. Vitalian had taken a like course with respect to France, whither he had sent the chanter John to instruct the clerks. In one ordination, in December, Agatho created eighteen bishops, ten priests, and three deacons. He governed the Church three years, six months, and fifteen days. The great number of miracles that he performed obtained for him, says Anastasius, the surname of Thaumaturgist. The Greeks, as well as the Latins,

honor his memory on the 10th of January. Novaes distinctly says that Agatho died at the age of one hundred and seven years, and he quotes Mongitore, who affirms that fact.*

Agatho was affable and generous; none ever left his presence discontented. He was interred at Saint Peter's. The Holy See remained vacant seven months and five days.

Novaes says nothing about the accusations which at this time arose against Honorius, of which we have spoken in the life of that pope. It is certain, in the first place, that Agatho in his letter in which he traced all the Monothelite antecedents as keenly as he attacked those errors of his own time, never once mentioned Pope Honorius. In the *History of the Papacy*, by Baron Henrion (2d edition, Paris, 1834, 12mo, p. 128), we find the following passage: "If the natural and grammatical sense of the assertion of Honorius is liable to blame, at least the personal sense of the rescript of that pope has been solidly justified, in such wise that in the dogmatic facts there is nothing contrary to the infallibility of the Church. Moreover, Honorius never ceased, to his last breath, to profess and to defend the truth, and to exhort and threaten those same Monothelites whose opinions he has since been accused of embracing."

Finally, the eighth general council, whose decisions are most certainly to be honored, confesses, adds Henrion, that the pure doctrine had been *invariably taught* from the apostolic chair.

81. ST. LEO II.—A. D. 682.



IN the death of Saint Agatho, Saint Leo II., son of Paul Manco, a physician, was elected pope. He was born at Piano-di-San-Martino, near Reggio, in Grecia Magna (now the Kingdom of Naples). He was originally a canon-regular, and then cardinal-priest. He was elected pope on the 16th of August, 682, and then consecrated according to the established custom by the bishop of Ostia, assisted by the bishop of Porto and another bishop.

He confirmed the sixth council, *in trullo*, whose acts had been taken to Rome by Agatho's legates, and he translated them from the Greek into the

* *Sicilia Ricercata*, Vol. i., chap. liv., p. 172.

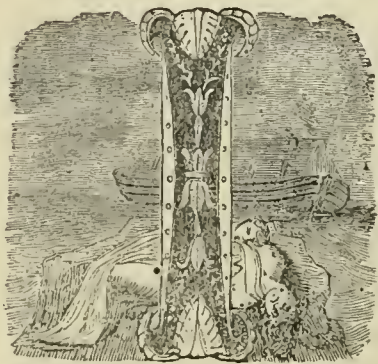
Latin in order to send a copy of them to the Spanish bishops. The emperor Constantine, at the request of Leo, ordered that on the death of the titular archbishop of Ravenna, the newly elected archbishop should go to Rome to be consecrated, conformably to usage; the pope at the same time dispensed the See of Ravenna from paying the offering customary at that consecration.

Saint Leo was a great lover of music, he improved the Gregorian chants, regulated the different modes of intoning the hymns, and composed several new ones. He instituted the *Kiss of Peace* in the Mass, and the *sprinkling of holy water upon the people*. Four letters are attributed to him, but Baronius believes them to be apocryphal.

In one ordination, on the 16th of June, he created twenty-three bishops, nine priests, and three deacons; he governed the Church ten months and seventeen days, and died on the 4th of July, 683. To extensive knowledge he joined rare prudence.

He was interred at Saint Peter's. The Holy See remained vacant eleven months and twenty-two days.

82. ST. BENEDICT II.—A. D. 684.



It is debated among writers whether Saint Benedict II., a Roman, son of John, and supposed to be of the Savelli family, was a canon-regular of Saint John Lateran, or a Benedictine monk. He was a cardinal-priest, and was elected pontiff on the 26th of June, 684. Previous to being consecrated, he intrusted the care of some affairs to Peter, regionary notary, whom the preceding pontiff, Saint Leo II., had sent into Spain with the acts of the sixth general council; they were addressed to a council of Toledo, which was to recognize the definition settled at that council. It is thence inferred that at the time of the election of Benedict the ancient custom of the pontifical government ceased; by that custom, at the death of a pope, and from the election to the consecration of his successor, the powers of the government were intrusted to the archpriest, the archdeacon, and the primate of the notaries.

The Emperor Constantine IV., who had a tender affection for Benedict, decreed that thenceforth the election of the Roman pontiff should not need

the confirmation of the emperor, nor even that of the exarch, a change which the popes long and vainly solicited. Unfortunately, the effect of that decree was not long enjoyed, for Justinian II., son and successor of the pious Constantine, paying no respect to the decision of his father, renewed the same abuse, by committing to the exarch of Ravenna the right of confirming the election of Pope Conon.

Benedict, reared in the love of poverty, patient, mild, liberal, versed in the Holy Scriptures, says Fleury, and learned in the rules of the chant, was much regretted. He created twelve bishops, and governed the Church ten months and twelve days. According to Baronius, this pontiff was so beloved by the Emperor Constantine that the prince sent to the pope the hair of his sons Justinian and Heraclius, which at that time signified that the emperor looked upon the pontiff as a second father of the young heirs of the empire.

Benedict died on the 7th of March, 685, and was interred at Saint Peter's. The Holy See remained vacant two months and fifteen days.

83. JOHN V.—A. D. 685.



JOHN V., son of Cyriacus, of Antioch, cardinal-deacon at the sixth oecumenical council, was elected pontiff on the 23d of July, 685, and consecrated without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor, or the exarch. This pope restored to the Holy See the Churches of Sardinia, the ordinations of which had from primitive times belonged to her, but had been temporarily granted to the archbishop of Cagliari.

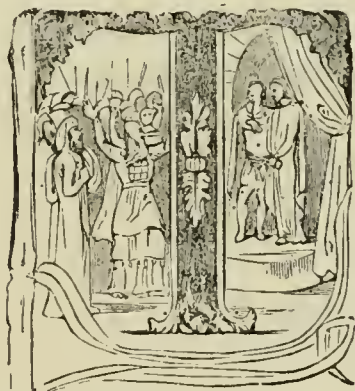
In one ordination of December, John created thirteen bishops. He governed one year and ten days, but was almost constantly ill. He died on the first of August, and was interred at Saint Peter's. He was a man filled with piety, prudence, zeal, and knowledge. The Holy See remained vacant five months and eighteen days.

The Emperor Constantine IV. died in 685. Two great events signalize this reign, the repression of the Saracens, and the restoration of peace to the Church.

This emperor, generous, and often even magnanimous, who so worthily atoned for the crimes of his father, Constans II., a monarch as perfidious as he was cruel, was succeeded by a prince only sixteen years old, Justinian II.,

son of John. The young emperor, trifling with his sovereign power, successively inherited, lost, and recovered it. In his misfortunes Justinian implored the clemency and the compassion of the conqueror, and thus obtained his life ; but when he regained power he knew not how to pardon. He suffered his lieutenants to dishonor his name in Italy, and under the successors of John V. we shall see the evil influence of Justinian develop itself, to the calamity of the Church.

84. CONON.—A. D. 687.



HIS pope, the son of Benedict, of Thracian race, was born at Temeswar, a town of Lower Mysia, where Ovid was exiled. Conon received his education in Sicily, became cardinal-priest, and was elected pope in 687. He was compelled, notwithstanding the decree of Constantine Pognatus, to solicit the confirmation of the exarch of Ravenna. This pope governed the Church during only a few months. In one ordination he created sixteen bishops. He was an old man, white haired, of venerable countenance ; simple, peaceable, stranger to faction, of but little experience in public business.

Some authors accuse him of imprudence, because he ordained as bishop of Antioch, Constantine, a Syracusan, and rector of the patrimony of the Roman Church in Sicily, without making previous inquiry of the clergy at Rome as to the merit and bearing of the new bishop, as was the custom for all ecclesiastical appointments. Subsequently, says Pagi (*Breviar. Gest., Rom. Pont.*), it was ascertained that Constantine was unworthy of that honor.

This pope died on the 21st of September, 687, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant two months and twenty-three days.

At the moment of the election of Conon, that is to say, after the death of John, there were two antipopes, Peter, archpriest, and Theodore, priest. The former was supported by the clergy, the second by the judges and the army. To put an end to the intrigues, the clergy elected a third, Conon. Justinian II. had fomented all these troubles.

Under this reign, Saint Killian, of an illustrious family of Great Britain,

obtained permission to go to Germany to convert the infidels. At first he met with great success at Wurtzburgh, but afterwards incurred the unjust hatred of the wife of the Duke Gosbert, who governed that country. When that English bishop and his companions were singing the praises of the Lord, the duke's wife caused them to be arrested, and they subsequently suffered martyrdom with a courage worthy of the primitive times of the Church.

85. ST. SERGIUS I.—A. D. 687.



SAINT SERGIUS I., son of Tiberius, native of Antioch, and educated at Palermo, or rather, as some say, Syrian by descent, born at Palermo, and educated at Rome, where he became a canon-regular of Saint John Lateran, was first named cardinal-priest of Saint Susannah by Leo II., and was elected pontiff on the 15th of December, 687. Justinian II., successor of Constantine IV., and the son whose hair the latter had sent as a token of filial love to Benedict II., had subsequently continued to manifest feelings of hatred and malignity. Hardy and presumptuous, he confounded the Roman monarchy with the whole world; claimed that all peoples ought to obey his laws, and believed that he had a right even to sell the very chair of Saint Peter. In a council held at Constantinople, and at which only Greek prelates were present, he caused it to be decided that priests who had married previous to their ordination should be permitted to retain their wives. This council was called *quinisextile*, because it was, as it were, supplementary to the fifth and sixth general councils. The discipline of the West did not allow of the possibility of this rule. A hundred and five canons had been passed in that assembly, and when they were submitted to Sergius for his approbation he refused it. Irritated by this refusal to subscribe the name of the Holy See to the decision of the Greek council, Justinian publicly ordered Zachary, his esquire, to seize the pope and convey him to Constantinople. Zachary, on proceeding to Rome, found the whole people in arms for the defence of their pastor.* The soldiery of the exarchate hastened from Ravenna to Rome with the same hostile design against the pope, and the city resounded with shouts and threatenings. Zachary, pursued from street to street, took

* *Italy*, p. 47.

shelter in the very chamber of the pope, whom he entreated to save him. The Lombard ambassadors, who resided at Rome at the same time, sent off couriers begging that Lombard troops might be sent to the defence of Sergius. Suddenly a rumor arose that by treachery, combined with violence, the pope had been carried off and embarked upon the Tiber. The troops from Ravenna immediately invaded the palace, and tumultuously demanded to see the pope, threatening to burst in the doors if they were not instantly opened. Zachary, concealed beneath the very bed of the pope, feared that he should be discovered, and entreated the pope not to desert him. Sergius promised him protection, ordered the doors to be thrown open, and presented himself to the soldiers, who kissed his hands and garments. The times had changed since an emperor had so cruelly carried off Pope Martin. The unworthy treatment of that martyr was still remembered, and it was known that Justinian was prepared to be no less barbarous than his ancestor Constans. The pope purified the people and blessed them, and solicited the life of Zachary, which the Romans granted, and Zachary was ignominiously driven from Rome. This was the first time that the Italians sided with the pontiff in opposition to the imperial power.

This pope, by his prudence, reconciled to the Church of Rome that of Aquileia, which from the time of Vigilius had been separated on account of not condemning the *three chapters*.

Saint Sergius ordered that on the Annunciation, Nativity, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and Saint Simeon's day, that is to say, Purification, the people should go in procession from Saint Adrian to Saint Mary Major.

Sergius had made himself beloved by Rome, and by all Italy. After having saved him from so many dangers, they regarded him as their own conquest. This pope died on the 7th of September, 701. He had governed the Church thirteen years, eight months, and twenty-four days. In two ordinations he created ninety-six bishops, eighteen priests, and four deacons. He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant one month and twenty days.

It was at that period that Africa fell into the power of the Mussulmans. As they had taken Carthage, the emperor sent the patrician John, a great captain, who drove them out; but, in the following year, they again returned in great force, recaptured Carthage and some other towns, and thus extinguished the power of the Romans in Africa, where they had ruled for eight hundred and fifty years, from the year 608 of Rome, when Carthage was taken by Scipio.

On the death of the Pontiff Conon, the sacred comitia were assembled. Theodore, archpriest, and Pascal, archdeacon, presented themselves as candidates to succeed him. Theodore had already been the competitor of

Conon. Neither of the rivals would yield, and then it was that Sergius was elected. Subsequently, Pascal, convicted of magic, was degraded and confined in a monastery, where he died impenitent. Theodore had yielded in good faith to the authority of Sergius, and Pascal had never ceased to show anger and discontent.

86. JOHN VI.—A. D. 701.



JOHN VI., a Greek, son of Petronius, was elected pontiff on the 28th of October, 701. Scarcely did the Emperor Tiberius Absimarius hear of that exaltation, than he sent to Rome the exarch of Ravenna, Theophylactus, a patrician, to obtain from the pope, by force, his approbation in a certain business which was not clearly explained. But the

Italian army, which a short time before had protected Sergius, also pronounced now in favor of John, seeing in Theophylactus another Calliopas, or another Zachary. The soldiers were about to strike the exarch, but John interposed. Baronius observes that divine Providence, protecting the Roman pontiffs, so manifested itself then in their favor, that when the emperors attacked or insulted the popes, the Italian soldiers protected them against the imperial power. From that time, the power of the exarchs began to decline, and that of the popes continually increased. The latter profited by those advantages, but without abusing them; moreover, it was a wise principle not to rely too much on the favor of the military.

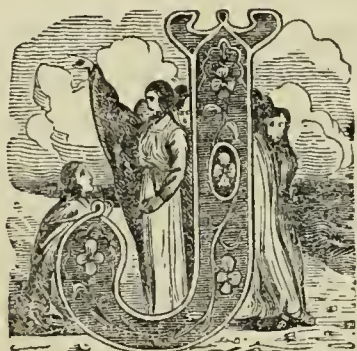
In the council that John celebrated at Rome, in the year 703, he declared the innocence of Saint Wilfred, bishop of York, who had been deposed from his See in the year 692, and appealed to Rome. The pope received that bishop kindly, attentively examined the case, and sent him back to England, with recommendations to the kings of that country.

John governed three years, two months, and thirteen days. In one ordination he created fifteen bishops, nine priests, and two deacons. He died on the 9th of January, 705. The apostolical charity of John led him to redeem all the slaves who had fallen into the power of Gisulf, duke of Benevento, who had ravaged the Roman territory. John was interred, according to some, in the catacombs of Saint Sebastian, but according to others in the Basilica of Saint Peter. The Holy See remained vacant one month and twenty days.

That year the Caliph Walid caused a magnificent mosque to be built in Damascus, his capital; having the great church, dedicated to Saint John, razed to the ground for that purpose. It is said that he offered the Christians to purchase their cathedral church of Saint John for a considerable sum. They refused it, and then the Mussulman seized upon the church, razed it, and on its site had his mosque erected, without giving any thing to the Christians.

This outrage was avenged four centuries later by the French kings of Jerusalem.

87. JOHN VII.—A. D. 705.



JOHN VII., cardinal-deacon of Saint Mary the New, son of Plato, a Greek, said by others, but with little foundation, to have been born at Rossano, in Calabria, in Magna Grecia, was a very learned man for his time. He was elected pontiff on the 1st of March, 705.

In 707, Aribert II., king of the Lombards, restored to him the Cottian Alps. They were thus called from Prince Cottius, who for a long time possessed them under the Emperor Octavian Augustus. They formed the fifth province of Italy, made part of Liguria to the confines of Gaul, and contained Tortona, Bobbio, Acqui, Genoa, and Savona.

Previous to the coming of the Lombards, the Cottian Alps were administered by the popes. The Lombards usurped those provinces in spite of the remonstrances of the various pontiffs. Aribert caused a diploma to be drawn up in letters of gold, and in that document he recognized the property of the Holy See; it was afterwards confirmed by King Luitprand, under the reign of Gregory II., as is related by Paul the Deacon.

The Emperor Justinian II., having sent to John the canons of the last council held at Constantinople, with the request that he would confirm what he should approve, and reject what he should disapprove in them, John returned the documents unread, because the council had not been assembled with the intervention of the papal legates. Anastasius the Librarian, blames John for this conduct, and thinks that as in those canons there was much that was good, John would have done well to approve them, with the exception of such canons as were bad.

Feller and Novaes judge John, perhaps, too severely upon this subject. Feller quotes the opinion of Fleury, who says that—*John, fearing to displease*

the emperor, sent back those volumes without correcting any thing in them. Novaes quotes the opinion of Christianus Lupus, who also blames the pontiff, on the authority of Anastasius. But, considering the conduct of Constantins towards Pope Martin, and the services rendered to Popes Sergius and John VI., by the soldiery of Rome and Ravenna; considering, too, the perverse and hypocritical nature of Justinian II., and the natural instability of the soldiery, we may judge John VII. less severely. Evidently, had he acted as Anastasius, Christianus Lupus, Feller, and Novaes seem to advise, it might have happened that Justinian, approving what John might have approved, but then refusing to reject whatever John might have rejected, the already embarrassing circumstances have been fatally complicated by such a course being adopted by the Holy See.

After composing the history of the sovereign pontiffs, after fulfilling in part the grave duty I had assumed, I have revised it sheet by sheet, adding, as occasion required, omitted facts, when they could explain, apparently, erroneous conduct. It would have ill become me not to meet unfounded accusations, repeated from age to age. I have intentionally dwelt on the fearful sufferings of Martin; with Baronius, I have blessed Providence for protecting other popes against the atrocious chamberlains of Constantinople, and I now believe that John VII. does not merit the censure given him; that he consulted calm and experienced men; those prudent and able men who showed him the necessity of acting as he acted with Justinian. This pope had the magnanimity to expose himself to great dangers; his name has been compromised during the succession of a thousand years, while he was really a sagacious pontiff, ready to follow sage counsel and slow to write. We should all think so now; the misfortunes of Honorius, abandoned by the legates of the sixth council, was a formidable warning to the successors of that pope. The course pursued by John VII. entailed no more evils on the Church, gave Justinian no more opportunity for invading the rights of the Holy See, and crushing its rising power.

He did not postpone the epoch when that power was to take its majestic course amid the nations that honor a spirit of order and civilization, becoming, as we shall see in the sequel, the regenerative power in Europe. If we are not to praise blindly all that the world praises, it is the historian's duty not to blame lightly what others have unjustly censured.

John VII. governed the Church two years, seven months, and seventeen days.

In one ordination he created fifteen bishops, nine priests, and two deacons. He died on the 17th of October, 707, and was interred in the Vatican, in front of the Altar of the Madonna, now called of the *Sudorio*, which he had himself set up.

The Holy See remained vacant three months.

88. SISINNIUS—A. D. 708.



SISINNIUS, a native of Syria, son of John, was elected pontiff on the 18th of January, 708. He reigned only twenty days, during which time he held one ordination, and created bishops for Corsica. He died in February of the same year, from an attack of gout. He had lost the use of both his hands and his feet. Notwithstanding his great sufferings, he was of a noble and generous disposition. He contemplated restoring the walls of Rome, and rebuilding many of the churches. Death took him away, when already, in so brief a reign, he had collected considerable materials for that laudable undertaking. He was interred at the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant one month and nineteen days.

89. CONSTANTINE—A. D. 708.



CONSTANTINE, born at Syria, son of John, was elected pontiff on the 25th of March, 708. Justinian was still emperor, and his conduct proves that that of John VII. was as courageous as it was skilful. Justinian, from time to time, showed himself indignant that the canons of his council had not been accepted at Rome; but he appeared to be unwilling to resort again to trick and perfidy, and he wrote to Pope Constantine, formerly his friend, and entreated him to visit Byzantium. The emperor declared that he wished to converse amicably with the pontiff upon ecclesiastical affairs; and even intimated his intention to change his conduct and to expiate his faults, and he urged the pope to visit him, and encourage his projects of penitence and clemency.

Constantine, full of strength and zeal, deemed it his duty not to hesitate about undertaking a journey so interesting and important to the Holy See; and he risked his life had the tyrant been audacious enough to take it.

Setting out from Rome on the 5th of October, 710, he went by sea, accompanied by a very numerous *cortège*, consisting of deacons, priests, and bishops, continuing his journey by way of Sicily. The reception given to him by order of the emperor induced him to believe that that prince harbored no evil intentions. An imperial diploma ordered all officers to pay to the pope the same honors as to the emperor himself. Tiberius, son of Justinian, followed by the principal Greek nobility, and the patriarch Cyrus at the head of his clergy, and a multitude of the people, met the pope at about seven miles from Byzantium. The pope, dressed in the same vestments that he wore at Rome* on days of ceremony, and the principal clergy mounted on horses from the Imperial stables, with their saddles, bridles, and housings richly embroidered with gold, entered in triumph. Thus far the courage of Constantine seemed fully rewarded. The emperor was absent, and the pope was conducted to the palace that had been prepared to receive him. The prince, who was at Nice, as soon as he heard of the arrival of the pontiff, sent him a letter of congratulation, and begged him to come to Nicomedia, to which he was himself proceeding. At their first interview, the emperor with his crown on his head, prostrated himself before the pope, and kissed his feet.† Then they embraced, amidst the applauding shouts of the people. It was in a private interview that they conversed about the canons of the council. Constantine, considering himself in a situation different from that in which John VII. had been placed, rejected one portion of the canons and accepted the other portion. The conference terminated to the satisfaction of the emperor, who showed his pleasure at having obtained some advantages from the condescension of Constantine, and to give a public testimony of his satisfaction, he on the following Sunday was present at the Mass that was celebrated by the pope, and received the Communion from the Holy Father's own hand. On conjuring the pope to grant him the remission of his sins, the emperor renewed the privileges which his predecessors had granted to the Church of Rome; and he then permitted his return to Italy. The pope re-entered his own capital in 711, after a year's absence, stronger, more powerful, more sovereign than ever.

Justinian having been assassinated, Philippicus Bardauns endeavored to re-establish the doctrine of the Monothelites. Constantine, with new courage, resisted.

* Italy, p. 51.

† Since then the great princes of the earth have given that token of respect to the sovereign head of the Church. Luitprand, king of the Lombards, gave it to Gregory II.; Racchis, king of the same nation, to Zachary; the Emperor Charlemagne, to Adrian I.; Louis the Pious, to Stephen IV.; Sigismund to Eugene IV.; Frederick Barbarossa, to Alexander III.; Stephen, king of Hungary, to Benedict VII.; Charles VIII., king of France, to Alexander VI.; the Emperor Charles V., to Clement VII., and Paul III.; Charles III., king of Naples, and subsequently of Spain, to Benedict XIV.

Philippicus was succeeded by Anastasius II., a profoundly Catholic prince. He sent to Constantine a confession of faith, full and entire, and peace was re-established in the Church. Constantine governed seven years and twelve days.

In one ordination he created sixty-four bishops, ten priests, and two deacons. He died on the 8th of April, 715, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant one month and ten days.

There is a serious consideration which has escaped historians—it is this : since Saint Peter, who came to Rome in the year of our Lord 42, since Saint Linus, A. D. 66, and his principal successors, Saint Evaristus, Saint Pius, Saint Victor, Saint Sylvester, and to Pope Constantine in 708, there were eighty-nine popes. The clergy of Rome, it is true, frequently gave the power to their compatriots. Of the above number forty were Romans ; but the other forty-nine were, one Galilean, and the remainder Tuscans, Athenians, Syrians, Byzantine Greeks, Africans, Dalmatians, Spaniards, Sardinians, Corsicans, Sicilians, and Neapolitans. Certainly a pious impartiality alone could have dictated those selections. They appear to have been dictated solely by zeal for religion. No faithful Christian was excluded. The three (then known) great divisions of the globe had, respectively, their candidates, and frequently those of Asia and Africa obtained the votes. What respect must not such a rare spirit of charity, freedom, and justice, command from the entire universe !* Rome could not be accused of exclusively placing her own children in the chair of Saint Peter. It may be imagined that in Rome a preference would sometimes be felt for the Roman candidate, but that tendency did not exist to such an extent as to exclude others. So judicious a plan, rising above all dismemberings and schisms, singularly elevated and increased the power of the Holy See, especially at periods when Syrians, like Constantine, and immediate subjects of Byzantium, obtained the suffrages of the Romans. It need not be asked how the popes became sovereigns of the surrounding country ; rather it should be asked how could they possibly fail to become so under such circumstances, notwithstanding the difference between the head of the Church and the heads of States, between the spiritual and the temporal, between heaven and earth. It may be said that it is not the same now ; it is not the first time that the operations of skill and reserve found necessary to *establish*, are not the same as those necessary to *preserve*.

* Italy, p 63.

90. ST. GREGORY II.—A. D. 715,



AS a Roman Benedictine monk, chaplain and librarian of the Holy Roman Church, a cardinal-deacon, (a dignity which he owed to Saint Sergius, and, according to several writers, to Constans, who, when at Constantinople, brought him thence). His election, on the 19th of May, 715, was the result of a remarkable agreement in opinion between the Roman clergy and people. The intentions of this pope were irreproachable, his courage was firm, and he vigorously maintained the rights of the Church. At the commencement of his pontificate he began to repair the walls of Rome, but various circumstances retarded that useful design.

Italy was a prey to the Lombards, who had surprised Cumea, near Naples, during a peace, and refused to restore it, although Gregory threatened them with the anger of God. Their obstinacy was not to be shaken by entreaties, threats, or presents; and Duke John of Naples, supported by Gregory, retook Cumea by force.

This pontiff also labored to revive monastic discipline in Italy. To restore the abbey of Monte Casino, ruined by the Lombards about a hundred and fifty years before, he sent Petronax, who, having from pious motives visited Rome, had there embraced the monastic life. He was accompanied, in the holy mission entrusted to him by some brethren of the monastery of the Lateran, founded at Rome in the time of Pelagius II. by the monks of Monte Casino, who had taken shelter in the capital.

Petronax and his companions, on their arrival at Monte Casino, found a few anchorites living there in great simplicity. Amid the ruins of the old monastery these anchorites, together with some new brethren, formed one community, and elected as their superior Petronax, who thus became the sixth abbot from the original founding of the order. The re-establishment of the monastery of Monte Casino took place in the year 718, and from that time the monastery was very famous, and considered as a fountain diffusing the pure observance of the rule of the great Saint Benedict.

Let us learn from Fleury how, at that period, the English understood Catholicity. "They continued," says Fleury,* "their pilgrimages to Rome,

* Fleury, ix., p. 165.

and Ceolfrid, abbot of Weymouth, died on his way back. Seeing that age prevented his further instruction of his disciples, and disabled him from setting them an example of perfect regularity, he, after long consideration, determined that it would be best to have a new abbot elected, that he himself might go to Rome, to die in that city which he had formerly visited with Saint Benedict Biscop, his master. The monks endeavored to detain Ceolfrid by weeping and clinging to his knees, but he hastened his departure, fearing that he might die on the way, or be prevented from proceeding by some of the lords of the country. On the third day after he had announced his intention to depart, Mass was celebrated very early in the morning, those present communicated, and then they assembled in the church of Saint Peter, and the abbot gave them the kiss of peace from the steps of the altar, censer in hand. The chant of litanies was broken by the sobs of the brethren, and they entered the oratory of Saint Laurence, where the pilgrim bade them a last farewell. He was attended to the river side by the deacons, carrying lighted tapers and a golden cross. All knelt, and praying once more, the holy abbot set out, leaving about six hundred monks in the two monasteries of Jarrow and Weymouth. As soon as their former head had departed, the monks unanimously elected for their abbot Hucbert, who immediately followed Saint Ceolfrid, who had not yet sailed. He approved the choice, and even took from the new abbot, his successor, a letter of recommendation to Pope Gregory II. He did not reach Rome, but falling sick at Langres, in France, died there, aged 74 years."

Nor was that the only triumph of Catholicity in England at that time. In the same year, the Irish monks abandoned their diversity of opinion, and joined in the observance of the Roman Church relative to Easter and the ecclesiastical tonsure. For this purpose God made use of Saint Egbert, an Englishman who had embraced the monastic life in Ireland. Having arrived at the monastery, he was received with much distinction, and as he was very learned and very zealous, he persuaded these good monks to quit their erroneous tradition. It is believed that they, at the same time, adopted the rule of Saint Benedict.

But that was not enough to place the English in the first rank among the pillars of Christianity. The greatest light of the English Church at this time was Saint Boniface, afterwards the Apostle of Germany.

Bossuet, in his rapid glance at religious affairs, which he described with the countless events of history, gives only three lines to the heroism of Saint Boniface. These three lines, as usual sublime, should not be neglected: "Religion was established in Germany: the holy priest Boniface converted those nations, and was made their bishop by Pope Gregory II., who had sent him thither."

I do not add this pope's name to the texts I cite or extract from other

historians. I repeat, in their very words, the homage they address to this holy pontiff. His reputation drew to Rome all who wished to show their zeal for the doctrine of Christ.

Boniface, or, as he was called in Saxon, Winifred, who had already enjoyed great renown in England, determined to visit Rome. He there presented himself before the pope, and explained his desire to labor for the conversion of the heathen. The pope, looking kindly upon him, asked him if he had brought any letters from his bishop. Winifred had not neglected to procure letters dimissory from Bishop Daniel, of Winchester, in whose diocese he had received the priesthood, and he drew from beneath his cloak a sealed letter for the pope,* and another unsealed, which was a general letter of recommendation to all Christians, according to the then existing custom. The pope motioned to him to withdraw, and having at his leisure read the letters of Bishop Daniel, he had several conferences with Winifred while he waited for a favorable season for his journey, that is to say, the beginning of summer, 719. Then the pope gave Winifred the relics he had asked for, together with the mission to preach the Gospel to all the infidel nations that he might reach, to baptize them according to the Roman ritual, and to communicate to the Holy See whatever might tend to the accomplishment of that mission. The plenary powers bear date the 15th of March, in the third year of the reign of the Emperor Leo II., indiction the second, that is to say, A. D. 719. With these letters Winifred first passed into Lombardy, where he was honorably received by King Luitprand. He then traversed Bavaria, and reached Thuringia, where he commenced his pious labors. He preached to both nobles and people, to lead them back to the true religion which false teachers had altered and almost extinguished. For although there were priests and bishops who were sincerely zealous for the service of God, Winifred met with others sunk in incontinence, whom he endeavored, by exhortation, to bring back to a life in conformity to the Holy Canons.

Winifred having sent to the pope an account of his successful mission, the pontiff invited him to Rome. Being questioned upon various particulars of the faith of the Church, Boniface answered so frankly and clearly, that the pope told him to prepare to be consecrated as bishop. The holy priest submitted, and the day for the consecration was fixed for the 30th November, 723, the feast of Saint Andrew. The pope changed the name of the new bishop from Winifred to Boniface (*boni faciens—doing good*), and in the seventh year of the Emperor Leo, sixth indiction, which is the same as A. D. 723, he caused the new bishop to take an oath by which he bound himself to keep the purity of the faith, and the unity of Catholicity, to act always

* Fleury, ix., p. 168.

with the pope for the good of the Holy See, to secure advantage to the Roman Church, and to renounce all *communion* with the bishops who did not observe true maxims. The pope, on his part, gave Winifred a book of canons, to serve as a rule of his conduct, and intrusted him with six letters. The first of those letters was to Charles Martel, son of Pepin, the former mayor of the palace, who had died in 714, after governing in Paris during twenty-seven years, in the name of Dagobert III. In this letter, Gregory recommended to Charles Martel, the bearer, Boniface, an envoy to the heathen dwelling east of the Rhine; for the dominion of France extended beyond that river very far into Germany. The other letters were addressed to all the bishops, priests, deacons, dukes, counts, clergy, and people, whom Boniface was to govern as bishop: to the Christians of Thuringia and their five princes, who are named in the letters, and also to all the people of the old Saxons.

Charles Martel, who governed France for Thierry II., received Boniface with respect, and recommended him to all the bishops of the kingdom.

The Emperor Leo enkindled the fatal "War of Images," which continued for a hundred and eighteen years. He had obtained warlike success, and he imagined that no power, even moral, could resist him. Trusting too much to his glory, he resolved to become a reformer,*—a delicate and dangerous task, that of religious reformation, when one is not the true representative of God upon earth! "Religion," says a learned writer, "dreads the hand of the prince; it needs his protection, not his reforming; from its own ministers alone it expects reform." This caprice neutralized all Leo's talent. How could a man of such low condition that he had carried loads in the public markets, and had fed and sold cattle; a poor Syrian, uneducated and without any science, become, on attaining the highest civil dignity on earth, a ferocious persecutor? By what mental perversity had he embraced a doctrine pernicious to the arts, which abandons man in a rude temple, and demands from him prayers, devotions, and repentance, without speaking to his mind, to his eyes, to his heart, or to his imagination? He treated as a favorite Beser, another Syrian, who was born a Christian, but who, having been captured by Mahometans, had apostatised to their faith. Released from slavery, Beser had returned to Catholicity, but sought to introduce into it Mahometan notions. He broached his heretical ideas to Leo, and the demented emperor had the audacity to assemble the senate, and to pronounce before it the following declaration: "I will abolish that idolatry which has found its way into the Church. The images of Jesus Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, are so many idols to which a worship of which God is jealous. I have, therefore,

* Italy, p. 55.

drawn up an edict for purging the churches of this sacrilegious superstition."

At this signal, the courtiers, the weak, the ignorant, the friends of every novelty, and men who hoped to repair their own broken fortunes during a time of public trouble, broke the sacred images, respecting none but those of the emperor.

A revolt ensued at once throughout the East; in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Italy; in brief, in all the brilliant conquests that had already been made by Catholicity.

For an instant Leo was inclined to retract; but his first fury rekindling, he ordered that the images should be removed from all the churches.

From that instant Leo, the armed sophist, held conferences, in which he argued, in the military style, against Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, and showed himself all but Mahometan in conviction. He expected by this servile complaisance to soften and attract the Mussulmans, scarcely intending to remain Christian, since he thus sacrificed Catholic customs and the rules of one of the most sacred traditions of our Fathers.

John Damasenus, called *Chrysorroës*, *golden river*, resisted the new error in the East. Gregory II. summoned around him all the West. The conscience of Christendom repulsed the arch heretic emperor. Leo, especially irritated against the pope, endeavored by crime to rid himself of his powerful censor.

Marinus, the emperor's esquire, was charged to organize a conspiracy against the pontiff. The principal conspirators were discovered and punished. The Exarch Paul assembled troops, and prepared to make himself master of Rome, and by force of arms to elect another pope. The Romans, warned of the approach of the exarch's troops, took up arms;* the Florentines, the Lombards of Spoleto, and all the inhabitants of the neighborhood also rushed to the defence of the Papal city, and Paul was obliged to return to Ravenna.

The Saracens continued to harass Constantinople, which had adopted their spirit of opposition and malignity; but the emperor, who had become less a warrior than an advocate of bad theology, was more concerned about the resistance of the pope than about the progress which the enemy was making around his own capital.

Leo, by his own obstinacy, unconsciously prepared the way for two great results. There can be no doubt but that the troubles incited in Italy contributed to establish the independence of the popes, and to raise up the empire of the French to the prejudice of the Greeks.

The Romans, moreover, in this interregnum, sustained the interests of the

* Italy, p. 56.

pope, so intimately connected with their own, for they had everything to fear from the Lombards and from the exarchs. These two powers, incited by the Emperor Leo, endeavored to unite in order to occupy Rome; Luitprand commanded his Lombards, and also the troops of the exarchs, much astonished at marching together. Their watch-fires crowned Monte Mario, and they advanced to the foot of Adrian's Mausoleum, now the castle of Saint Angelo. Gregory, preceded by his clergy, issued from Rome. A new Saint Leo, he represented that the misfortunes of Rome would be those of all Christendom; and that the Saracens, far more than the emperor, would rejoice over the disasters of the metropolis of the faith of Christ. The eloquence of Gregory moved King Luitprand even to tears.

Luitprand threw himself at the feet of the pontiff. They were near Saint Peter's; and Gregory pointed out to the king the sacred place containing the tomb of the Apostle.

Luitprand, confounded, advanced towards the Church, knelt before the *confessional* of the prince of the Apostles, put off his royal robes, and laid them, with his baldrick, his sword, his golden crown, and his silver crown, by the tomb. He then begged the pope to forgive his enemies. Gregory pronounced the solemn pardon, and the king returned to Pavia.

Wise and cultivated men plainly perceived that all these events necessarily gave strength to the Church. Minds deprived of energy, which do not at all examine the secrets of Providence, and see only the confused spectacle of submission that is presented to their eyes, even these, notwithstanding their ignorance, convinced themselves of the necessity of obedience to the sovereign pontiff, when they saw at his feet the most formidable prince in Italy, whom all looked upon as determined to overthrow the power of Gregory.

Leo, in his criminal impetuosity, had written to him, warning him of the fate of Pope Martin. But the fatigues of the pontificate, and the occurrence of hostilities, had so destroyed the health of Gregory, that he died on the 10th of February, 731.

This pontificate was a reign of wisdom, of glory, and of courage.* The pope wrote to Leo, "The West sees our humility (this alludes to Charles Martel and Luitprand), and regards us as the arbitrator and moderator of the public tranquility. If you venture to make the trial, you will find the West ready to seek you *where you are*, in order to avenge the wrongs of your Eastern subjects."

Accordingly, M. de Maistre is right in saying in his book *On the Pope*, "It was the authority of the pope that created European monarchy a

* *Considerations upon the First Fifteen Popes, who bore the name of Gregory*: Paris, Adrien Leclerc, p. 22.

marvel of the supernatural order, which we look upon as indifferently as upon the sun, because we see it every day."

The countless consequences of so many facts will be developed: they will find us spontaneously as we read on. I will here mention some material consequences of high importance. Rome had a duke, named by the emperor. Marinus had obtained the dignity; but, being ordered to murder Gregory, the disloyal governor had failed, and the people had expelled him, demanding the appointment of another. Peter, the successor of Marinus, ever speaking of the destruction of the images, was in his turn deprived of power, and the Roman duchy, desiring to enjoy a more secure liberty, voluntarily submitted to Gregory II., so that one may say that from that period commenced in part the positive temporal dominion of the sovereign pontiffs.*

The Roman Duchy at that time, according to Sigonius and Muratori, included sixteen cities, Rome, Porto, Civita Vecchia, Ceri, Bieda, Manturana, Sutri, Nepi, Gallese, Orta, Bomarzo, Amelia, Todi, Perugia, Narni, and Otricoli. Seven other towns of the Campania were also dependencies of the same Duchy; Segni, Anagni, Terentino, Alatri, Patrico, Frosinone, and Tivoli. To this patrimony of the Church, Kings Pepin and Charlemagne added other towns.

Gregory II. governed the Church fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-three days. In four ordinations, in the months of September and June, he created one hundred and fifty bishops, thirty-five priests, and fourteen deacons.

Baronius (*An.* 31, No. 1) thinks him worthy to be compared to Saint Gregory the Great. Gregory II. was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant five days.

Platina informs us that under this pope the Tiber overflowed the city from the Ponte Molle to the first steps of Saint Peter's Church.

* Novaes ii., p. 61.



91. ST. GREGORY III.—A. D. 731.



SAINT GREGORY III., son of John, a Syrian, a Benedictine monk, and cardinal-priest, was unanimously elected five days after the death of Gregory II. As the confirmation of the election by the exarch of Ravenna had to be waited for, the pontiff was not consecrated until the 18th of March.

Leo, the emperor, continued the persecution against those who would not destroy the images. Gregory II. had pronounced against the iconoclasts, and Gregory III. was no less animated in opposition to that barbarous custom.

Luitprand, king of the Lombards, resumed his hostility. Charles Martel had not previously given any striking proof of his good-will and support, his authority not being sufficiently firm in France. But he could not resist the repeated appeals of Gregory III. Charles ordered Luitprand to leave the new Roman state free, and confine himself absolutely to the possession of the Lombard states.

In the letter which Gregory III. addressed to Charles Martel, soliciting an effective intervention, the pope gave that prince the title of *Most Christian*. Pope Pius II. declared that title hereditary in the person of the kings of France, when he wrote to Charles VI. and his successors. From this pontifical embassy arose the institution of pontifical nuncios in the West, which somewhat resembled that of apocrisaries, or political agents, accredited by the popes to Constantinople. The nuncios, however, were still further recognized as ministers of a sovereign power.

In 732 the pope had more urgent occasion than ever to solicit the support of Charles Martel for the interest of the Catholic religion. The Saracens, after subjecting Africa, had occupied Spain. They appeared to follow the same road that Hannibal had taken in order to reach Italy. However, by a kind of military skill which they do not seem to have been suspected of possessing, they would not advance too far without securing their flanks against Charles Martel, who kept strict watch upon such dangerous enemies to religion and the power that he was beginning to establish. It was necessary then to bar the Mussulmans from access to Italy, and to that end it was urged that Charles should keep them in Spain. Their chief did not venture to pass the Alps until he had repulsed Charles. A general battle became inevitable; a large portion of Gaul was already invaded.

Says Henry Martin, in vol. ii., p. 274, of his *History of France*: "Charles Martel had not waited the appearance of the Mussulman hosts before the gates of Orleans and Sens to declare war. He had not quitted France that year and held himself in readiness to throw into the scale the weight of his sword. The arrival of Eudes, king of Aquitaine, beaten, a fugitive, a general without an army, and a king without a kingdom, convinced Charles that the danger was more instantly imminent than he had supposed it. He gave Eudes a cordial reception, though they had formerly been enemies; he promised him every thing, on condition that he recognized the sovereignty of the Franks, and that Aquitaine should thus enter into the Frank monarchy.

"During the whole summer of 732 the Roman clarions and the Germanic trumpets blared in the countries of Austrasia and Neustria, in the rustic palaces of the Frank lends, and in the gaws of Western Germany. The most impenetrable marshes of the North Sea, and the wildest recesses of the Black Forest poured out hosts of half-naked combatants rushing towards the Loire, following, as a rear-guard, the heavy Austrasian knights in full panoply of steel. This enormous mass of Franks, Teutons, and Gallic-Romans passed the Loire at Orleans, and was joined by the remnants of the Aquitaine army which had been compelled to retire into Berry and Touraine, and appeared before the invaders in October, 732.

"This was one of the most solemn moments in the whole history of the human race. Islamism was face to face with the last bulwark of Christianity. After the Visi-Goths, the Gallo-Vascons; after the Gallo-Vascons, the Franks; but after the Franks, nothing! The Anglo-Saxons, isolated in their island; the Lombards, weak rulers of exhausted Italy; even the Greco-Romans of the Eastern empire could save Europe; Constantinople had work enough to save itself. The contemporary chronicler Isidore de Beja was not wrong in calling the Frank army *the army of the Europeans*. That army lost, the world was Mahomet's."*

"What would have been the result to humanity had the European civilization of the middle ages, our mother, been thus stifled in the cradle? At the moment of the tremendous collision, the Arabs, still in the first fierce fervor of Islamism, had, assuredly, more humanity, morality, and enlightenment than the Franks. But we must not be deluded by that accidental superiority, nor dazzled by the elegant movements of art and literature that were produced in Cordova, Grenada, Bagdad, and Schiraz. Islamism, compared to European belief, was not a new development of humanity, but a backward impulse. The Koran resuscitated ancient fatalism, subjected women

* That is to say, would belong to the enemies of Christ, and who can say what would have been the consequent mischief to Rome and the sovereign pontiffs!

anew to the humiliating yoke of polygamy, which the Greeks and Romans had broken.

“The fate of the world was about to be decided between the Franks and the Arabs. The barbarians of Austrasia scarcely suspected what issues were entrusted to their swords; yet they had a vague notion of the immensity of the struggle in which they were about to be engaged. The Mussulmans, on their part, hesitated for the first time. During a week, the East and the West examined each other with hate and terror; the two armies, or rather the two worlds, were mutually astonished by the differences of physiognomy, of costume, and of tactics. The Franks gazed with curious eye upon those myriads of turbaned men of dark complexion, with white bournous, striped abas, round shields, curved sabres, and light lances, curvetting on their horses; and the Moslem Sheiks passed and re-passed in front of the Franco-Teutonic lines, in order to get a closer view of those giants of the North, with their long fair hair, their shining helmets, and their coats of steel mail, or buffalo hide, their long swords, and their enormous battle-axes.

“At length, on the seventh day, which was a Saturday, at the end of October, towards the dawn, the Arabs and the Moors came from their tents at the cry of the Muezzins, calling the soldiers to prayer; they deployed in order on the plain, and after the morning prayer, Abderaman gave the signal. The Christian army received, unmoved, the shower of arrows which the Mussulmans poured in upon them; then the masses of the Mussulman cavalry dashed forward with their war cry, *Allah, akbar! God is great!* and fell like a hurricane cloud upon the army of the Europeans. The long line of the Franks was unbroken by that rude shock; *motionless as a wall of iron, or a rampart of ice, the people of the North stood in closely serried ranks like men of marble.* Twenty times the Mussulmans wheeled to return to the charge with the swiftness of lightning, and twenty times their impetuous charge was broken upon that unshaken living wall. The Austrasian giants, erect upon their heavy Belgian horses, received the slight men of the South upon the point of the sword, piercing them through and through with frightful thrusts. The battle, nevertheless, continued throughout the day, and Abderaman still hoped to weary out the resistance of the Christians, when, towards the tenth hour (four in the afternoon), King Eudes, who, with what was left of his Basques and Aquitaines, had outflanked the Arab army, threw himself upon the camp of the Wali, and repulsed its guards. *The rampart of ice moved at length:* Charles and his Austrasians charged in their turn, and overthrew all before them. Abderaman, and the flower of his followers, disappeared, crushed beneath that mass of iron.”

The consequences of that battle of Poitiers were immense. Charles

Martel dispatched a courier to Gregory, to announce to him the victory of the Christian army, which the papal nuncios, previous to the battle, had so much encouraged, by the distribution of sacred badges, blessed by the pope upon the altar of Saint Peter.

In all the temples of Italy and France, thanks were offered up to God. The nuncios returned to Rome laden with presents, and empowered to make known to all the adversaries of Gregory, that Charles Martel, his son, and the defender of Christendom, himself notably the object of God's benevolence, would never suffer that even the slightest insult should, with impunity, be offered to God's vicar on earth. The emperors of the East must learn that another empire was about to be established in Europe; and the Lombards perceived that they must show great respect to the new power that had sprung up in front of them.

We have seen God's protection in the battle given to Maxentius by Constantine. We see it now crown the heroism of Martel, fighting with the blessing of Gregory III.; after Valette's heroic defence of Malta, we shall behold the lesson given the Turks at Lepanto; and still later, the great Sobieski deliver Vienna from the Vizer of Mahomet IV.

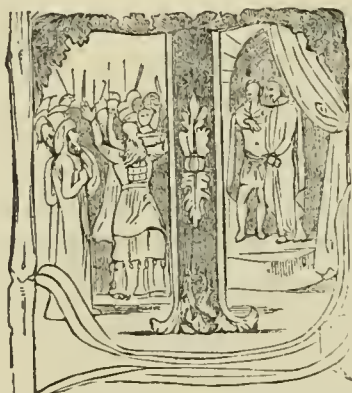
In 739, the pope confirmed the institution of four bishoprics, those viz., of Salzbouurg, Freisingen, Ratisbon, and Passaw, which had been made in Bavaria, by Saint Boniface, apostolic legate, and apostle of Germany. Gregory ordered the monks of Monte Casino to recite, in addition to the divine office, that of the Blessed Virgin. Urban II. imposed the same obligation upon all priests, on occasion of the first crusade. In the time of Gregory III., the regionary-cardinals had been increased in number from seven to fourteen, and he, further, created four, who were called Palatines, and whose duty was to assist the pope during his celebration of the office. But the institution of those four deacons did not long subsist in the Roman Church; they were subsequently created priests. The number of fourteen deacons subsequently varied according to the pope's pleasure, up to the papacy of Sixtus V. That pope definitively settled that the number should never exceed fourteen, which is that at present.

Gregory governed the Church ten years, eight months, and ten days. He was one of the most learned men of his time, and gifted with a prodigious memory. He knew all the Psalms by heart; he showed himself especially prudent in affairs of importance, and like Saint Gregory the Great, showed great interest with respect to those in slavery.

In three ordinations in the month of December, he created eighty bishops, twenty-four priests, and three deacons. He died on the 27th of November, 741. The Holy See was vacant only two days, the right of election, without waiting for the confirmation by the exarch of Ravenna, being now fully established.

There are seven letters of this pope in Labbe's *Collection of the Councils*, Vol. IV., and Baluze has inserted one of them in the appendix to the treatise *De Primatibus*, by Peter de Marca.

92. ST. ZACHARY—A. D. 741.



HIS pope, son of Polycronius, a native of Syria, canon regular, then a Benedictine monk, was created cardinal-priest by Gregory III. Others say that he belonged to the Pontina family of San Severino, in Calabria, and was the fourth Neapolitan pope.

He was elected pontiff on the 30th of November, 741. As we have seen at the close of the reign of Gregory II., the consent of the exarch of Ravenna was not waited, and the consecration of the pontiff took place without that formality, which, thenceforward was totally abolished.

Saint Zachary confirmed the erection of three bishoprics, established in Germany by Saint Boniface; subsequently he confirmed the archbishopric of Mayence, to which the same Saint Boniface gave as suffragans the bishops of Langres, of Cologne, of Worms, of Spire, and of Strasbourg.

For nearly two years the Lombards had occupied four towns of the papal States, Orta, Amelia, Bomazzo and Bieda. Pope Zachary went to Terni, to have a meeting with King Luitprand, still alarmed by the victories of Charles Martel, and the pope did not return to Rome until he had obtained the restitution of these towns, one after the other, and even of some provinces also, including Sabina, which, thirty years previously had been wrested from Pope Constantine.

In 743, Zachary, leaving the government of Rome to Stephen, patrician and duke, named by the Holy See, made a journey to Ravenna, again to resist the attacks of the lieutenants of Luitprand. From Ravenna he proceeded to visit King Luitprand himself, at Pavia. The king could not resist the eloquence and the energetic representations of the pope, who reproached him with the violation of his promises made after the battle of Poitiers, with a continual breach of faith, and with impious and sacrilegious conduct. Luitprand was convinced, and immediately restored all the usurped territories. After the death of Luitprand, Rachis, duke of Forli, succeeded to the Lombard throne, and Zachary proceeded to visit that prince at Perugia, to induce him to raise his siege of that city. The lan-

guage of the pope was so persuasive that the prince not only desisted from his projects, but also abdicated his throne in favor of his brother, and retired into the monastery of Monte Casino. Zachary exempted that monastery from the jurisdiction of the bishops, rendering it subject only to the authority of the Holy Sec. We have seen the holy and admirable union which was established between Gregory II., Gregory III., and Charles Martel. It will astonish no one, therefore, that Zachary was warmly attached to the son of the conqueror of the Saracens, the son of that great man who hurled them from France, and thus saved that kingdom from contact with the pestiferous errors of Mahometanism.

Boniface consulted Zachary with the most entire confidence. Sometimes in Germany, priests who were rather illiterate, administered baptism in terms that were not correct, and Boniface cited some examples. Zachary replied that the baptism should be deemed valid even when the priest had said words so informal and senseless as *Baptizo te in nomine PATRIA, et FILIA, et Spiritus Sancta*. The pope also ordered that the priests could not celebrate the holy mysteries while leaning on a stick or having the head covered; and he commanded that churchmen should never appear in the street without the habit commonly called a soutan.*

In 745, Zachary forbade names to be given to any of the angels, except Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. On the authority of some illuminated manuscripts, it has been maintained that four other angels were invoked—Uriel, Saltiel, Geudiel, and Barachiel. But the invocation of these four names was subsequently deemed to be a remnant of the superstition of the Basilians. The same prohibition appears in the acts of the Synods of Orleans and Laodicea, and in the Capitularies of Charlemagne, (Book i., chap. 16.)

Saint Boniface, in his intimate correspondence with the pope, complained that one of the German clergy, named Virgilius, endeavored to create a variance between him and Odilo, duke of Bavaria; and that this priest moreover taught many errors, especially these: *That there was another world, other men under the earth, another sun, and another moon*. Zachary ordered him to reprimand Virgilius,† and asked Odilo to send him to Rome to have his

* Bury (Notitia, p. 596) notes having read in the canonical statutes these words explaining the length of this garment: "*Vestimenta nostra terram tangent, non verrant*. Let our vestments touch, not sweep the ground."

† Virgilius, born in Ireland, labored on the German missions, under the jurisdiction of Saint Boniface; but with Lidonius, another priest, greatly tried the patience of the Holy Legate. If Virgilius embraced the opinion that men existed under the earth, not of Adam's race, nor ransomed by Christ, he apparently recanted, or else Boniface was in error, for Virgilius was subsequently bishop of Salzbourg. He had, too, differed with Boniface in regard to the validity of the baptism by the ignorant priests. Boniface held it invalid, but Pope Zachary confirmed the opinion of Virgilius. [This matter will be found fully treated in *Moore's History of Ireland*.

doctrine examined. Modern writers err in saying that Zachary condemned the opinion of the *antipodes*. He had in view only certain heretics who maintained the existence of a race of men not descended from Adam, and not ransomed by Christ.

Zachary set free many slaves whom the Venetian merchants would have taken to Africa, to sell them to the infidels. The Venetians appeared to depart from the system of moderation which had led them to be contented with a wise mode of internal administration under the protection of the pontiffs.

The ambition of wealth made some merchants of that city desire to push their commercial relations to distant parts at all risks. But commerce is not like industry: if in many points it shows egotism, or tempers this defect by a national and patriotic spirit, that excuses it. The commerce of the Venetians showed itself from the first, what it is too frequently everywhere, absolutely cosmopolitan, and without respect for religion, and one of its noblest doctrines, that which condemns slavery. Zachary for a moment arrested this scandal.

Zachary has left Letters, some Decrees, a translation from the Latin into the Greek of the *Dialogues* of Saint Gregory. The finest and fullest edition of this last-named work is that of Canisius, which has important notes.

Saint Zachary governed the Church ten years, three months, and a few days. In three ordinations, he created eighty-five bishops, thirty priests, and five deacons. He died on the 14th of March, 752, and was buried at the Vatican on the following day.

Anastasius the Librarian praises this pope for great affability, and for moderation, piety, and a spirit of compassion and forgiveness.

The Holy See was vacant twelve days, if we take no account of the next Papal reign of only two days.

Butler, in his *Life of Saint Boniface*, admits the error of the English saint. The Irish, far in advance of their age in mathematics, were misunderstood in some of their views, and their supposed error in regard to Easter was probably only their exactness in calculating, making the allowance, which centuries later was introduced by Pope Gregory.]



93. STEPHEN II.—A. D. 752.



ON the 27th of March, 752, Stephen, a Roman cardinal-priest of Saint Chrysogonus, was elected pontiff; but two days after he died of apoplexy. Many writers, on the ground that though elected he was not consecrated, will not admit that he was pope. Bury is not of their opinion, and, in his nomenclature, includes the name of Stephen II. Monsignor Borgia, afterwards cardinal, follows Francis Vettori in holding that Stephen was pope, and should be considered as such.

Feller, in his Dictionary, and the editor of the *Biographie Universelle*, do not reckon Stephen II. among the popes, but I think erroneously; and No-vaes, by omitting him, is obliged to alter the numbering of all the popes of the name. *By not departing* from Roman opinions, I consider myself always in the correct way.

94. STEPHEN III.—A. D. 752.



IT is supposed that Stephen III., a canon regular, and afterwards created cardinal-deacon by Saint Zachary, was of the Orsini family. He was a Roman, and son of Constantine. He was elected pope on the 30th of March, 752.

Stephen, being unable to put a stop to the incursions of Astulphus, king of the Lombards, resolved to ask the aid of Pepin, son of Charles Martel. Stephen had before this implored the assistance of the Emperor Constantine Copronymus. That prince, involved in wars which he believed likely to be prosperous, advised Stephen to lay before Pepin the misfortunes of the Church. The pope determined to go to France. Pepin, in order to be agreeable to the pontiff, sent three successive embassies to Astulphus. That prince haughtily persisted in his refusals, and Pepin at length resolved to march upon Pavia.

On the 20th of July, 746, Pepin had been crowned king of the French by

Saint Zachary, with his son Charles, and afterwards known as Charlemagne, and all three, and their successors, were at the same time declared Roman patricians, and protectors and defenders of the Holy Apostolic See.

When the troops of Pepin were half way towards the Alps, he again sent ambassadors; Pepin did this at the solicitation of the pope, who wished to avoid the shedding of blood. Astulphus replied only by threats. Pepin, unwilling that a king of France should be insulted, crossed the Alps, besieged the prince in Pavia, and made him promise to restore Ravenna. Astulphus broke this last promise once, but was at length obliged to yield. Pepin, on giving to the pope the recovered provinces, augmented the principality of the Roman pontiff. From that time the popes, not as mere proprietors, but as sovereigns, organized an undisputed administration, and were invested with full power, as to civil affairs, alike for the exarchate and for the city of Rome. Besides the towns of the Emilian province, Anastasius counts twenty-two others in the donation of Pepin.

These cities are: Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Iesi, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Castrocaro, Monte Feltro, Averagro, Nocera, Serravalle, San Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Luculli, Gubbio, Comacchio, and Narni.

It is also to be noticed, that this *donation* of Pepin's was a pure *restitution* of portions of the pontifical domain. So that the principality of the Church was not then, in the proper sense of the word, instituted, but extended and considerably increased.

Stephen, having received the restitution of this domain, granted the administration of Ravenna to the archbishop and tribunes of the city, and the archbishop even took the name of exarch, but in quality of a subject of the Church.

King Astulphus dying in 756, the Holy Father aided, by means of the French troops, in causing Desiderius, the ruler of some of the Lombards in Tuscany, to be recognized as king of the whole nation. It had been stipulated between the pope and Desiderius, that the latter should keep no garrisons in the cities and towns given by Pepin, which Astulphus had held.

Those cities and towns were Faenza, Imola, Ferrara, Osimo, Ravenna, Umana, and Bologna. As the result of those arrangements, only Faenza and the Duchy of Ferrara were restored to the pope. As to the remainder, Desiderius, having become peaceable king of the Lombards, broke his promise.

However, Stephen, never unmindful of the interests of the Church, condemned the *Conciliabula*, held at Constantinople by Constantine Copronymus, in which was renewed an order to destroy the holy images, and he endeavored to bring that emperor to a reconciliation, which was desired by the whole Church, even at Byzantium. Some authors have blamed the dona-

tion made by King Pepin. Fleury* blames the pope for employing *religious motives in an affair of state*. But, *were* the deliverance of the pope when oppressed by Astulphus, and that of the Church upon which the Lombards had committed so many cruelties and so many profanations—*were* these deliverances an *affair of state*? And is it to be said that these deliverances by Pepin were meritorious before God? As for the donation made by Pepin to the Holy See, Fleury confesses, that now especially it is of the greatest importance to the weal of the Church. As long as the Roman empire existed, it contained within its vast extent almost the whole of Christendom; but since Europe has been divided into numerous independent principalities and powers, had the pope been subject to any one of them, it might be apprehended that the others would be disinclined to recognize him as the common father. Consequently schisms would be frequent. We may, therefore, say, that it is providential that the pope is independent and master of a civil state sufficiently powerful not to be easily oppressed by the other sovereigns, in order that he should be the more free in the exercise of his spiritual power, and the more easily direct other bishops.

• The great Saint Leo and Bossuet have also used that argument with the genius peculiar to them.

Even before Stephen became pope, he was so much beloved by the Roman people that when his election became known they carried him on their shoulders to the Basilica of Saint John Lateran. Thence, at a later date, originated the use of the *sedia gestatoria*, which still exists, and which gives to the pomps of Rome an air of magnificence unequalled at the court of any other sovereign.

Stephen III. governed the Church five years and twenty days. In one ordination, in the month of March, he created four bishops (Natalis Alexander says twenty), two priests, and two deacons. This pope died on the 27th April, 757. He was interred in the Vatican. The Holy See was vacant thirty-five days.

* Fleury, ix., p. 338.



95. ST. PAUL I.—A. D. 757.



SAINT PAUL I., created cardinal-deacon, was a Roman, and brother of the preceding pope; this example of brother succeeding brother in the chair of Saint Peter was repeated in the eleventh century by the brothers John XIX. and Benedict VIII. Paul I. was consecrated pope on the 29th March, 757. As soon as he was elected, and even before he was consecrated, he wrote a letter* to Pepin, king of the French, begging him to continue his protection to the Romans. In the fourth year of his pontificate he wrote another letter to the same prince, conjuring him to compel Desiderius to restore all the Church patrimony and all the Church's rights in various places, which property and rights Desiderius withheld.

In 761, the Holy Father founded in his own paternal house the monastery and church of Saints Stephen and Sylvester. He transported thither the bodies of those saints, endowed the institution richly, and gave it to the Greek monks that they might celebrate the office there according to their ritual. Subsequently the monastery belonged to the nuns of Saint Clare. The pope also removed into the church the body of St. Petronilla, and other bodies of martyrs that had lain scattered in the ancient cemeteries since the invasions of the Lombards. Saint Paul received from Pepin the cloth on which the king's daughter Gisella had been laid after her baptism. It appears that Pepin had asked the pope for some books, and his Holiness replied that he sent as many as he could find. "Who," exclaims Tiraboschi, "would not expect to see an ample catalogue of books, a present worthy of the pope sending and the king receiving it?" Well, this great treasure consisted of an Antiphonary (a church-book in which portions of the office are arranged with notes for plain singing), Aristotle's *Logic*, the books of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, with a small number of other books.†

* This letter is the first in Labbe, *Conc.*, vol. vi., p. 1675. It is the thirteenth in the *Codex Carolini*, that is to say, in the collection, made by order of Charlemagne, of ninety-nine letters of the pontiffs Gregory III, Zachary, Stephen III., Paul I., Stephen IV., Adrian I., and the antipope Constantine, written to Charles Martel, to Pepin, to Carloman, and to Charlemagne, relating to the temporalities of the Holy See. This *Codex* was published at Ingolstadt by Father James Gretser, to confound the calumnies of the Centuriators of Magdeburg in relation to the temporalities of the Roman pontiffs.

† Cenni, in the *Codex Carolini*, vol. i., p. 148.

At the same time, Saint Paul urged Pepin to introduce the Roman chant into his kingdom.

Nor did the pope spare any pains towards effecting the conversion of the emperor of the East, Constantine Copronymus, exhorting him to abandon the heresy of the Iconoclasts. The pope sent him legates charged with the duty of bringing the emperor back to the Catholic worship, and the veneration of the sacred images.* But Constantine, still obstinate in his error, despised the paternal observations of the pope, and treated with inhumanity and violence the legates sent to Constantinople. All the questions discussed in councils were not within the capacity of the common people, but all understood the blows of axes aimed at statues, and the most learned and the most ignorant were alike judges. Sufficient notice has not been bestowed upon the part that Italy reserved for herself in that quarrel about the images. To take away from the people those religious pleasures,† which sculpture and painting presented for their gaze in the temples, and on the public places, was to wound them in the most sensitive portion of their pious feelings. Images copied from nature, that great and inexhaustible master of arts, speak at once to the heart and to the mind, nurture tenderness, revive gratitude, strengthen admiration, and produce sentiments analogous to the qualities of the objects represented, and transport the soul beyond itself. How, then, must not religion, in a peculiar manner, welcome the veneration of images; demanding, as religion does, more of effort and sacrifice than ordinary human virtue is equal to, and requiring the means of visibly representing to the faithful the likeness of the heroes of Christianity, who sacrifice all the pleasures of this world, and even life itself, for the hope of celestial joys. And how much must not the sight of the images animate the Catholics to a burning zeal, and still urge them to conjure the holy personages to inspire them with strength to follow their examples, and to obtain from God the assistance of his grace, and the pardon of the faults that repentance extenuates! If, notwithstanding the precepts of the sound doctrine explained by the Church, ignorance and fraud have introduced some superstitious idea to alter its purity, was that a reason for abolishing a received, popular, reasonable, and consoling institution.‡

“How many examples of maternal tenderness,” said a learned Roman priest, “have there not been given by the sight of a Virgin holding her child in her arms! That ‘glory’ that surrounds the head of a saint, is it not the supernatural illustration that every Catholic should endeavor to acquire? And the palm of martyrdom that a saint clasps in her joyous hand,

* Novaes, ii., p. 83.

† Cæsarotti, p. 225.

‡ See the *Spicilegium* of the Cardinal Mai, Vol. vi., preface, pp. 15–16.

joyous, though still showing marks of the torture, does it not more effectively than any discourse, explain the august reward that heaven in anticipation sends down to earth?"

In the collection of Gretser there are twenty-two letters of Saint Paul.

This pope governed the Church ten years and one month, with great wisdom and prudence.

In one ordination he created three bishops, twelve priests, and two deacons.

He died on the 28th of June, 767, and was the first who was interred in Saint Paul, beyond the walls. A few months afterwards his body was removed to Saint Peter's, and placed near the great altar.

A short time before the death of Saint Paul, an antipope, named Constantine, made his appearance; he had been elected by the influence of his brother Toton, duke of Nepi.

At evening, Constantine was only a layman; he caused himself to be made deacon, disdained to be made priest, had himself ordained bishop, by George, bishop of Palestrina, and then he was crowned by the same George, assisted by Eustasius, and Citonatus, bishops of Albano and Porto. Shortly after, his father having been killed, Constantine was confined in a monastery. During his intrusion, he created eight bishops, eight priests, and four deacons.

After him, in 768, appeared another antipope, monk-abbot of Saint Vito, and cardinal-priest; but on the very day of his attempting the intrusion he was repulsed, and sent back to his monastery.

96. STEPHEN IV.—A. D. 768,



ANON REGULAR of Saint John Lateran, then a religious in the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, had been employed by four of his predecessors in the papacy, and became cardinal-priest. He was a Sicilian, and the son of Oliva. He was elected pope on the 5th, and consecrated on the 7th of August, 768.

In the following year, in a council held in the month of April, in Saint John Lateran, it was decided that no one should be promoted to the pontificate, unless he had previously been ordained priest or deacon. That measure was advised and adopted on account of the pretension of the Antipope Constantine. In that council

Constantine was treated with great severity. The populace were exceedingly excited against that intruder who, in a riot, was deprived of sight in the midst of a great fury which Stephen could not allay, as he was not yet promoted. Certainly the disposition of Stephen warrants us in believing that if Constantine could have appealed to a true pontifical power, he would not have suffered the cruel treatment that he could not escape.*

In 769, Desiderius, king of the Lombards, under the pretext of venerating the tomb of the apostles, went to Rome. There that evil prince caused many Roman nobles to be arrested, and following the ferocious example given by the populace, he had them deprived of sight, apparently to revenge Constantine.

Not contented with that reprisal, which is only too consonant with the ferocity of the time, he invited the pope to confer with him upon very serious business. When the pope complied with that invitation, Desiderius ordered him to be confined, with the intention of having him put to death, which crime would have been committed had not two faithful ecclesiastics, Christopher and Sergius, courageously opposed it. That fact is proved by a letter of Adrian I., who reproaches Desiderius with his iniquitous and ferocious conduct towards Adrian's predecessor, Stephen.

The courage of the two priests was not long left unrewarded, as noble and virtuous actions were rewarded at that time. Desiderius had both the priests deprived of their eyes.

In 770, Bertrade, widow of King Pepin, visited Italy, and was received at Pavia with great magnificence by King Desiderius, who designed to sow discord between the pope and the king of the French, persuaded as he was that by that means he could manage the affairs of Italy to his own liking. Marriage was proposed to the queen between her daughter Gisella and Adelgise, son of Desiderius, and between a daughter of his and a son of Queen Bertrade. The latter inconsiderately consented to both marriages; but as soon as Stephen was made aware of the project, he opposed it with the whole weight of the apostolic authority.

In a letter* addressed to Charlemagne, and to Carloman, Stephen exhorted them not to repudiate their wives in order to marry other princesses, contrary to the laws of the Church. He advised the princes not to attach themselves so closely to a king who on many points was an enemy to the Catholic religion. He also recommended them to follow the example of

* The acts of the council here spoken of were found in an ancient MS. of the capitulary archives of Verona, and carried to Rome by the father Bianchini. They were published, for the first time, and learnedly illustrated by the Abbé Gaëtan Cenni, under the title of "*Concilium Lateranense Stefani III.*,"—it should be Stefani IV., (year 749, Rome—printed at the Vatican, 1731—folio 1737, 4to.) Cenni, in that work, illustrates, with an exquisite erudition, the ecclesiastical discipline of those times, and names the Sees of the bishops that took part in that council.

† Letter forty-five of the *Codex Carolin.*

Pepin, who had refused to give his daughter Gisella in marriage to the Emperor Constantine Copronymus, solely because that emperor was not strictly in the Roman communion. The Holy Father, after laying the letter upon the confessional of Saint Peter, and upon the altar upon which he had celebrated the Mass, took the letter again with solemnity, and dispatched it to the princes by his legates, Peter, a priest, and Pamphilus, regionary defender. He ordered them to be energetic in urging the tenor of his remonstrance, which terminated by these emphatic words: "If any one shall venture to do aught in opposition to this letter, let him learn that, in addition to the authority of the blessed Apostle Peter, the tie of excommunication is bound around him, that he is excluded from the kingdom of God, and condemned to groan in eternal fire, in company with demons and others of the impious.*

This formula, with slight differences, has become familiar to the Roman pontiffs, to show their supreme authority over all the faithful in this life, and show them what they have to fear in the next.

Unfortunately, Charles, despising these entreaties and threats, although he was already married to another princess, married the daughter of King Desiderius, but after a year repudiated her, to marry Indelgarde, a princess of the Suabian race.

Stephen governed the Church three years, five months, and about twenty-seven days. In one ordination he created several bishops, five priests, and four deacons. He died on the 1st of February, 772.

Anastasius says that this pope was very learned in the Holy Scriptures, and thoroughly acquainted with ecclesiastical traditions.

His name occurs in some martyrologies, with the title of saint. He was interred at the Vatican.

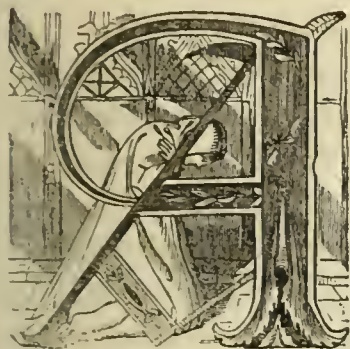
The Holy See remained vacant seven days.

After relating the chief events of this reign, Platina gives way to a sort of Dantesque imprecation on the clergy and cardinals of his own time. This diatribe is out of place. Some things were doubtless to blame, but are we to look for the triumph of ecclesiastical discipline in 772? Platina here loses by unseasonable exaggeration the confidence which he often inspires.

* Novæes.



97. ADRIAN I.—A. D. 772.



ADRIAN I., clerk, notary, regionary, and then cardinal-deacon, was a Roman, son of Theodore, and belonged to the noble family of Colonna. He was elected pope on the 9th of February, 772. This pontiff, notwithstanding the rudeness of the time, was endowed with a merit which enhanced the effect of the beauty of his person. His principle was that great point of ancient discipline, forgiveness of the guilty. He was always desirous of saving life, in order to give time for repentance. Under his authority, no prisoner ever suffered torture. He set at liberty some Roman nobles accused of various offences. On that subject, Anastasius and De Marca repeat that at that time the popes exercised full power in civil affairs, unless when they were hindered by popular seditions.

Desiderius, king of the Lombards, intended to seize upon Rome and expel the pope, who applied to Charlemagne. That victorious and pious prince besieged Desiderius in Pavia, in 773, made him prisoner, sent him to the monastery of Corbie, in France, and put an end to the authority of the Lombards.

The Lombard kingdom had existed two hundred and six years. The name of Lombards, however, was not extinct with their princes. Not only did they remain on the lands which the Lombards had possessed in the environs of the Po, but the dukes of Benevento gave the name of Lombardy to the lands over which they had dominion. In this revolution, the Greek emperors entirely lost the hope which till then they had cherished of recovering the exarchate and the pentapolis.

In 773, Charles gave the fine domain of the Duchy of Benevento to the Holy See.

In 781, Adrian baptized Pepin, son of Charlemagne, and anointed him as king of Italy. He also crowned another of Charles's sons, Louis, as king of Aquitaine. Adrian ordered that the pontiffs should put up prayers for the kings of France in the pontifical high Mass that is celebrated at the beginning of Lent. This order was obeyed in other Catholic kingdoms by the priests, who were subjects of those kingdoms.

Adrian received Charlemagne at Rome three times. The first time in 773, the king having gone to celebrate Easter at Rome; the second time in

781, when he visited Rome in company with his wife, and his son Pepin; and the third time in 787, when he went to repress the arrogance of Arigisa, duke of Benevento, who had revolted against the Holy See.

In all those expeditions, the principal object of Charles was to defend the domains of the Church, which had been given by King Pepin, and increased by Charles himself, the pious donor of the territory of Sabina, and of the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.

Adrian having, by the zeal of Constantine VI. and his mother Irene, obtained peace with the Eastern Church, resolved to assemble the third general council, for the putting down of the Iconoclasts. The council commenced its session in 786, and was transferred to Nice in 787. It was attended by three hundred and fifty bishops. They established the veneration of images, and to the symbol of the faith they added these words: *Qui a patre filioque procedit*—*who proceedeth from the Father and the Son.*

In the council that was celebrated at Frankfort in 794, Felix, bishop of Urgel, in Catalonia, and Elipand, archbishop of Toledo, were condemned for not admitting the veneration of images, and for maintaining that Christ was only the adoptive son of God.

The reign of Adrian was longer than that of any pope, from Saint Peter. He reigned twenty-three years, ten months, and seventeen days.

In two ordinations he created one hundred and eighty-five bishops, twenty-four priests, and seven deacons. He was so charitable, that he everywhere increased the revenues of the poor, and he was so magnificent, that upon the church of the Vatican alone he expended two thousand five hundred and eighty pounds of gold, and nine hundred and seven pounds of silver. He expended nearly as much upon the ornamenting of Saint Paul, outside the walls. This illustrious benefactor devoted eleven hundred pounds of gold to the rebuilding of the walls of the city, and an immense sum to defray the expense of repairing the Basilica and churches. He died on the 25th of December, 795, and was buried in the Vatican. On his tomb was placed an inscription of nineteen couplets, said to have been composed by Charlemagne,* who wept bitterly on the death of the pope, whom he had always looked upon as a father.†

There was no vacancy in the Holy See.

* The inscription is given by Pagi, Father Jacob, and Fabricius.

† The following are four verses of the inscription; they are supposed to be spoken by Charlemagne.

“Nomina junge simul titulis, clarissima nostra;
Hadrianus, Carolus, rex ego, tuque pater.
Quiquis legas versus, devoto pectore supplex,
Amborum mitis, dic, miserere Deus.”

98. ST. LEO III.—A. D. 795,



ROMAN, son of Asupius, was at first canon of Saint John Lateran, and then, if we may rely upon Chacon, a Benedictine monk. Modern critics affirm that in his youth Leo lived in the pontifical palace, for the purpose of being especially instructed in the sciences and polite literature; subsequently, he was made subdeacon, then deacon, and at length raised to the dignity of cardinal-priest of Saint Susanna. Unanimously elected pope on the 26th of December, he was consecrated on the following day, and, after his consecration, crowned upon the lower steps of the Vatican Basilica.*

This pontiff was solicited by Charlemagne to confirm to him the title of *Roman Patrician*, which had been conferred upon him by Stephen III., and which imposed upon him the obligation to defend the Church. Leo sent to him the keys of Saint Peter, and the standard of Rome. Bellarmine and Baronius maintain that those "keys" were no other than boxes filled with relics. Andrew Vittorelli† thinks that they were the actual keys with which the gates of the *Vatican Basilica* were locked and unlocked.‡

Novaes adds—"Protestants assert that by those keys and that standard of Rome the pontiff meant to put Charles in possession of the Church and city of Rome, but that conjecture is refuted by Bzovius."

That writer expresses his wonder that the innovators could be ignorant of the fact that in those times it was the custom to present those keys as a token of devotion, not only to the emperors, but also to other princes who made no claim of right over the Roman Church.

It is certain that the custom of sending boxes in the form of keys, and containing relics, dates from Saint Gregory, who sent such to King Childebert (book v., letter 6), and to Reccared, king of Spain (book vii., letter 727). Saint Gregory the Great assuredly did not intend to recognize those princes as his suzerains! The "keys" sent to Charles Martel had the same form as those sent by Saint Gregory, and were sent with the same intention. They might be a kind of symbol to recall the tomb of Saint

* Novaes, ii., p. 95. Cancellieri (*History of the Possessi*: Rome, 1802) begins his account of the *Possessi*, formerly called *Processi*, or *Processioni*, from this date.

† In addit. to Ciacconium's (Chacon's) *Life of Saint Leo III.*

‡ Novaes, ii., note, p. 96. *Hist. des Pont.*, vol. i.

Peter. Gregory VII., in 1079, sent a similar "key" to Alphonso, king of Castile (book vii., letter 1). Finally, Cenni thus sums up: "Sovereign princes never received from the pontiffs any other sort of keys; and to doubt that, is like doubting the light of the sun."

In 799 a plot was set on foot at Rome for the assassination of Saint Leo. In fact, at the moment when he went forth from the palace to head the procession on Saint Mark's Day, Pascal, the primate, and Campolo, chaplain of the Roman Church, each angry that he had not succeeded his uncle Adrian, sent armed men, who assaulted the pope, and endeavored to deprive him of his eyes and tongue. Legends relate that they succeeded, but that, by a miracle performed by Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Saint Leo was completely cured. Novaes combats Fleury, who, in fact, relates the fact differently,* and Novaes quotes the testimony of Pagi (*Life of Leo III.*), of Anastasius the Librarian, and especially of Alcuin, who explains the miracle in some verses in the poem devoted to a description of the departure of Leo.

After recovering his health, Leo departed for France, whence he returned to Rome, where he made a triumphal entry on Saint Andrew's Day, 29th of November. On Christmas Day, A. D. 800, Leo anointed and crowned Charlemagne emperor of the Romans, and re-established in his favor the Western empire, which had languished without a head during three hundred and twenty-five years, from the death of the last Emperor Augustulus. Charles, abandoning the title of *Patrician*, received that of *Emperor* and *Augustus*.

In "*Italy*," page 65, we read: "The last year of the eighth century is the epoch of a revolution the most important that had taken place in Europe since the Roman sovereigns had removed the seat of empire to Constantinople. The French monarch, the greatest prince that existed in the world, illustrious alike as a warrior and a legislator, deprived the Greeks of the last title of sovereignty that they possessed in Italy, and thus took away from them forever that name of *Romans*, which they had persisted in using in their treaties, and in the preamble of their decrees. Pope Saint Leo III. then reigned. A conspiracy having been formed against him, he was on the point of perishing, and went to Paderborn to entreat the succor of Charlemagne, who proceeded to Rome. On Christmas Day, 800, while Charles was at prayer at the confessional of Saint Peter, the pope, accompanied by the bishops, priests, and French and Roman lords, approached him, and placed upon his head a golden crown, and all the people exclaimed, *Victory and long life to Charles the most pious, Augustus great and pacific, whom God crowneth.*†

* Fleury, x., page 19, line 31.

† This intervention of *the people* may excite surprise, but, on referring back to our life of Pope

The pope then anointed Charles with holy oil. All authors agree in saying that Charles then pronounced the oath taken by his successors after him: "I, emperor, promise in the name of Jesus Christ, before God and the Apostle Saint Peter, that I will protect and defend the holy Roman Church against all, as far as God gives me strength and power."

The festivities lasted far through January.

But what had been the moment chosen by Rome to accomplish so decisive a revolution, thus to establish the independence of the Holy See? That when a woman reigned, an Empress Irene. This princess, born in Athens, of such rare beauty, that to see her was to admire, offered a contrast of good qualities and barbarous inclinations. Ascending the throne in 780 with her son Constantine VI., she at first renounced the persecution against the Iconoclasts. This condescension to the Moslem did not avail the Greeks of New Rome, whom the Saracens were bent on expelling from Byzantium. Irene, subsequently, jealous of her son, put him to death, to be sole monarch. The details of Constantine's death are fearful: his eyes were torn out with such violence that he died. The news of this crime had just reached Rome, where it excited general indignation, except amongst those who had conspired and endeavored to assassinate Leo.

It is also said that many of the Roman enemies of the Holy See endeavored to effect a matrimonial alliance between Irene and Charlemagne; but that princess, married to Leo Chazares in 769, was forty-six years old, and could not expect to bear issue. Hence, many authors, amongst others M. de Saint Martin, regarded the supposition as a fable.

Rome, rejecting on the one hand the authority of this cruel princess, this empress almost powerless abroad, who, perhaps, merely affected religious sentiments; and on the other hand by adopting Charlemagne, magnanimous and beneficent, commanding a people composed of the noble adversaries of Cæsar in Gaul, and the bravest colonies from Germany, still proud of the victory of Poitiers; Rome well knew the interests of Italy, and paid a most striking homage to public morality. All was great, true, just, admirable, able, in this sublime change. The Roman court granted a glorious title to the valor of Charles; he lavished conquests, and loaded with presents the Vicar of Jesus Christ.*

Above all, God cemented the strength of his Church, and recompensed the conquerors of those ignorant sectaries of the Arabian impostor.

A frightful earthquake, in 861, ruined several towns in Italy, and espe-

Hyginus, page 31, it will be seen that they had long since been authorized to assist in the election of the popes. Might they not also assist in the solemn scene described above?

* Gibbon, though inclined to blame the popes, yet says, with reference to these donations—"In strict lawfulness, every one may, without offence, accept of that which is given without injustice."

cially the Basilica of Saint Paul beyond the walls. After having ordered it to be rebuilt, the pope ordered that during the three days preceding the Feast of the Ascension, the litany should be chanted in solemn procession, as, on the same motive, Saint Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, had established in France the institution and rite of the *Rogations*.*

Saint Leo III. was a patron of the fine arts. He adorned Rome with sculptures and paintings; and, according to Muratori, he had paintings on glass placed in the windows of several churches.

To show the purity of his Catholic faith, he placed in the Vatican Basilica two silver tables of the weight of ninety-four pounds. Upon one of them, the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed, was written in the Greek language, and upon the other in Latin. Upon each of them the symbol was that formed by the hundred and twenty Fathers of the Council of Constantinople.

In 804 Saint Leo made a second journey to France, to celebrate Christmas with the Emperor Charlemagne, who met His Holiness at Rheims. Thence the two sovereigns passed into Germany.

In 813 he established the Feast of the Assumption, which had been celebrated as early as Sergius I., but had been allowed to fall into a kind of disuse.

Although oppressed by infirmities, he had the habit of celebrating Mass sometimes eight or nine times a day, a custom of many priests at that time, but abolished by Pope Alexander II., the 158th pope.

Saint Leo III. governed the Church twenty years, five months, and sixteen days.

In three ordinations he created twenty-six bishops, thirty priests, and ten deacons. He died on the 11th of June, 816, leaving the reputation of a pontiff, who was friendly to men of letters, and himself learned, eloquent, affable, mild, and generous. He was interred at the Vatican, and the congregation of the rites subsequently caused his name to be placed in the Roman martyrology. The Holy See remained vacant six days.

* In a note, Novaes says that the Rogations are called *maggiori* and *minori*. The greater Rogations are made on St. Mark's Day; the lesser on the three days before Ascension. The former were instituted, or at least restored, by St. Gregory the Great, who speaks of them as a custom known before his day. The Lesser Rogations were instituted by St. Mamertus, as it is stated expressly in a sermon on the Rogations printed by John Gagnée, and reprinted by Ménard in his notes to the Sacramentary of St. Gregory. Sidonius Apollinaris mentions them, Lib. vii., Epis. xiv.



99. STEPHEN V.—A. D. 816.



STEPHEN V., son of Julius Marinus, first a sub-deacon and then deacon, under Leo III., was elected pope on the 22d of June, 816. To prevent the conspiracies that were forming against him, he made the Romans take the oath of fidelity to Louis, son of Charlemagne, whom he then anointed, and crowned with a precious crown that he himself took to Rheims. He also crowned the empress

Ermengarde, wife of Louis.*

Stephen founded the monastery of Saint Praxedes, in which he assembled a congregation of Greek monks, who, according to their own ritual, chanted and sang both by night and by day. That monastery now belongs to the monks of Vallambrosa.

He had scarcely returned to Rome from Rheims, when he died, on the 24th January, 817. He governed the Church a little more than seven months. In one ordination this pope created five bishops, nine priests, and four deacons. He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant only one day.

Stephen V. had a high reputation for kindness and clemency. He had been forced to leave Rome for Rheims to escape the machinations of wicked men; yet his first act on approaching Louis was to ask him for the pardon of the conspirators, whom the emperor had threatened to have removed to France and punished.

Educated in the courts of Adrian and of Leo, he had acquired their noble and distinguished manners, and to those advantages he joined a sweet humility, a virtue which recommended him even to those who tried to brave his power.

Platina, in speaking of this reign, has much confusion as to date and place. He speaks of the interview of Stephen and Louis as taking place at Orleans. We have seen that these sovereigns met at Rheims.

* See Duchesne, vol. ii., p. 278.



100. ST. PASCAL I.—A. D. 817.



PASCAL I., Roman, son of Maximin Bonosus, was a Benedictine monk, and abbot in the monastery of Saint Stephen, near Saint Peter's, at Rome. He was afterwards created cardinal-priest of Saint Praxedes by Leo III.

Pascal was elected against his own will, on the 25th of January, 817.

On Easter Day, 823, he crowned the Emperor Lothaire, eldest son of Louis the Pious, and temporarily granted him the authority that the old emperors had exerted over the Romans, in order to repress the audacity of those who conspired against the sovereign pontiffs. The acts of the emperors of that time were admirable and generous in giving the sovereignty of Rome to the popes; and the foresight of the emperors was no less salutary, which occasionally seemed to resume that authority, only the better ultimately to secure it to the successors of Saint Peter.

Under the pontificate of Pascal, Rome was torn by cruel factions, those fatal consequences of anarchy, but the sacred robe was safely sheltered beneath the imperial sceptre.

This holy pontiff gave an asylum at Rome to the Greeks who had been exiled by the Iconoclasts. He received from Louis the Pious, by means of a diploma, which was the source of all the other imperial diplomas, a confirmation of the gifts and restitutions made by the emperor's predecessors to the Holy See, and with the addition of Sicily and Sardinia. Pascal has been reproached with want of firmness. At Rome there were two parties hostile to the pope; an imperial party which, ignorant of the beneficent intentions of the emperor, seemed to demand the absolute authority of that prince, and a Roman party which wanted an equally vague independence. It was impossible but that amidst all that disorder, lovers of order also should be found, who demanded respect for the pontifical authority.

Abominable murders having been committed upon Theodore, primate, and Leo, nomenclator, Pascal publicly manifested the horror with which those crimes inspired him, and history assures us that he deplored them with sincerity. Moreover, in this case, there was a denial of justice, which paints those times in most odious colors. Some friends of Pascal were against giving up the murderers to the Emperor Lothaire, that they might be punished, because the murderers were of the family of Saint Peter, and their victims had been guilty of high treason. Lothaire, after hearing

the deputies of the pope, made no further inquiries, following his natural inclination to clemency, a dangerous and fatal virtue in troublous times. Pascal, overwhelmed with cares and sorrow, did not long survive that event.

This pope governed the Church seven years and seventeen days. In two ordinations he created fifteen bishops, seven priests, and seven deacons. He died on the 10th of February, 824.

He was interred at Saint Praxedes, in a tomb which he had himself caused to be constructed. The Holy See remained vacant five days.

It is admitted that the principal clergy of Rome, who had called themselves cardinals long before the reign of Pascal, were publicly so entitled under that pontiff. The word *cardinals* of the Church, means *hinges* of the Church. They were at that time few in number. In 1277, under Nicholas III., there were but seven; under John XXII., in 1330, there were twenty; at the Council of Constance there were thirty-four. Leo X. added thirty-one, making sixty-five in all. Paul IV., in 1556, added five; Sixtus V., in 1586, considering that *seventy* was the number of the elders of Israel, ordered that for the future that should be the fixed number, as it still remains.

Of the seventy, six have the title of cardinal-bishops, fifty have the title of cardinal-priests, and fourteen have the title of cardinal-deacons. We shall hereafter see how that wise order has been established.

101. EUGENE II.—A. D. 824.



WE have given a succinct but sufficient account of the first one hundred popes. We shall continue our task courageously, and we trust that our strength will not fail us until we finish our holy undertaking.

Eugene II., a Roman, son of Bohemond, canon-regular, and subsequently cardinal-priest of Saint Sabinus, was elected pope on the 16th of February, 824. He paid great honors to Lothaire, son of Louis the Pious, employed by his father to destroy the schism which had threatened the Church at the moment of the election of Eugene. At this time, too, Lothaire, in concert with the pope, published a law calculated to prevent the disturbances that often occurred during the elections.* The impe-

* Part of this law is in Baronius; it will be found complete in Lecompt. (*Annal. Eccles. Francorum*, 824, No. 12.)

perial ambassadors were to be present on such occasions, that their authority might put a stop to tumult. Some authors maintain that it is to this epoch that is to be attributed the institution of a seminary for clerks, as the result of a canon of the council which was then assembled at Rome. Various authors also dispute respecting the question, whether it was Eugene who established ordeal by cold water, as a test of the innocence of an accused person. Mabillon (in *Vet. Analect.*, p. 161) declares in the affirmative, and relies on an ancient MS. of Rheims. Natalis Alexander is of the contrary opinion (*Hist. Eccles. sual.* ix., cap. 2). Pagi, in his *Breviarium Pont. (Life of Eugene, n. 75)*, is of like opinion with Mabillon, and endeavors to combat four principal arguments adduced by Natalis Alexander. Van Espen does not decide, but confines himself to saying that this, like other vulgar tests, was in use for several centuries. Christianus Lupus maintains that the proof by the Eucharist is of very ancient use. We shall find Gregory VII. proposing this proof to the King Henry IV. Du Cange, in his Glossary, says that ordeal by cold water, one of the vulgar *purgations* called the *Judgment of God*, consisted in this: "The person accused of a crime was plunged into the water: if he swam, he was declared guilty; if he sank, he was innocent." Novaes, in his turn, confines himself to noticing that that custom was prohibited by Innocent III. in the Council of Lateran. It is delightful to see superstitions often thus solemnly destroyed by the popes. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, had previously written against the trials of both fire and water. (See Papire, Mason, and Baluze.) Feller (ii., 757) says on this subject: "One would have no very high opinion of the intellect of Eugene, if it is true, as many authors affirm, that he established the trial by cold water. Certain it is, that in those times the means of ascertaining the truth were so far from enlightened or secure, that one is tempted to approve the recourse to supernatural means. Even now that our jurisprudence is so proud of its enlightenment, the result of many trials, both civil and criminal, is no more trustworthy than that of ordeal by cold water." That whole judgment, as concerns both Pope Eugene and our modern magistrates, is far too harsh. Eugene governed the Church three years, some months, and a few days. His great charity obtained him the surname of the *Father of the People*. He died on the 27th of August, 827, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant four days.

According to Chacon, the election of Eugene was disturbed by the intrigues of an antipope named Sinsinius. However, no mention of that intrusion is made by Anastasius, by Martin Polonius, or by Platina. At any rate, it must have lasted only a few days.

102. VALENTINE.—A. D. 827.



VALENTINE, a Roman, son of Peter Leontius, of the Rione de Via Lata, made cardinal-deacon by Pascal I., was elected pope on the 1st September, 827. It appears that he was consecrated without the intervention of the authorities who represented Lothaire, notwithstanding the law of which we spoke in our sketch of this pope's immediate predecessor. The ceremonials, as we have the details from Mabillon, consisted in the consecration of the new pontiff at Saint Peter's, the oblation of the sacrifice by the new pope, a banquet, and a distribution to the senate and people of presents which were vulgarly called *presbyteries*.

Valentine governed the Church forty days. This prince was worthy of a longer pontificate, on account of his piety, his clemency, and his liberality. He died on the 16th of October, 827, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant three days.

103. GREGORY IV.—A. D. 827.



GREGORY IV., son of John, was a noble Roman, who became a Benedictine monk, in the monastery of *Fossa Nuova*, at Terracina. Pascal I. had created him cardinal-priest of Saint Mark. On the 14th September, A. D. 827, he was elected pope in spite of his warm refusal; clergy, senate, and people refusing to yield to his unwillingness. He himself favored the delays made to his consecration under pretext of waiting for the ambas-

sador of the emperor, who was to demand from the Romans whether the election had been regular. In the meantime the humble monk, like his predecessor, Saint Gregory the Great, concealed himself in an obscure place; but he was discovered and conducted to the pontifical throne, upon which he was placed almost by force.

In the year 828, he rebuilt and walled in the town of Ostia, which from his own name he called Gregoriopolis; his object was to prevent the Saracens from continuing their inroads by ascending the Tiber, which falls into the sea near that town.

It was during this pope's reign that the Venetians sent a vessel to Alexandria furtively* to carry off the body of Saint Mark the evangelist, which they transported into the ducal Basilica, erected in honor of the saint.

Subsequently to that event the pope restored at Rome the church of Saint Mark, which had been his parish; and he made rich presents to it, a holy ciborium inclosed in a silver tabernacle. It was into this church that the pope transferred the body of Saint Hermes.

At the close of the year 828, the Emperor Louis held an assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, for an inquiry into the evils of the State, and the practicable remedies for them. Vala, abbot of Corbie, venerable for age, birth, and merit, spoke strongly, complaining that the ecclesiastical and secular powers encroached upon each other. The emperor, he urged, often quitted his own duties to interfere in affairs of religion, in which he properly had no concern, and the bishops interfered in purely temporal affairs. Goods consecrated to God were perverted into gifts to laymen.

To this the lay lords replied: "The State is so weakened that it can no longer subsist without the help of the goods and vassals of the Church." "Tell me, I pray," rejoined Vala, "if any one has put my offering on the altar, and another comes and takes it, how do you call the act?" "A sacrilege," they replied. "My lord," cried Vala, addressing the emperor, "let no man deceive you! It is very dangerous to divert to profane uses things once consecrated to God, and thus act against the authority of so many canons, and condemn so many anathemas. If it be true that the State cannot subsist without the help of ecclesiastical goods, means must be modestly sought, without injury to religion; if bishops owe any martial service, let them discharge it without derogating from the sanctity of their profession; that is, dispense with their personal service, as Charlemagne did."

Vala then exposed the dangers to which monasteries were exposed when given over to laymen. He declared that bishoprics were not given according to the canons, and that elections had become irregular.

We insist on these considerations, because they prove the manners of the time; and the manners of each period should be known, either by isolated facts, or by a profound examination due to an able and impartial contemporary.

* Novæ, ii., 113. Fleury contradicts himself. After saying that Louis was deposed according to the advice of the pope and the nobles, he says that the pope "returned greatly afflicted at the manner in which the father was treated by his children."

Vala finally denounced the palace chaplains, or clergy, following the court, who were neither monks living under rule, nor clerks subject to a bishop, and who were guided solely by interest or ambition; for he maintained that every Christian should be either a canon, that is to say, clerk observing the canons, a monk, or a layman; otherwise, said he, the Christian is headless, and consequently an *acephalous* heretic.

In 829, the Emperor Louis received ambassadors from the Swedes, who, among other business with which they were intrusted, declared that many people of their nation desired to embrace the Christian religion, and to recognize the authority of Pope Gregory IV. Saint Anscarius and Vitmar, a monk of Corbie, were sent to Sweden as missionaries, with full powers from the pope, and with presents from the emperor. The mission had great success, which rejoiced the hearts of the faithful. Dissensions arising between Louis and his children, Gregory repaired to France, to restore peace among the princes, but the emperor was deposed by his sons, who divided the empire among them; and Lothaire received the title of emperor.

Gregory returned to Rome, thinking that from that capital his voice would have the more power; in fact, he annulled the sentence which had taken the sceptre from Louis, and that prince was then restored to the throne.* This pontiff instituted for all Christendom the Feast of All Saints, to be celebrated on the 1st of November, as is still the custom.

It was he who translated the body of Gregory the Great from the place where it had been buried, an humble gallery in Saint Peter's, and placed it within the church itself, in a splendid oratory, the flooring of which was mosaic, ornamented with gold, and the altar was adorned with a number of silver tablets. The body of the saint was placed beneath this altar.† His feast was celebrated every year, and his *pallium* was given to be kissed by the faithful, as were his reliquary and his girdles, the plainness of which excited admiration. In the same oratory this pope also placed the bodies of Saint Sebastian and Saint Tiburtius.

Under this pontificate, in 842, the Empress Theodora, regent for her son Michael, revived at Constantinople the veneration of images. The persecution had lasted nearly 120 years. The first Sunday in Lent, Methodius, the new patriarch, passed the night in prayer with the empress and all the people; in the morning they went in procession to Saint Sophia, where Mass was celebrated and the images solemnly rehabilitated. This feast was called the Feast of Orthodoxy, as if to say the feast of the triumph

* Paul Emili, *De Rebus Gestis France*, lib. 3, p. 34. That work, printed in 1519, has been continued by Daniel Zavarisi, of Verona.

† The body of Saint Gregory rests in the Clementine chapel of the present Saint Peter's.

of the Catholic religion. Rome thus obtained the reward of her courage, of her admirable constancy, and of her passion for the fine arts, and the heart of the pope and of the Romans was filled with a most soothing joy.

Gregory IV., who governed sixteen years and twenty-four days, died in 844, and was interred at the Vatican; the epitaph on his tomb is common to him and to Boniface IV., and was placed there by Boniface VIII. There are some letters of Gregory IV. in the *Collection of the Councils*, by Labbe, (vol. vii.), in the *Miscellanea* of Baluze, and in Mabillon. Platina bestows great eulogium on this pope, whose pontificate is described in prose and verse by the monk Rabanus.

104. SERGIUS II.—A. D. 844.



SERGIUS II., a Roman of an illustrious family, a canon-regular, and then created by Pascal I. cardinal-priest of Saint Martin *ai Monti*, was elected pope on the 16th of February, 844. The same year he crowned as king of the Lombards, and not as emperor, Louis II., son of Lothaire. Louis having asked the pope to allow the Romans to swear fidelity to him, the pope refused, because Lothaire was living. He would have only Lothaire as protector of the Church.

Lecointe, in his annals (*Life of Sergius*, p. 352), gives an analysis of the oath of fidelity. The Romans promised the French kings to be obedient to the pontiffs, lords of Rome; and the pope and people of Rome promised the kings of France to be constant in their friendship to those kings.

The same year Sergius caused to be arranged, in the form of a staircase, with a porch, and before the church of Saint John Lateran, the twenty-eight steps sanctified at Jerusalem by the Redeemer ascending upon them to the house of Pilate. Those stairs were transported to Rome by order of Saint Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, and had remained concealed in that Basilica. But we shall have to speak of that holy monument in the reign of Sixtus V. Sergius governed about three years. In one ordination he created twenty-three bishops, eight priests, and three deacons. He was humble, affable, prudent, a friend to the people, charitable to the poor, and a consoler of the unhappy; such is the character given to him

by Anastasius the Librarian. This pope died on the 27th January, 847, and was buried at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant (if we include the day of the successor's consecration) two months and fourteen days, but there was no vacancy for the election.

It has been maintained that Sergius gave to Drogon, Bishop of Metz, who accompanied Louis, letters as vicar-apostolic, conferring upon him the power of vicar-apostolic beyond the Rhine, with authority over the Metropolitans, and even the right to assemble a council, from which, however, there was right to appeal to the pope.

105. ST. LEO IV.—A. D. 847.



EO IV., a Roman, was created pope in the year 847. He was the son of Rodoald, or Rodolph, of an illustrious family. At an early age he was a Benedictine monk, *not*, as some writers have stated that he was, in the monastery of Saints Sylvester and Martin *ai Monti* at Rome, but in the monastery of Saint Martin which joined the ancient *Basilica Vaticana*, in the place now occupied by the altar of Saint Veronica.

Leo became cardinal-priest of the title of the Four Crowned Saints, and owed that appointment to Pope Sergius II., or, rather, to Gregory IV.

After the death of Sergius, Leo was immediately and unanimously elected, the late pope not being as yet interred. However, the new pontiff was not consecrated until the 11th of April. The Romans were at that time in dread of an invasion of the Saracens from Sicily. The Gauls were delivered from their yoke, but Italy was not yet freed from it.

Leo deposed from the cardinalate Anastasius,* priest of Saint Marcellus, because he had abandoned his parish during five years. The same pope surrounded the church of Saint Peter with walls. All the nobles of Rome† were sensibly afflicted by the excesses committed there by the Saracen soldiery, and greatly dreaded their return. To reassure the inhabitants, the

* This Anastasius must not be confounded, as by many modern authors he has been, with Anastasius the Librarian. The Librarian wrote nearly about the same time, and especially flourished under John VIII. He died in 882.

† Fleury, x., p. 411.

pope determined to execute the design of Leo III., to build a new town about Saint Peter's, the foundations of which had already been commenced.

Leo IV. wrote to the Emperor Lothaire upon the subject. The prince was delighted with the proposal, exhorted the pope to put the work in hand without delay, and sent, as the contributions of all his brothers as well as of himself, a great many pounds of silver. The pope having received that generous reply of the emperor, assembled the Romans and consulted them upon his project. It was resolved to bring in from all the neighboring towns and lands all the workmen, whether employed by the public or by the monasteries, and set them to work in turn upon that great task. It occupied four years, the pope continually superintending operations all the time left at his disposal by his spiritual duties, without allowing cold, rain, or storm to divert him from his purpose.

Almost at the same time, that is to say, during the twelfth indiction, which commenced that year (848), the pope also labored to repair the walls of Rome, which had become ruinous. He had the gates remade, and built fifteen towers from the foundation to the roof, going sometimes on foot and sometimes on horseback, to encourage the workmen. Among others, he constructed two towers near the Tiber, on the gate which is on the road to Porto, now called the *Porta Portese*, to stop the smaller barks of the infidels.

Undeterred by those preparations, the Saracens made a descent near Ostia. The pope repaired to that town; and there, aided by the inhabitants of Gaeta, of Naples, and of Amalfi, the Romans gained a signal victory over their enemies.

Voltaire thus speaks of this historical fact :

"Being attacked by the Saracens, Pope Leo IV. showed himself, by his defence of Rome, worthy to rule there as a sovereign. He had employed the wealth of the Church in repairing the walls, building towers, and stretching chains across the Tiber. He armed the militia at his own expense, engaged the inhabitants of Gaeta and Naples to defend the shores and the port of Ostia, but did not neglect the prudent precaution of taking hostages from them, well knowing that those who are powerful enough to aid us are also powerful enough to injure us. He personally visited all the posts, and met the Saracens on their descent, not in warlike array, like Gozlin, bishop of Paris, under circumstances still more urgent, but as a pontiff exhorting a Christian people, *and as a king watching over the safety of his subjects*. He was a Roman; in him the courage of the primitive ages of the republic was revived, in a time of cowardice and corruption, like some beautiful monument of ancient Rome that is sometimes found amidst the ruins of the new Rome. The Saracens were valorously met on their de-

scent, and a tempest having scattered half their vessels, a portion of the invaders having escaped shipwreck, were captured and made to work in chains. Thus the pope utilised his victory by employing upon the defences and adornment of Rome the very hands which were to have destroyed her."

All who know Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs*, may see those *letters of Historical Nobility*, given by the writer, who has most ill-treated the popes, and who, writing of so early a date as 849, did not shrink from using such words as *pontiff*, *king*, for he commenced by saying "*Leo, by his defence of Rome showed himself worthy to rule there as a sovereign.*"*

Nothing was wanting to the glory of Leo. That noble deed of arms, that second battle of Poitiers, if we may so speak, that immortal service rendered to religion, has been handed down to posterity by Raphael, in the halls of the Vatican.

At Poitiers, France as a whole was threatened and saved; but by the victory of Ostia, it was the city of Rome that was directly to be crushed or freed. In a few hours, had the Saracens been victors at Ostia, Rome would have been theirs. Voltaire has not exaggerated the praise of Leo, and in speaking of him, the imagination and the ability of the writer were equal to the subject.

The new city, built around Saint Peter's, is still to this day called the *Leonine city*; it is connected with Rome, and actually enclosed in the same circuit.

In 852, the pope, prudent as became a man who had conquered barbarians, resolved to fortify the town of Porto, because the Saracens had concentrated considerable forces in Sicily. Then there presented themselves a great number of Corsicans, whom dread of the Saracens had driven from Bastia and the neighborhood of Corte, and who were wandering about without fixed abode.† Having set forth their distresses, they promised that, if they should be received, they and their children would remain in the service of the pope, who, on his part, offered them the city of Porto, well fortified, and provided with vineyards, meadows, arable land, horses, and cattle. The Corsicans, a brave people, loving war, and highly esteeming the pope, who had shown himself as brave as themselves, accepted Leo's offer, and a deed of gift of the lands was delivered in due form to those who hastened to sign the treaty.

* However grateful we may feel to Voltaire for the justice with which he has praised Leo IV., we yet must remark here that as relates to Gozlin, bishop of Paris, defending Paris against the Normans, there is a serious error in date. The courageous act of Leo relates to the year 849, and Gozlin was not bishop of Paris until 883. The monk Abbon, moreover, calls Gozlin the *beneficent pastor and hero, full of gentleness—pastor benignus et mitissimus heros*.

Fleury, x., p. 443.

Leo IV. had, in 850, crowned Louis II. as emperor, or rather as associate in the empire, and he lived constantly in good understanding with him, as well as with Lothaire, the still living father of Louis.

Towards the end of the year 853, Leo IV. held at Rome, in the church of Saint Peter's, a council of sixty-seven bishops, amongst whom were four sent by the Emperor Lothaire. The council assembled on the 8th of September, second indiction, seventh year of the reign of Leo, thirty-seventh of the reign of Lothaire, and the fifth of the reign of Louis II.. It was in that council that Anastasius was deposed, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. The inhabitants of Centum Cellæ, a flourishing town in the days of Trajan, were exposed to attacks by the Saracens, and quitted the city. Leo built, at a short distance, a new city, but in the course of time it was deserted, and the inhabitants returned to the old Centum Cellæ, to which they gave the name of Civita Vecchia (the old city), which it still bears.

Leo was the first who began to reckon the years of his pontificate.* Leo IV. governed the Church eight years, three months, and six days. In two ordinations he created sixty-three bishops, nineteen priests, and eight deacons.

This pope was very learned; he united the rarest virtues, circumspection, magnificence, piety, humanity, courage, and love of justice; he was beneficent to the poor, and fulfilled the duties of the pontifical ministry with the most exemplary exactitude. To him, as to Gozlin, might justly be applied the term *mitissimus heros*—*hero full of gentleness*. Leo died on the 17th of July, 855, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant one month and twelve days, until the consecration of Benedict III.

All that is related concerning this reign, fully proves how powerful Leo was at Rome. Fleury, however, seems to doubt the authenticity of such a sovereignty. He says (x., 493), "Daniel, master of the militia, went from Rome to Pavia to obtain an interview with Louis," and said to him: "Gratian, governor of the palace of Rome, whom you believe to be faithful to you, said to me in his own house, '*These French do us no good, and give us no assistance; on the contrary, they pillage us. Why do we not call in the Greeks, and make a treaty with them, and drive away the French king and nation?*'"

The emperor was so irritated on hearing this, that he hastily marched upon Rome without writing to the pope or the senate. The pope failed not to receive him, in the usual honorable manner, upon the great steps of the church of Saint Peter's, and spoke to him with mildness to appease him.

A day was appointed for Gratian's trial; and the emperor, accompanied by the pope, and the Roman and French nobles, held his court in the palace

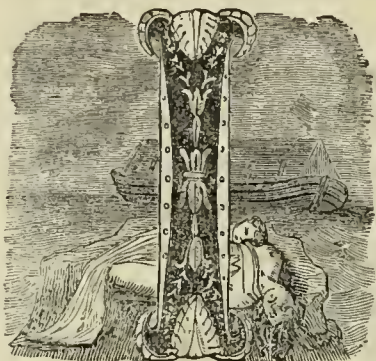
* See the introduction to the *Lives of the Pontiffs*, by Novaes, vol. ii., *Dissert.* iv., p. 20

erected by Leo III., near St. Peter's. Daniel repeated his accusation in Gratian's presence, that he sought to persuade him to deliver Rome to the Greeks; but Gratian and the Romans contradicted him. The emperor ordered them to be tried by the Roman law, and Daniel was convicted of calumny. He was delivered to Gratian to abide his will, but at the request of the emperor was released. This story shows who was sovereign at Rome.

This story, except the concluding reflection by Fleury himself, is drawn from the *Lives of the Popes*, by Anastasius, Librarian of the Roman Church, the same who aided the pope's legates at the Council of Constantinople, in 869, and who wrote nothing unjust to Rome, or unfavorable to its dignity. But Fleury, who was subsequently obliged to acknowledge the pontifical sovereignty—and who will give, though with an ill-grace, the firm and energetic letters of Nicholas I., pope in 858, three years after Leo IV., and immediately after his successor, Benedict III.—Fleury takes a malignant pleasure in representing the Western emperors as absolute masters of Rome, as several Eastern emperors had been before Charlemagne. This is not good sound history on Fleury's part. Read these pages before the great Saint Leo; read the events of his reign; go on to Saint Gregory the Great; and if you are not convinced, take up some pages on the pontificate of Saint Leo IV. himself, and see whether such sophistry should find place in a narrative which should be written only with the spirit of the most exact truth and soundest criticism. Certainly, after Charlemagne a mixed element is discoverable in examining this question, but Charlemagne almost always considered himself as a sort of *legate a latere* of the pope, and defends religion as though pope himself. Louis the Debonnaire did not contend with the popes. Lothaire, in the policy entailed by his revolt against his father, courted Gregory IV. rather than endeavored to humiliate him. Lothaire, subsequently recognized as lawful emperor, did not ill-treat Sergius; and certainly Leo IV., the conqueror of the Saracens, did not yield any rights to Louis II., whom he had first crowned king of the Lombards, at the earnest solicitation of Lothaire, and whom he subsequently crowned as emperor, or associate in the empire, about the time when the Greeks avowed their evil designs; for Gratian was, perhaps, less guiltless than Anastasius says; and Daniel, master of the militia, who, after all, was not punished, although convicted of calumny, may have told the truth. The Iconoclasts wished to satisfy the Moslem at any price, and in the popes the Greeks found one of the great obstacles to their perfidious project.*

* Hereafter, treating of Nicholas I., we shall see Fleury more reserved, and less inclined to favor this spirit of blackening the popes, and a certain contempt for the various phases of the rise of their temporal power. This system of injustice was characteristic of many French writings towards the close of the regency. We read in Feller (vol. v., p. 21): "To fix, says an

106. BENEDICT III. — A. D. 855.



It is between the reign of Saint Leo IV. and that of Benedict III. that the pretended reign of the female Pope Joan has been placed. This disgraceful fable was invented about the year 1278, and is founded upon a suppositious assertion of Martin Polonus and Marianus Scotus, in the margin of whose works this fable was inserted by some lying writer, as is demonstrated by David Blondel.* A great many Protestant writers reject the fable; Catholic authors have refuted it. Unfortunately, seventy writers, and among them many credulous Catholics, admit the ignoble tale. Father Honoratus a S. Maria gives a list, adding that it embraces no French writer.†

These inconsiderate authors gives various names to the female pope; some call her Agnes, others Angelica; these call her Margaret, those Dorothy. It is an immense falsehood, to which each of these authors contributes his share. If they differ as to the name of their imaginary popess, they differ no less as to her nativity. She is English, a German, of Mentz. She had, say they, successfully cultivated Belles Lettres. Disguised as a man, she went to Athens, thence to Jerusalem, and finally to Rome. There her talents and learning procured her admirers, and raised her to the pontificate, which she held for two years, five months, and four days. Here, as a woman is in question, the impostors lose no opportunity to scatter their venom; they cite the place, the procession, and the neighboring church at which she was obliged to stop. Then comes the filthy

author who wrote in 1791, the period when irreligion took its upward flight in France, we must go back to that famous regency, when the race of the new Jeroboam already sought to divide the prophet's mantle," (Kings iii. 11.) Fleury, a laborious and often just writer, taking in hand the defence of right, unfortunately had not always power to withstand the impression of the irreligious opposition of his time, and hence, in so fine a work which has been, and often still is, so useful, we find some spots which disfigure it, a certain bitterness, calculated to destroy confidence, which the French can better detect than the Romans can, because the former perceive the poisoned dart which, with more or less of evil intention, first gave the wound, and afterwards rankled in it, and which, if it tears no more, still remains there without the balm that might soothe the pain.

* *Light on the Question whether a Woman held the See of Rome between Leo IV. and Benedict III.* By David Blondel, Protestant Minister, and translated into Latin by Courcelles, under the title *De Joanna Papissa*. 1657, in 8vo.

† *In Reg. Critic.*, lib. i., dissert. iii., reg. viii., p. 99.

history of the *Sedia* of Saint John Lateran. To go into that church, it is said, the popes had changed the route. True, but the change was made because the old road could not contain the *cortège* of the popes, so much more magnificent had it become. One of the most remarkable publications upon this question is *Donna non essere stata Pontefice*, (a Dissertation by George Scherer, of the Society of Jesus. Vienna, 1586, 4to; and translated into Italian by Nicholas Pierio, Venice, 1686). The scandalous absurdity so long employed to gratify their hatred by the enemies of the Holy See, should be indignantly rejected, as even Protestants have taken pains to refute it. How cynical Platina shows himself in the matter!

Benedict III., a Roman, son of Peter, a canon-regular, then made cardinal of Saint Calixtus by Leo IV., was elected pope, against his own desire, on the 17th of July, and consecrated on the 29th of September, 855, after the imperial ambassadors, whose duty it was to be present at the consecration, had desisted from an endeavor to favor an antipope named Anastasius, because they perceived how warmly the clergy were in favor of Benedict.

In 857, he conceded, in perpetuity, Terni to the inhabitants of that town, on condition that they should restore the houses that had been ruined by the dukes of Spoleto.

He ordered that on the death of a bishop, a priest, or a deacon, the pontiff, with all the bishops, priests, deacons, and clergy should be present at the funeral, and that the same should be observed on the death of a pope. He thus restored the old custom of the Church, which ordained that at the death of a bishop all the other bishops of the province should carry him to the grave.

He governed the Church two years, six months, and about ten days, counting the day of his consecration, and not that of his election.

In one ordination he created twenty bishops, six priests, and one deacon. He was a pontiff of great piety, full of tenderness and charity, visiting the sick, and accessible to the poor, whom he saluted as nobles in Jesus Christ. He refused his protection to no widow or orphan; and he had the pleasure to find his virtues praised even by his enemies. This pope died on the 8th of April, 858, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant fifteen days.

Mention has been made of the antipope Anastasius. Some schismatics, supported by the ambassadors of Lothaire, sought to elect Anastasius, from whom Saint Leo IV., had withdrawn the title of cardinal of Saint Marcellus. Anastasius persisted in his resistance two months and some days, and even went so far as to depose Benedict. As length, having, in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran, and in that of the Vatican, been guilty of excesses which, says Novaes (ii., p. 125), would have shocked a Saracen,

he fled from Rome in the year 867, as Baronius states. But he returned with genuine feelings of repentance, and was received into the communion of the Church by Saint Nicholas I. Unhappily this ungovernable man, destitute alike of firmness and of good faith, always ready to fall, committed new offences, and Adrian II. cut him off from the Catholic communion in 868.

107. ST. NICHOLAS I. — A. D. 858.



SAINT NICHOLAS I., surnamed the Great, deserved the title by his virtues, comparable to those of Saint Gregory and Saint Leo. He was a Roman, and son of Theodore of the Conti family. He was made cardinal-deacon by Leo IV. Notwithstanding the resistance which he manifested, he was elected and consecrated pope on the 24th of April, 858, in presence of Louis II., who held the new pope's stirrup as he mounted his horse to go to take the *possesso*. He was the first pope crowned with the papal tiara. The coronation took place at Saint John Lateran, but custom had prevailed that the pope should be crowned at Saint Peter's, and that he should go to Saint John Lateran to *take possesso*. A few days after those ceremonies, Louis II. left Rome for a neighboring place called *Tor di Quinto*. The pope, accompanied by all the Roman nobles, paid a visit to the prince at that place. On the arrival of the pontiff, Louis dismounted from his own horse, took the pope's bridle, and conducted His Holiness to *Tor di Quinto*, where a magnificent banquet was prepared. The same honors were paid by Louis II. to Nicholas when he returned to Rome.

The pope at this time commenced that series of great actions by which his name and pontificate were made illustrious.

With admirable constancy he defended Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, whom Bardanes, uncle of the Emperor Michael, and governing in his name, had deposed on a false charge of high treason. Bardanes had named, in place of the deposed Ignatius, the eunuch Photius, a man of corrupt morals, whom Nicholas deemed it his duty to excommunicate in a council in the year 863.*

* On this subject, see Baronius, Labbe, and Petavius. The last treats it formally in his *Dogmatic Theology*, vol. ii., chaps. 1 and 2, p. 633.

In 866, Nicholas required of Lothaire that he should take back his wife, Queen Tielberge, and to dismiss his concubine Waldrade. But subsequently Lothaire took back the concubine, abandoning and ill-treating his lawful wife. In one of the seven councils which he celebrated at Rome, Nicholas extinguished the reviving sect of the *Theopaschites*. He says himself in the seventh of his letters, published by Labbe, that they maintained that Jesus Christ, on the cross, suffered in his divinity.

The Bulgarians were converted in 861. Nicholas sent to them, in 866, his legates, among whom was distinguished Formosus, bishop of Porto, who became pope in 891.

For their instruction he gave them one hundred and six replies to as many questions asked by Michael, king of the Bulgarians. The hundred and fourth (see Labbe, vol. viii., col. 548), became the subject of great disagreement among the theologians; the following is the decision: Those should not be re-baptised who have received baptism in the name of the Trinity, or only in the name of Christ. "Among the replies which the theologians give upon that point the most fitting, as it seems to me,* says Novaes, is that which says that the pope intended to intimate, not the form of baptism, for that must be in the name of the Trinity, but the faith in Christ of the adults who were to receive the baptism in the name of the Trinity. However, this is not our province, as we treat only of facts."

Being also an historian, and not a theologian, I cannot too much applaud the decorous reserve of Novaes; and I remain ready to receive with respect every Roman decision differing from what I have taken as my guide.

On the subject of the divorce of Lothaire, Fleury (xi. 76) notices a letter which Nicholas wrote to Adventius, bishop of Mentz, in which the pope seems to authorize bishops to disobey princes whom they do not consider legitimate.

"You say that you are subject to the prince because the apostle says: Obey the king, as being set over you. You are right; but be sure that these kings and princes are truly so. See whether they act uprightly, govern their subjects well, for what is he good for who is bad in himself? See whether they are princes justly; otherwise we must rather hold them as tyrants than kings, and resist, rather than by obeying them place ourselves under the necessity of favoring their vices. Be subject to the king as being above all by his virtues, not by his vices, and obey him for God's sake, as the apostle says, and not against God."

Fleury adds: "Pope Nicholas forgot that the king, or rather emperor, whom Saint Peter ordered Christians to obey, was Nero; and that he says immediately after, 'slaves obey your masters, not only those who are good,

† Novaes, ii., 127.

but the froward also.' Moreover, the pope makes bishops judges whether princes are legitimate or tyrants; and not only bishops but all their subjects, for the reason he cites in general."

Fleury frequently censures Nicholas. "There was also a letter for the bishops of the kingdom of Charles the Bald. The king begs them to exhort the king to keep his oaths, and adds these remarkable words: 'That the emperor be not forced to turn against Christians the sword which he has received from the vicar of Saint Peter, to use against the infidel; that he be permitted to govern the kingdoms fallen to him by succession, confirmed by the authority of the Holy See, and by the crown which the Holy See has placed on his head.'"

"We see the pope seeking to avail himself of the coronation ceremony, and the delivery of the sword, which forms part of it. He adds a threat of God's anger against any one daring to attack the emperor, and declares that he will himself defend him with all his power."

I think Fleury mistakes in looking upon the *crowning*, and the delivery of the sword as vain formulas. Those words have been pronounced at every coronation of which history speaks. Fleury devoted himself too much to old works, and perhaps, he selected those passages which supported not his mistakes, but his passions.

The heresy of Photius began to make some ravages in France. That schismatic continued to maintain that when the emperors removed from Rome to Constantinople, the primacy of the Roman Church and its privileges had also passed to the Church of Constantinople.*

The pope, then, wrote to the French bishops, assembled at Troyes, to inform them of these extraordinary pretensions of the Greek calumnies, and unjust reproaches against the Roman Church.

"Before we sent our legates," says the pope, "the Greeks overwhelmed us with eulogies, and exalted the authority of the Holy See. But since we condemned their excesses, they use far different language,† and load us with insults. Finding nothing, God be praised, which they could reproach us with as to personal conduct, they have resorted to attacks upon the traditions of our fathers, which their ancestors dared not oppose."

In a document put forth by Nicholas (*Collection des Conciles*, vol. 8), he recommends the following doctrine: "The canons ordain that throughout the world appeals shall be made to Rome, from whose decision there shall be no appeal."

* I remember hearing Monsignor Nicolai, a Roman wit, say upon this subject: "The vessel must have been large, both physically and morally, which carried so much at once from Rome to Byzantium! For it must have lodged the Old Testament which promises Rome itself to the universe."

† Feller, iv., p. 517.

Nicholas governed the Church nine years, six months, and twenty days.

In various ordinations, he created sixty-five bishops, seven priests, and four deacons. The eighth general council, assembled in Constantinople in 870 (*Hardouin*, vol. v.), calls Nicholas the *new Elias*, the *new Phineas*,* *new Daniel*, and *new Martin*. Anastasius, in the preface to that same council, calls Nicholas a *heavenly man*, and an *earthly angel*. He showed great magnificence in the restoration of the churches of Rome. All authors agree that he was enthusiastically beloved by the poor, because he had said that there should not be one of them in Rome that had not shared in his bounty. Nicholas was also respected on account of the just severity with which he enforced ecclesiastical discipline. He died on the 13th of November, 867, and was interred before the doors of Saint Peter.

The Holy See remained vacant one month.

108. ADRIAN II.—A. D. 867.



ADRIAN II., a Roman, son of Talarus, and a bishop, was a relation of Stephen IV. and of Sergius II. He owed his rank of cardinal-priest of Saint Mark to Gregory IV. Adrian twice refused the pontificate, after the death of Leo IV. and after that of Benedict III.

Some authors maintain that before he became a cardinal he was married. Novaes does not deny that fact, which was very common in the times of which we speak. The wife of the son of Talarus was named Stephanie, and they had one daughter. Muratori states the same fact in his *Annals* (vol. v.).

When Adrian II. was elected pope, he was above seventy-six years old. He was consecrated on the 14th of December, 867; and even while the ceremony was in progress, he made a third attempt to refuse the pontificate. Adrian, in his rule, so carefully followed in the path of his predecessor, that with ill-timed derision he was called Nicholas the Little; but he persisted in following the noble examples given by his predecessor. He pronounced a second sentence of excommunication against Anastasius, cardinal of Saint

* Phineas, son of Eleazar, and grandson of Aaron, was the third high-priest of the Jews.

Marcellus, who had been deposed by Leo IV. Anastasius, when restored to communion, had forgotten that favor. He abstracted synodal writings, and committed other offences, and no doubt deserved the sentence of excommunication which was pronounced against him by a council assembled at Rome in 868.

In another council assembled at Rome, Adrian, urged by his apostolic zeal, issued a third excommunication against the arrogant Photius. On this subject, and in order to restore agreement with the various Eastern churches, he convoked the Fourth Council of Constantinople, which was the eighth general council. There a hundred and nine bishops signed the condemnation of Photius, with a pen dipped in the chalice. The 27th canon of that council ordered that monks and religious when made bishops should visibly wear the habit of their order.

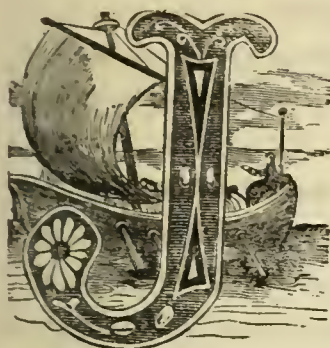
Adrian absolved Lothaire from his excommunication, and urged him to leave his concubine Waldrade, and take back his lawful wife Tielberge, to whom he was bound to pay all royal honors.

This pope ordered Charles the Bald, on pain of excommunication, to restore the kingdom usurped from his brother, the Emperor Louis II., whose birthright it was. He crowned Alfred I., sixth king of England, and granted to the Moravians the right to use the Slavonic, their vernacular language, in the divine offices and in the Mass. Pope John VIII. confirmed that right, on condition that they should first recite the Gospel in Latin and then in Slavonic. Langlet, in his *Chronological Tables* (vol. ii., p. 278), thinks that it was at this period that the cross began to be borne before the pope.

Adrian II. governed the Church four years, eleven months, and twelve days. He died on the 26th of November, 872, and was buried at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant twenty-six days.



109. JOHN VIII.—A. D. 872.



JOHN VIII., a Roman, son of Guido, and cardinal-archdeacon, was elected and consecrated pope on the 14th of December, 872. He was the first to publish rules on the rights and pre-eminences of the cardinals. (See Saint Pascal I., p. 208.)

In 875 he crowned the Emperor Charles the Bald as king of France, and accompanied him to Pavia, where he held a council, which confirmed the election of the Emperor Charles.

In 876 he excommunicated Formosus, bishop of Porto (who, in the year 891, succeeded him in the pontificate), because that bishop had left his church without the permission of the pope, and was, moreover, accused of conspiring against the weal of the empire and of Christendom. Mabillon gives us, on this subject, details which are founded upon John's own letter. Subsequently, the pope exiled Formosus to France, making him swear that he would not return to Rome, or even to Porto. The Saracens, who had infested the kingdom of Naples, had approached Rome. John solicited the aid of Charles the Bald. Fleury* gives the following extract from the letter then written by the pope: "In proportion to the joy at the aid you promise, is our grief at learning that it has returned without doing any thing. The blood of Christians is shed. He who escapes the sword is hurried away into endless bondage. Cities, towns, villages perish, abandoned by the inhabitants; the bishops are scattered, and have no refuge but Rome; their episcopal residences are become the refuge of wild beasts; they themselves are wanderers on the face of the earth, reduced to beggary. Last year, instead of preaching, we planted, and have reaped nothing; this year, not having sowed, we have not even a hope of harvest. Why speak of pagans? Christians do no better—I mean some of our neighbors whom you call Marchiones. They plunder Saint Peter's patrimony in the city and country.

* Hitherto I have used the 12mo edition of Fleury (1724); but having heard of another edition, I shall henceforth make use of it. This latter edition was published at Paris (1840–1844), in six volumes, large 8vo, double columns, and, besides the hundred books given in preceding editions, it contains four said to be previously unpublished. It is stated that these four books were found in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*; they refer to the years 1414 to 1517. Hereafter I necessarily must consult this edition; I do so beforehand, because it corrects a host of erroneous dates. When I shall reach the year 1414, I shall inquire into the authenticity of those four new books. The letter of Pope John VIII., here mentioned, is in the third volume of the new edition of Fleury, p. 501.

They kill us, not by the steel, but by famine ; they do not take us into captivity, but they reduce us to bondage. Their oppression makes us unable to find any one to meet the enemy. You alone, under God, are our refuge and our consolation, and therefore it is that with our whole hearts we supplicate you—we, the bishops, priests, nobles, and the rest of the people—to stretch forth your helping hand to this oppressed city and your Mother Church, from whom you have received not only your kingdom, but the faith ; and who, finally, raised you to the empire, in preference to your brother, who was a great prince.”

John, however, was attacked in the States of the Church by the Saracens, and unable to rely upon the aid of Charles and the other princes, was obliged to purchase peace from the barbarians by the promise of an annual tribute of twenty-five thousand silver marks ; and at the same time he found himself obliged to leave his capital, to avoid the plots of some Roman nobles, his enemies, and he took shelter in France. On Whitsunday, the 11th of May, 878, he stopped in the city of Arles ; thence he proceeded to Lyons, from which city he wrote to various prelates, and among them to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, whose great merits he knew.

John assembled a council at Troyes. In the third session all the bishops present agreed upon the following address to the pope :

“ Lord and most Holy Father, we, the bishops of Gaul and Belgium, your servants and your disciples, compassionate the miseries which the ministers of the devil have inflicted upon our Holy Mother, the Mistress of all the Churches, and we unanimously follow the sentence which, according to the canons, you have pronounced upon those enemies in causing them to die by the sword of the spirit. We hold as excommunicated all whom you have excommunicated, as anathematized those whom you have anathematized, and we will receive those who shall be received by you, after they shall have made satisfaction according to the rules ; but we have all, in these churches, the same evils to deplore. Wherefore, in all humility, we supplicate you to aid us and prescribe how we shall act against those who rob our churches, so that, being supported by your authority, we and our successors may be the stronger to resist and punish them.”*

John returned to Rome with Count Boson, whom he had chosen as the defender of the States of the Church against Lambert, duke of Spoleto.

The pontiff, on his return to the capital, was waited upon by ambassadors from Basil, emperor of the East. That prince, deceived by Photius, had replaced him in the See of Constantinople, and now begged the pope to confirm his acts. The emperor urged that not only the partisans of Photius, but those of the party of Ignatius and Methodius, had consented

* Fleury, vol. iii., p. 509 (*an.* 878, 1840–1844, edition previously quoted.)

to this restoration. John, deceived by such reports,* without inquiry, was unwise enough to write, through Cardinal Peter, his legate, to the emperor, the patriarchs of the East, and all who had refused to communicate with Photius, and declare him re-established in that See. John believed the sacrifice to be necessary to the peace of the Church; nevertheless he made it on condition that Photius, in the presence of the legates, should ask pardon for his conduct towards the Roman Church. Photius, who was full of trickery and imposture, readily consented.

This compliance on the part of the pope surprised all the orthodox, and caused Cardinal Baronius to say that at that time the Church was governed by a woman.†

Baronius somewhat exaggerates the mischief done to the Holy See by John in restoring Photius; and de Marca, according to Novaes, perhaps refines too much in his endeavor to justify the pontiff on that point. We abstain from deciding the question. Such discussions are always delicate and difficult to settle. We confine ourselves to saying, still following Novaes, that John, perceiving that he had made a false step in re-establishing Photius, and thus restoring to the communion the usurper of a seat of which he had been deprived by an œcumenical council, soon cancelled the acts of the *Conciliabula* presided over by Photius in person, and severely punished the legates of the Holy See who had suffered themselves to be deceived by the frauds of that disobedient prelate. Photius was again condemned, and John sent Marius, a cardinal-deacon, to Constantinople to cause the pontifical will to be executed.

At the solicitation of Alphonso III., king of Leon, John erected the Church of Oviedo into the metropolitan Church of Galicia.

In four years, John is said to have crowned as emperors three kings of France: Charles the Bald, in 876; Louis III., in 878;‡ and Charles the Fat, in 880.

The same pontiff gave to the duke of Gaeta, to John his son, and to their successors, the patrimony of Traetto, and the town of Fondi, previously the absolute property of the Holy See, on condition that those princes should declare war against the Saracens, which they courageously did.

Feller (ii. 649) says that we have three hundred and twenty-six of this pope's letters. The *Biographie Universelle* states that it was by order of this

* Baronius, *ad. an.* 879, No. 5; and *Langlet, Princ. de l'Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 1.

† See Life of Nicholas I. for an account of the pretensions of Photius.

‡ It is commonly said that John crowned Louis III. as emperor; but Father Sirmond, in the notes to the Council of Troyes, which was celebrated in presence of the pontiff, about September, 878, shows that Louis was crowned king, and not emperor.

pontiff that John, a deacon of the Roman Church, wrote, in four volumes, the Life of Gregory the Great, who lived three centuries earlier.

John governed ten years and two days; he died on the 15th of December, 882, just as he was about to set out for France, for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation among the French princes. He was interred under the portico of the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant seven days.

110. MARINUS I.—A. D. 882.



HE next pope, Marinus I., son of Palombo, was born at Montefiascone, a town in the States of the Church, near Viterbo. He had three times been legate to Constantinople, in the affair of Photius,—under Nicholas I., in 866, under Adrian II., in 868, and under John VIII., in 881.

He was elected pope on the 23d of December, 882. He immediately excommunicated Photius, and restored Formosus to his See of Porto, and also permitted him to go to Rome.

Under Pope Marinus lived the great king of England, Alfred. Named king of Demetia by his father, he was crowned at Rome by Pope Leo IV., and subsequently recognized as king of Wessex. He is considered the first legislator of the nation. Those among his laws which relate to religion were made by him in concert with the See of Rome.

Perjury was punished by forty days' imprisonment, to fulfil the penance imposed by the bishop. Right of sanctuary was given to the churches. Larceny committed in a church, or on a Sunday, was punished more severely than if committed elsewhere, and on any other day. Nuns were protected against insults of men,* which seems to infer that they were not cloistered. It was forbidden to draw a sword in the presence of a bishop.

A deposit made to a monk without the permission of the abbot was void, and the loss fell on the depositor.

Pope Marinus, at the request of King Alfred, of England, sent him a piece of the true cross. This pontiff governed one year, four months, and a few days. He died on the 24th of February, 884, with the reputation of an en-

* Fleury, iii., 542, new edition.

lightened and very pious man. We must presume that Formosus, whom this pope pardoned, had given clear proofs of his repentance.

Marinus was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant six days.

111. ADRIAN III.—A. D. 884.



ADRIAN III., whom many authors call Agapitus, was a Roman, son of Benedict. He was elected pontiff on the 1st of March, 884.

He would never yield to Basilius, the Macedonian, who wished him to revoke the excommunication against Photius, the perpetual torment of the Church. Adrian governed one year, four months, and eight days. He was invited to France by Charles the Fat. The firmness and wisdom of this pope were much relied on to terminate the differences which disturbed that monarchy, but he died on his way at Saint Cesarius, a small town near Modena, on the 8th of July, 885. He was buried in the monastery of Nonantola, five miles from Modena.

The Holy See remained vacant six days.

112. STEPHEN VI.—A. D. 885.



STEPHEN VI., who is believed to have belonged to the house of Colonna, was cardinal-priest, and unanimously elected pope on the 15th of July, 885. So great was his resistance to the promotion, that he ordered the doors of his house to be closed, and it was necessary to break them down in order to seize him (as was done with Gregory the Great), and lead him to the church. Stephen was crowned, with-

out the presence of the imperial ambassadors, at the close of the month of September of the same year, which would confirm the existence of a decree

of Adrian III., his predecessor, providing that the pope elect should be consecrated without requiring the presence of the king or his ambassadors. I have not previously mentioned that decree, because many writers consider it apocryphal; but what occurred in Stephen's case proves that the decree probably existed.

With the aid of the Emperor Leo VI., called the Philosopher, Stephen extinguished the schism of Photius; that heresiarch was confined in a monastery, where he died, despised by all the faithful. Thus was destroyed the schism of the Eastern Church, so fatally introduced into Catholic affairs by Photius. This schism did not revive until the time of Michael Cerularius, who, by favor of Constantine Monomachus, was placed in the See of Constantinople in 1043.

In 891, Stephen crowned as emperor, Guido, duke of Spoleto, his adopted son, who out of gratitude confirmed the gifts made to the Roman Church by Pepin, and by the Emperor Charlemagne and Louis the Pious; and thus, after many vicissitudes, the Italian empire fell again into the hands of an Italian prince.

It is affirmed that it was Stephen who, in a letter addressed to Humbert, bishop of Mayence, prohibited the ordeal by a hot iron or boiling water; by which the accused was deemed innocent, if he touched the iron or water without being injured. But many writers, and among them Van Espen, do not recognize the decree.

Stephen governed six years. He distinguished himself by his knowledge, and by his charity to the poor.

"This pope," says Feller, (ii., 751), "was of noble race and of exemplary disinterestedness. He to the utmost of his power opposed his own elevation. He nourished orphans as though they had been his own children, and often admitted them to his table. On his attaining to the pontificate, the goods of the Church being almost all dissipated, he liberally distributed his rich patrimony. He celebrated Mass daily, and gave to prayer or psalmody such time as he could spare from the duties of charity and pastoral watchfulness. He above all things was anxious to associate with himself in the government of the Church the most enlightened and the most virtuous men whom he could discover. He died on the 7th of August, or, as some say, towards the end of September, 891, and was interred in the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant one month and eleven days.

113. FORMOSUS.—A. D. 891.



FORMOSUS, son of Leo, was a native of Corsica, canon-regular, and afterwards bishop of Porto. He was the first bishop who became pope. He was elected pontiff about the 21st of September, and consecrated towards the end of that month.

John VIII. had condemned Formosus, deposed him from his See, exiled him, and forbidden him to return to his church or to Rome, and had made him promise to content himself with lay communion.

Marinus I., as we have seen, released the exile from his oaths, and restored him to his See. Adrian III. and Stephen VI. distinguished and honored Formosus. Monsignor Becchetti, in stating that fact in his *Hist. Ecclesiast.* (vol. vii.), adds that, owing to the obscurity of the ancient documents, it would be difficult to prove the innocence of Formosus. Nevertheless, Cardella, in vol. i. of his *History of the Cardinals*, mentions that even amidst that dense darkness, Father Nardi has found abundant light to clear Formosus from all the offences that have been imputed to him; and he maintains that time has openly proved the innocence of this cardinal, who subsequently became pontiff. Novaes does not hesitate to say that John VIII., who restored Photius to the See of Constantinople, may also have given too easy credence to calumnies against Formosus; and at the same time that historian asserts that the contemporaries of Formosus eulogized him as a man of great virtue.

The Emperor Leo having written to Stephen VI. that Photius of his own free will had resigned his bishopric, and the bishops of the East having written to the contrary, begging the pope to receive into the communion of the Church those who had been ordained by that heresiarch, Formosus received the letters, Stephen having died ere they reached Rome. Formosus showed himself favorable to the prayer of the bishops, but with the condition that those who had been ordained by Photius should present a *libellus* containing a written confession of their fault and asking pardon for it.

The Emperor Guido being dead, the affairs of Italy were again disturbed by violence: the Holy Father secretly called to Rome the king of Germany, Arnulphus, to repress a party that had risen against the pope, headed by Lambert, a son of Guido. Arnulphus was crowned emperor in 895, after

having taken Rome, by permission of Formosus, and driven out the enemies of that pope. In the oath that the Romans took to Arnulphus, the pope caused the words, *saving the faith due to Formosus*, to be inserted.

A letter of the archbishop of Rheims, Foulques, having informed the Holy Father of the coronation of Charles the Simple as king of France, His Holiness wrote to King Eudes, begging him not to attack Charles in either his person or possessions, but to grant him a truce; and he also wrote to the bishops, exhorting them to make the same request to King Eudes. He also sent Charles advice suited to his position. Formosus governed the Church nearly five years. He died on the 4th of April, 896, and was interred at the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant six days.

114. BONIFACE VI.—A. D. 896.



BONIFACE VI. is reckoned among the popes of that name; nevertheless, the official Diario of Rome says that many writers consider him an antipope. After the death of Formosus, a mob placed Boniface in the chair of Saint Peter, on the 11th of April, 896. Little regularity was observed in his election, and he allowed himself to be appointed by unqualified electors. John VIII. had condemned him, and deprived him of the dignity of subdeacon. He enjoyed the pontificate only fifteen days, and died of an attack of gout, on the 26th of April, 896. He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant five days.



115. STEPHEN VII.—A. D. 896.



STEPHEN VII., a Roman, made bishop of Anagni by Stephen VI., was elected pontiff by the seditious exertions of Adalbert, marquis of Tuscany, on the 22d of May, 896, and consecrated about the 20th of August.

According to Baronius (*An.* 896, *n.* 2 and 6), he was the first who covered with mourning the chair of Saint Peter. Stephen, ignorant of the sacred doctrines, and unable to consult the clergy, who had taken no part in his election, violated the grave of a sovereign pontiff, caused Formosus, who had been buried at the Vatican, to be taken up, clothed in the papal ornaments, and placed on the pontifical throne, where he thus outrageously addressed his corpse: "You were bishop of Porto; and how, man full of ambition, did you dare to usurp the universal Roman throne?" Having said that, he had the body stripped of the sacred garb, had the three fingers cut off with which the living pope had been accustomed to give the papal benediction, and then had the body thrown into the Tiber.* Afterwards, having deposed all those who had been ordained by Formosus, Stephen rendered himself universally odious by such revengeful conduct. The friends of Formosus excited the citizens, who loaded Stephen with irons, and strangled him in prison.

Some time after (in 898), John IX. assembled at Rome a council, which condemned all that had been done in 897, against the memory and the body of Formosus. The Fathers of the council remarked that Formosus had been removed by necessity from the See of Porto to that of Rome. "There was necessity," said they, "for transferring Formosus from the Church of Porto to the Holy See. Formosus was distinguished for the merits of his life."

"The conduct of Stephen," says Baronius, "must be attributed to a violent tyranny in fact, and not to error in faith: let us not forget that we are treating of the ninth century." Stephen governed the Church one year and two months. He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant three days.

* Luitprand, book i., chap. 8. Muratori, vol. ii., p. 430.

116. ROMANUS.—A. D. 898.



ROMANUS, of Montefiascone, or rather of Gallese, an estate near Civita Castellana, was the son of Constantine, the father also of Pope Marinus. He was elected pontiff on the 17th of September, 898. Sigonius, Platina, Panvini, and Chacon state that this pope abrogated all that Stephen had done against Formosus, whose friend Romanus had been. But the contemporary writers make no mention of this abrogation, which seems to have been reserved for Theodore II., successor of Romanus.

This pope died on the 8th of February, 898, after governing the Church about four months, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant three days.

117. THEODORE II.—A. D. 898.



THEODORE II., Roman, son of Photius, a noble, was elected pontiff on the 12th of February, 898. He annulled the sentence pronounced by Stephen VII. against those ordained by Formosus. He entombed with pomp, in Saint Peter's, the body of that pope, which some fishermen had recovered from the Tiber. Legends recount that when the body appeared at the entrance of the church all the images bowed in salutation. Modern critics, says Novaes, reject this statement as a complimentary fable—*favola galante*—while others receive it as an indubitable fact.

Theodore II. governed only twenty days. He deserves praise for having punished the insult offered to Formosus. Flodoard lauds the piety, courage, and charity of Theodore. He died on the 3d of March, 898, and was interred at the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant eight days.

118. JOHN IX.—A. D. 898.



in 914.*

JOHN IX., of Tivoli, son of Rampoald, first a Benedictine monk, then cardinal-deacon, was elected pope on the 22d of March, 898, and consecrated at the end of August. He formally abrogated the acts against Formosus. Nevertheless, he ordered, in two councils, assembled at Rome and Ravenna, that no bishop should pass from his own Church to that of Rome,—a law annulled, as we shall see,

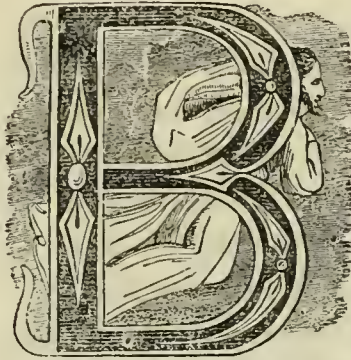
In the Council of Ravenna, John required all to swear obedience to the capitularies of Charlemagne. After having nobly restored the memory of Formosus, he excommunicated those who had violated the tomb, in order to take out the body of that pope. He ratified the coronation of the Emperor Lambert, and annulled the election of Berengarius. This pontiff forbade the houses of bishops to be pillaged at their death, and he ordained, for the prevention of disturbances arising out of the coronation of the popes, that the ceremony should take place in presence of the imperial ambassadors. The presence of those ministers was often apparently invoked: they were called for if a riot was feared; but if the people were peaceable they were not invited. John IX. governed two years and fifteen days. He died on the 26th of March, or at the commencement of August, in the year 900.

He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant ten days.

* Upon this strange trial, held on the corpse of Formosus, Henault remarks—"It is pretended that translation from one bishopric to another was unexampled. Yet, in the third century, we have the case of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and also a coadjutor given to a living bishop."



119. BENEDICT IV. — A. D. 900.



BENEDICT IV., a Roman, canon-regular of Saint John Lateran, son of Mammolus, and said to be of the famous Conti family, was elected on the 6th of April, A. D. 900. In the month of August, he crowned, as emperor, Louis, king of Burgundy. Benedict governed three years and two months. He was affable, liberal to the poor, and of virtues rare in those unhappy times.

We are now entering the tenth century; it already announces itself by acts which fill us with grief. That tenth century was the most fatal, the most unfortunate, to the Church. Who can deny it?*

The great Baronius (*An.* 900, *n.* 1) thus speaks: "This tenth century commences—this century, which, by its barrenness and sterility of good, was called the *iron* age; subsequently, on account of its abounding perversity, the *leaden* age, and on account of its scarcity of writers, the *dark* age."

Anthony Pagi, in his remarks on Baronius, says—"The tenth century is deplorable; for its barbarism was horrible, immeasurable; because ecclesiastic property, bishoprics, and other benefices were constantly usurped, often by laymen, even those in the married state." Disturbances in the Roman See were frequent, as we shall have occasion to observe.† Examples of piety and virtue in the heads of the Church became less frequent. Ambition and simony prevailed among the greater portion of the ecclesiastical body, and laws to remedy those evils were commonly despised.

"There were but few writers, if we compare them to the number which gave lustre to the preceding or to the following centuries. Ignorance would have been universal, says Father Faure in his annotations to the Father Muzan-zio (*Table Chronolog.*, p. 178), had not a few monks employed themselves in copying some of the productions of men who flourished before that time. We should read and seriously meditate what Tiraboschi says in his *History of Italian Literature*, vol. iii., book iii., chap. ii.

"It is pitiable to see that in that age sound criticism and good philosophy were almost wholly banished from Europe. The bishops had to ask priests if they knew how to read. The corruption of the clergy was such that in this century and the beginning of the next men had to be raised to the heads of churches who were unworthy of that honor. Peter Damian, writ-

* Novaes, ii., p.151.

† Novaes, ii., p. 151.

ing to a pontiff of an archpriest who aspired to become a bishop, gives the following account of the merits of the candidate: "He really is governed by avarice and vanity, and he too strongly desires to reach the dignity of a pastor; but if this prove no obstacle, your Holiness must know that after all he is better than all the others."

The See of the Prince of the Apostles* had become the prey of certain princes and their wives. Their unbridled excesses, says Baronius, aided by their wealth and other circumstances, had rendered these personages arbiters of the domains of Rome. It was not talent, but arbitrary power, that raised to the pontifical See these successors of the Holy Apostle. It seemed that as Divine Providence had in these fatal times intrusted its beloved flock to shepherds unmindful of their duties, the abandoned flock must wander from the right path; but Divine Providence was still always wonderfully and inscrutably governing it with an almighty arm. That same Divine Providence, so great and so generous, though often so severe, but always justly so, ordained that in that century, in which more of goodness and science were so much needed among the pastors, there was less heresy than in any others. God is always so powerful and so kind to his children! God so ordered it that at the moment when the head of the Church showed least piety, the Church beheld coming to its bosom Harold, king of Denmark, with his whole kingdom; Dukes Liberius of Muscovy, Micislaus of Poland, Waldemar of Prussia, and Spetineus of Bohemia, as well as their vassals. Then Hungary was converted by Saint Stephen, and Russia by Saint Boniface, and all, as if urged by a supernatural impulse, united with the Church. God finally so arranged that, in an age when the pontiffs were not irreproachable, the Councils of Chalons, in 915, Troyes, in 921 and 927, and Rheims, in 995, recognized and venerated in the heads residing at Rome the supreme authority and the high and indestructible pontifical sovereignty.

Let us, nevertheless, repeat with Mabillon and Natalis Alexander that, in spite of the almost universal irregularity, there yet flourished in sanctity many bishops, abbots, monks, and nuns, men and women of all ranks and conditions.

It must also be added that many heretics, and even some Catholic writers, who look with no friendly eye upon the splendor of the Roman See, attack and denounce, while they exaggerate the faults of some of the pontiffs of that age. Those authors are numerous, and merit pity rather than refutation. "I know," said Mabillon, "that the innovators of our age avail themselves of the evil example of a few popes to attack the incorruptible truth and unity of the Roman Church. Be the popes what they may, against whom so many charges have been invented, their faults, real or

* Novaes, ii., p. 152.

only alleged, can in no wise prejudice the Catholic Church, spread over the whole world. Saint Augustine, speaking of the Donatists, said: 'We are not crowned for their innocence, nor punished for their perversity;' and we may, with like truth, say, as to modern innovators, the truth of the Church remains unalterable."

Let us say with Bellarmine: "Heretics industriously seek after the faults of the pontiffs; these faults have not been few, but do they destroy, or even diminish the glory of the Holy See? No; even on account of those very faults it must increase and extend. The Roman pontificate has not owed its preservation to human direction or prudence; it has been preserved because that rock has been so divinely fixed, so powerfully upheld, so vigilantly surrounded by the guard of the apostles, and so gifted with the singular protection of God, that the gates of hell cannot prevail against that rock. Those 'gates of hell' are represented by the persecutions of tyrants, by the rage of heretics, by the mockeries of free-thinkers, by the circulation of corrupt writings, by all the wickedness spawned by human corruption."*

Novaes, continuing to quote from Bellarmine, does not here confine himself to mere quotation, but continues in these terms: "We must continue the lives of the pontiffs who governed the Church in the tenth century. Certainly, I do not pursue my task with the same satisfaction and pleasure that I felt while recounting the acts of the primitive faithful, where we had to admire so much virtue, knowledge, exemplary good works, and zeal for due pontifical administration. Now conduct unregulated by reflection at times, presents us with a spectacle different from what formerly edified us.

"Nevertheless, as I have not exaggerated the good qualities of former pontiffs, so with the following ones I will not conceal what is censurable, being assured that the action of Divine Providence cannot but triumph the more, for, amidst those disorders, it has sustained the great glory of the Church."

The terrible accusation against the period, however, must not be applied to Benedict. Fleury says of him, "He was a great pope."†

He acted prudently in the case of Argrim, bishop of Langres, whom the Emperor Guy had driven from that city. The pope not choosing to decide without the bishops, convened a council in the Lateran palace, where it was decided that Argrim should be maintained in the See of Langres. The Emperor Lambert was dead, and Benedict not deeming it right to recognize Berengarius, held the empire to be vacant; but shortly after, Louis, son of Boson, king of Provence, was called into Italy and recognized as emperor.

Under this reign died Alfred the Great, king of England. He profited by

* Bellarmine, preface to his *De Rom. Pont.*

† Fleury, chap. liv., p. 571

all the leisure his public duties allowed him, to read, interrogate educated men, and thus to learn whatever might improve himself for those with whom he conversed.* He left many writings, six of which were his own compositions. Among them were a collection of the laws of various nations, the laws of the West Saxons, a treatise against evil judges, maxims of wise men, parables, and dissertations on the various fortunes of kings. The English ascribe to Alfred trial by jury in criminal cases.

Benedict died on the 20th of October, 903. He was interred at the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant seven days.

120. LEO V.—903.



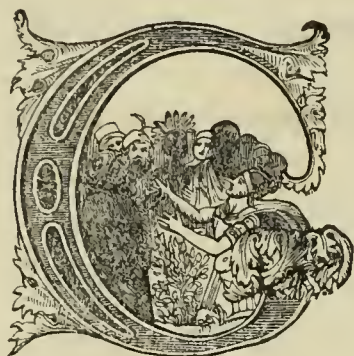
LEO V. was born at Priapi, near Ardea, in the Roman Campagna, or, according to other authors, at Arezzo; he was certainly not a Tuscan. A simple Benedictine in the abbey of Brandallo, then cardinal, he was elected pope on the 28th of October, 903. A few days afterwards, Christopher, cardinal-priest of Saint Lawrence in *Damaso*, who owed all to the new pope, seeing him destitute of executive ability, and incapable of upholding his authority, threw him into prison, compelled him to renounce the pontificate, and made him promise that he would return to his monastery. Sigonius affirms that time was not allowed him to resume the monastic life, and that he died in prison, in one month and nine days. He was interred at Saint John Lateran.

Platina, speaking of the weakness of Leo, says: "Dignities receive more authority from men, than men from dignities." As Christopher was a servant of Leo, Platina, with less gravity than the subject requires, adds these words, almost quoted from Theocritus: *Enutrito lupos qui te comedant—Nurture wolves, and be devoured!*†

* Fleury.

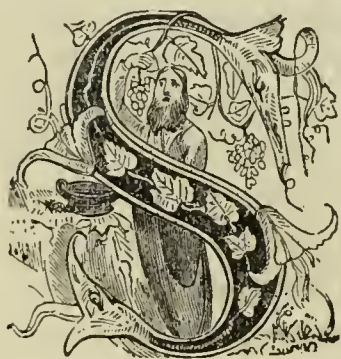
† Platina, probably quoting from memory, has not given Theocritus quite exactly. One of the Greek writer's shepherds, reproaching another for his ingratitude, indignantly exclaims: *Θρίψαι καὶ λυγίωτίς, θρίψαι κύνας, ὥς τε φαγώντι.* Idyll. v., v. 38.

121. CHRISTOPHER. — A. D. 903.



CHRISTOPHER, a Roman, cardinal-priest of Saint Lawrence in *Damaso*, set up his pretensions against Leo V. and threw him into prison, as related in the last life. But, though he thus grasped the pontifical authority, he is not reckoned among the anti-popes. Six months after his usurpation he was imprisoned by Sergius, who sent him to a monastery, where he perished miserably in June, 904. He was buried at the Vatican. This is one of the deplorable scenes which we announced as having disgraced the tenth century. Happily, we can say that shortly before the Iconoclasts had been repressed by Theodora, widow of Theophilus. The arts, so friendly to Christian government, were cultivated both in the East and in the West; sculptors in bronze, especially, now acquired renown at Constantinople.

122. SERGIUS III. — A. D. 904.



SERGIUS, a Roman, cardinal-priest, son of Benedict, of the Conti family, aspired to the papacy on the death of Theodore II. Defeated by a faction, he passed seven years at Florence, in exile. Recalled subsequently by the party of Adalbert, marquis of Tuscany, he was invited by the Roman people, who hated Christopher, to present himself again for election. He was consecrated on the 9th of June, 904. Sergius entertained feelings hostile to Formosus, and he annulled the acts by which Theodore II. and John IX. had restored the memory of that pope.

Subsequently, many calumnies were circulated against Sergius. Novaes is far from admitting the truth of those accusations.

This pope repaired and embellished the church of Saint John Lateran, that had been damaged by an earthquake in the reign of Stephen VII.

The errors of Photius still had partisans in the East. Sergius redoubled

his efforts to diminish the influence of the adherents of such maxims. He governed seven years and three months, and died towards the end of August, 911, after a pontificate of which Baronius says that it had *un cattivo ingresso, un peggiore progresso, ed un pessime egresso*—bad ingress, worse progress, an egress worst of all.

According to many authors, Sergius was interred at the Vatican; but, according to Rasponi, in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran.*

The venerable Cardinal Bellarmine does not silently pass over the reproaches due to some of the popes, who, in that age, showed such opposite feelings towards Formosus.

This work cannot become a panegyric, wanting in truth; it is a statement of facts, where tares will be found among the good grain.

The historian who conceals the truth exposes himself to sharp criticism. The reader thinks he has strong arguments for reply and censure, and he thence acquires a suspicious feeling, which is sure to grow. Bellarmine meets the difficulty boldly;† but he does not forget the respect due to the Holy See.

Among these popes, certainly some were mistaken, as the sharp-eyed centuriators of Magdebourg remark. "Yes," exclaimed Cardinal Bellarmine, "Stephen VII. and Sergius III. erred, but on a question of fact, and not of law—by bad example, not by false doctrine."

Sergius, who, as we have seen, completely repaired the church of Saint John Lateran, damaged by an earthquake in the reign of Stephen, chose it for his burial-place.

Fleury gives accusations brought against the doctrine of Sergius; Novaes maintains that they were only calumnies; and to prove that this pope did not neglect the duties of the papacy, he reminds us that the pope contributed to destroy the errors of Photius in the East, who taught that the Holy Ghost proceeded not from the Son, but only from the Father. Platina mentions a journey made by Sergius into France, of which Fleury makes no mention. Francis Giusta is also silent upon the subject; but it is true that he has been occasionally careless in his remarks on the travels of the popes.

* Papebroke, *In Propyleo*, p. 155, n. 11.

† *De Rom. Pontif.*, book iv., chap. 12.

123. ANASTASIUS III.—A. D. 911.



ANASTASIUS III., a Roman, son of Iucian, was elected pope a day or two after the death of Sergius III., in 911. At the request of Berengarius, king of Italy, he granted various privileges to the Bishop of Pavia—the right to ride a white horse, to have the cross carried in procession before him on his journeys, and to sit at the left hand of the pope in the councils. Cardinal Baronius cites yet another privilege. Whenever the bishop of Pavia called to a synod the archbishops of Milan or Ravenna, with their suffragans, they were bound to attend at once. Novaes says that it was on account of these singular privileges that Benedict XIV., in 1743, created the bishops of Pavia perpetual archbishops of Amasia. This concession restored order into the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Anastasius is praised for the gentleness of his government, which lasted only two years and two months.

He died in October, and was interred at the Vatican.

124. LANDO.—A. D. 913.



LANDO, son of Trano, born at Monterotondo, an ancient Roman colony, was a canon-regular. He was elected pontiff on the 16th of October, 913, governed six months and ten days, died the 26th of April, 914, and was interred at the Vatican.

From fear of the vengeance of a celebrated and powerful Roman lady, Theodora, who was no less vicious than her two daughters, Theodora and Marozia, Lando transferred John from the church of Bologna, where he was elected, to that of Ravenna. That same John, under the name of John X., was Lando's successor.

Chacon says that the life of this pontiff was very obscure, partly on ac-

count of the shortness of his pontificate, partly from the scarcity of writers who give the annals of these times. This explains the brief character of the notices given by historians of the popes of that period. Nevertheless, we see in the reports of William the Librarian, and of Godefry, that Lando, faithful to the sentiments of conciliation which have always animated the popes, interposed his authority to prevent Berengarius, king of Italy, and Rodolph, son of Count Guido, from going to war with each other. Many authors reckon Lando among the pontiffs, though it is impossible always to approve his character, his weaknesses, and his censurable deferences.

In *Platina* (p. 280) we find the following: "There was at that time a great strife between the Italians, the Germans, and the French, for the possession of the empire, and fatal wars were the result. The Romans and the Italians endeavored to retain the imperial dignity in their country, in spite of all the resistance of all the barbarians.* The Romans and the Italians acted thus, although they were destitute of a head capable of sustaining so noble an enterprise. All those lights were now extinguished which had once made Italy shed such effulgence on the world. That towering tree that once had sent out its glorious roots so far was now stricken and withered."

125. JOHN X. — A. D. 914.



JOHN X., of the Cenci family, not a Roman, but born at Ravenna, was son of John of the city of Bologna, where he had been appointed bishop. He was transferred to the archbishopric of Ravenna at the urgent recommendation of the powerful and shameless Theodora. Thence he rose to the pontificate on the 30th of April, 914.

On the 24th of March, 914, he crowned as emperor Berengarius, king of Italy. On that occasion the emperor confirmed the donations made by Pepin, Charlemagne, and other emperors.

The same year, with the assistance of that emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and other princes, he entirely defeated the Saracens, who for forty years had intrenched themselves in the lands of Garigliano, in the province of Lavoro. The pope, in person, encouraged the Catholics. He

* The word *barbarians* here means the Germans and French of that time.

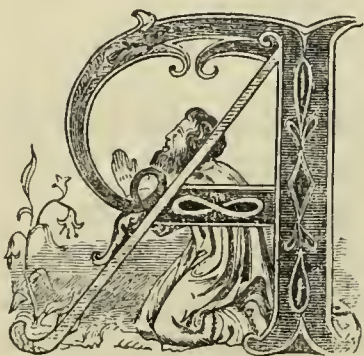
dispatched a legate to Compostella to venerate in the name of the pope himself the body of Saint James.

John confirmed in the title of archbishop of Rheims (one of the iniquities of those times) Hugo, son of the count of Aquitaine, who, according to Flodoard, was not five years old. Kings and people solicited such favors for children, and the popes sometimes lacked courage to refuse. "That," says Baronius, "was the first monster that was seen in the Church of God; an unheard of event, of which no creature in the world had yet formed an idea."

John had governed more than fourteen years, when, by order of the infamous Marozia, wife of Guido, marquis of Tuscany, he was arrested and thrown into prison, where he was strangled by having a pillow bound over his mouth,* on the 2d of July, 928. He was buried at Saint John Lateran.

Feller† says, that although the memory of this pontiff was not held in very great veneration, there is every reason to believe that towards the end of his life he expiated his faults by his penitence. On many occasions he manifested the sincere sorrow that he felt, and he exhorted charitable persons to join their prayers to his to avert God's wrath.

126. LEO VI.—A. D. 928.



AT the end of June, 928, Leo, son of Christopher, of the Roman family of Gemina, afterwards called Sanguigna, was elected pope. He governed the Church with integrity and moderation seven months and five days, died about the 3d of February, 929, and was interred at the Vatican.

Albert Kranz (*Metropolis*, lib. v., cap. i., p. 117) expresses surprise at the brief duration of the lives of the popes in this age, and he suspects that poison was in frequent use.‡ Yet John X. had just reigned fourteen years.

Platina thinks that Leo reigned with as much wisdom as the times permitted, when morals were so corrupt.§ He continues: "To recall the citizens to concord, to settle Italian affairs still in tumult, owing to the rashness and weakness of preceding popes, and to keep the barbarians from crushing the Italians, such was the task essayed by Leo. And he could not better or more worthily employ his short pontificate."

* Platina, p. 282.

† III., p. 650.

‡ Novaes, ii., p. 167, n.

§ Platina, p. 828.

127. STEPHEN VIII.—A. D. 929.



STEPHEN VIII., Roman, son of Theudemond, was elected pope on the 3d of January, 929.

He governed two years, one month, and twelve days, with sentiments of kindness and religion even more praiseworthy in that age than in any other.

He died March 15th, 931, and was interred at the Vatican.

128. JOHN XI.—A. D. 931.



JOHN XI., a Roman, of the Conti family, son of Alberic, consul of Rome, was elected about the 13th of March, 931, at the age of twenty years, as some maintain, or twenty-five, according to others.

John was surrounded by evil men, who had raised him to authority, and possessed more of it than he did. He governed four years and ten months, always submissive to Marozia, whom many authors regard as his mother; or to his brother Alberic, who kept him in prison from the year 933. He died there at the commencement of January, 936, the victim of the ambition of his supposed mother, and of the cruelty of his brother. He was interred at Saint John Lateran.



129. LEO VII.—A. D. 936–8.



EO VII., a Roman, son of Christopher, was elected pontiff against his will, and consecrated before the 9th of January, 936. He invited to Rome Odo, abbot of Cluny, to reform monastic discipline, and to rebuild, near the church of Saint Paul, the monastery that once existed there.

Fleury says that Odo received, under the will of Abbot Bernon, Cluny, Massay, and Deols. By this disposal of these monasteries, it is evident that Bernon had not yet thought of forming a congregation; it was Odo who properly formed that which has since borne the name of Cluny. Saint Odo was appointed by Leo VII. to restore peace between Hugo, king of Italy, and Alberic, brother of Pope John XI. When the holy monk reached Rome he undertook that reconciliation, and succeeded, to the satisfaction of the pope.

Leo governed with mildness and integrity. Flodoard praises Leo in Latin verses. This pope died about 937, and was interred at the Vatican.

130. STEPHEN IX.—A. D. 939.



STEPHEN IX., a Roman, but educated in Germany, was elected pontiff about the 19th of July, 939. Alberic, who had become legate of Rome, hated him because he enjoyed the friendship of Otho, king of Germany. It is said that in consequence of this hatred Stephen was wounded in the face. The event is mentioned in Muratori; but, as it is remarked in a standard work (*L'Art de vérifier les Dates*), no such assault is mentioned by any contemporary author; and accordingly some writers doubt it.

In 942, Stephen sent Bishop Damasus as his legate to France, with letters recognizing as king Louis d'Outre Mer, against whom many of the nobles had revolted, though he had been crowned king on the 19th of June,

936, by Artaud, archbishop of Rheims, formerly a monk of the Abbey of Saint Remi.*

Stephen threatened the revolted with excommunication, should they not recognize their king before Christmas.

Peace was broken off between Hugo, king of Italy, and Alberic, who had set himself up as prince of Rome. Stephen desired once more to employ in this difficult negotiation Odo, the abbot of Cluny, who had returned into France. But the abbot died at Tours, before he could obey the pope. Stephen governed three years, four months, and fifteen days. He died at the beginning of December, 942, and was interred at the Vatican.

131. MARINUS II.—A. D. 943.



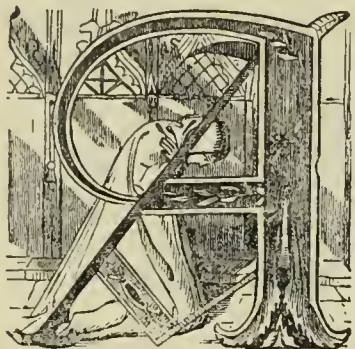
HE name of Martin is given by many authors to this pope, as they give that name to Pope Marinus I.

Marinus II. was a Roman, and was elected pope some time previous to the 4th of February, probably about the 22d of January, 943. He wrote to the bishop of Capua a letter, in which that bishop was accused of being ignorant of the canons, illiterate, too familiar with laymen, and a rash transgressor, because he had given a benefice to one of his deacons.

It was the Church of the Holy Angels which Stephen IX. had just granted to the Benedictine monks to erect a monastery. This pope ordered, at the same time, that the monastery should be erected on the grounds of that church, declaring that it should never be disturbed by him or by his successors, and that the monastery should remain constantly subject to the Benedictine abbey at Capua. Further, the bishop, on pain of excommunication, was to cut off the intrusive deacon from all communication with the ecclesiastical offices. Marinus governed three years and six months. He distinguished himself by his zeal for ecclesiastical reform, the rebuilding of churches, and the relief of the poor. He displayed something of the pious perseverance which had animated the pontiffs in the primitive days of the Church, and he could not be surpassed in his love of establishing peace among princes. He died in the month of June, 946, and was interred at the Vatican.

* Fleury, iii., p. 593.

132. AGAPITUS.—A. D. 946.



AGAPITUS, a Roman, was elected pontiff in the month of June, 946, two or three days after the death of Marinus. Troubles still prevailed in France in regard to the See of Rheims. Artaud, after having crowned Louis d'Outre Mer, had been deposed, and Hugh, son of Heribert, count of Rheims, elected in his stead. The new archbishop was a child not five years old! In that age, bad examples were followed everywhere, even in France. Agapitus, to terminate that schism and to restore the authority of Louis d'Outre Mer, sent to Paris a legate named Marinus. This legate, in 948, held a council at Ingelheim, in the diocese of Cologne. In this council Artaud, in reward for his fidelity to his legitimate king, was reinstated in his See of Rheims; Hugo, his rival, was excommunicated, as was Heribert, a rebel to the king.

In 949, there was another council at Rome, at which these excommunications were renewed.

The Holy Father called to Rome Otho I., king of Germany, that he might expel from Italy Berengarius, who ill treated the clergy, and even plundered them of actual necessities. The Italian peninsula was at that time thus divided: Lombardy obeyed Berengarius II. and his son Adalbert; Genoa, Tuscany, and the Romagna were subject to a minister of the emperor of the West: Apulia and Calabria, the southern part, though infested by the Saracens, recognized the Greek emperor. Venice amassed wealth by carrying to various nations the commodities they needed. At Rome consuls were annually appointed for the nobility; a prefect was supposed to protect the interests of the populace. The pope, while receiving the homage of nearly all the sovereigns of Europe, was oppressed by the consuls in his capital city, and by Berengarius in his provincial possessions.

Otho received the letters of the pope, and, after ordering the king of Denmark and the dukes of Poland and Bohemia to declare themselves his vassals, he crossed the Alps. Announcing that he came at the request of Pope Agapitus, he subjugated Lombardy, and demanded the crown of Italy, which he called *the right of victory*. Many princes had competed for that throne, since the deposition of Louis the Fat. The aspirants were Berengarius, duke of Friuli; Guido, duke of Spoleto; Arnulph, king of Germany; Louis III., king of Provence; Rudolph, king of Burgundy, beyond the Jura;

Hugo, count of Provence; and Berengarius II., marquis of Ivry. The arrival of Otho proclaimed a more powerful competitor.

Pope Agapitus II. was to decide the claims of all these princes to the iron crown. Otho, master of Milan and of Pavia, had himself recognized as king of these provinces in the year 951. But, to the eyes of the populace, the sovereign power did not seem to be positively conferred upon him until Wolpul, archbishop of Milan, acting in concert with Pope Agapitus, placed upon his head the crown of the Lombards, which was preserved in the church of Saint John the Baptist, at Monza. Otho deposited on the altar of Saint Ambrose all his ornaments as king of Germany, the lance, the royal sword, the battle-axe, the baldrick, and the chlamys. He served the Mass in the dalmatic of subdeacon, while the clergy celebrated the ceremonies. After the sacrifice, the archbishop addressed to the dukes and marquises who surrounded him a congratulatory address in honor of Otho. He then anointed him with the holy oil, arrayed him again in the ornaments that had been laid upon the altar, restored his arms to him, and finally placed upon his head the crown of the Lombards.*

Pope Agapitus sent to Saint Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, and brother of Otho, the *pallium*, with especial privileges.

Agapitus governed nine years and six or seven months, with great zeal for the peace of Christendom. He died August 20th (or perhaps 28th), 956, and was buried in Saint John Lateran.

* This crown consists of a band of gold about four fingers wide, ornamented with chased work and jewels, in the form of an ancient diadem, and having in the inside a band of iron of the breadth of one finger. Considering the chief material, we should call this the golden crown, but the name of the *iron crown* prevailed, because it was said that the slender band of iron which it contained was a nail of our Saviour's cross, sent to Theodelinda by Gregory the Great, as rewards for her temporary extirpation of the Arian heresy. Some authors maintain that the iron band within the crown attested that a courageous people owe their gold to iron.—*Italy*, p. 68.



133. JOHN XII.—A. D. 956.



REPEAT what was said of John XII. in the Notizie of Rome for the year 1844 :

“John XII., Conti, a Roman, was created pope in the year 956, and governed the church about eight years. During that time, and in the year 963, Leo was intruded into the pontificate. Being subsequently deposed, he again usurped the supreme dignity on the 26th June, 964, and he continued to retain his illegal possession of it until April, 965. Nevertheless, Leo is reckoned in the list of popes under the name of Leo VIII.”*

After this preliminary official information, we proceed to details. His name was Octavian, and he was the first pontiff who changed his name. John of the Conti family, grand nephew of Sergius III. and of John XI., was elected, or rather, at the instigation of some Romans, intruded into the papacy about the 20th of August, 956. He was then only some sixteen or eighteen years old. Such were the calamities of the times, says Baronius, that it was deemed better to tolerate that invasion than to wound the Church by a schism which would be a worse evil still. Therefore the Church accepted and endured him as pontiff, considering that there would be less evil in tolerating one head, though a monstrous one, than in afflicting the one body with two heads.†

In 957, the new head of the Church, with a youthful ardor more becoming a warrior than a vicar of Jesus Christ, took into his pay the auxiliary troops of the duke of Spoleto, and having joined them to his own, marched in person against Pandolpho, prince of Capua, who, supported by the army of Gisolfo, prince of Salerno, not only resisted the pope, but completely defeated him. John was forced to retreat in disorder to his own territory and to sue for peace, which Pandolpho granted, making a treaty of friendship and confederation.

John being afterwards annoyed by Berengarius and his son Adalbert, called King Otho to his aid, as Agapitus II. had done, that Otho with his army might deliver John from those vexations. Otho, before he marched, engaged himself by oath to cause the restoration of all that those tyrants had plundered from the Church.‡

* Notizie: Rome, 1844.

† Novaes, ii., p. 177.

‡ The formula of the oath is to be found in Gratian, under the head *Tibi Domino*, 33, *dist.* 63.

Otho drove Berengarius and Adalbert from Italy, and restored to the Church what she had received from Pepin and Charlemagne. Subsequently, John, grateful to Otho, crowned him as emperor, on the 13th of February, 962. He was the first German prince who received the imperial crown, and John, the pontiff who effected the change, had promised Otho to entertain no relations with Berengarius and Adalbert: such relations, however, revived. Otho, irritated at this, advanced towards Rome in 963. The Romans, discontented with John, who fled, swore that they would never again elect a pontiff without the approbation of the emperor. Three days afterwards the emperor assembled a *Conciliabula*, in which John was accused of enormous crimes, except of heresy, and iniquitously degraded from the pontificate on the 6th of November, 963. The antipope Leo was then raised to the papacy, but the inconstant Romans soon dismissed Leo and restored John. It is affirmed that the latter, on re-entering Rome, ordered cruel reprisals which disgrace his memory.

The reader must go back to those days of grief and horror. A young man scarcely twenty-five years old was invested with the papal attire; he owed such an unheard-of honor to factious and evil men, to a host of wretches who trembled in defeat, and then abused their victory. He who owed his elevation to such circumstances had neither the moderation nor the uprightness so admirable in many preceding popes. Perverse counselors involved the Church in wars, and in complications repugnant to her character. On the one side, seeing so many enemies united against her, political and sovereign power was needed to shelter her from their constant unjust attacks; on the other hand, it was to be feared that the inconsiderate youth would forget duty, and prove only the ambitious defender of authority by force, forgetful of the power of religion and the holy patience it prescribes.

All these terrible and detestable circumstances brought about the disorders that we unceasingly deplore, and which withal we cannot pass over in silence, since so many ecclesiastical writers before us have deplored and described them in language that inspires terror. Our task is difficult, but unavoidable. After this frightful tenth century, and the commencement of the eleventh, we come again to pontiffs who do honor to the Church; we find a Saint Sylvester and a Saint Leo IX., and come to a Gregory VII., defending the prerogatives of the Church, and at the same time distinguishing himself by such eminent sanctity of life, that the Church in presence of so many virtues does not hesitate to place him upon her altars.

John pursued the political vengeance which was dictated to him by his accomplices. In religious authority he was strict; but not more so than a legitimate pope should be.

On the 26th of February, 964, he celebrated a council, in which he con-

demned the Emperor Otho and the antipope Leo, and the bishops of Ostia, Porto, and Albano, who had ordained Leo when unjustly promoted to the pontificate. He deprived of all rank and of all honors the priests who had been ordained by the intruder, stripped them of their clerical vestments, and made them sign this declaration: "My father had nothing—nothing, therefore, could he bestow upon me."

At length the end of John's life came. Luitprand, who is hostile to John, bitterly accuses him; but grave authors rightly refuse to admit these latter accusations. Rancor and prejudice sometimes overstep all bounds; having spoken truly on some points, men sometimes fancy themselves privileged to speak untruly on others. Luitprand was the friend of schismatics and the flatterer of Otho.

We shall close by a reflection of Feller's:* "The great number," says he, "of virtuous and holy pontiffs who have occupied the See of Rome, should make us forget the small number whose morals have ill-suited their station. Jesus Christ expressly warns us that the chiefs of religion are not impeccable, and that their faults are no argument against the worship of which they are the ministers, or the doctrine of which they are the depositaries. "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in the chair of Moses: all things whatsoever they shall say unto you, observe and do, but according to their works do ye not." (Matt. xxiii. 23.)

John was interred at Saint John Lateran.

In the East, the Emperor Romanus the Younger died on the 15th of March in the preceding year. Romanus, at the suggestion of evil counselors, had driven from the imperial palace the Empress Helena, his mother, and his sisters. In those sad times the East set no better examples than the West, and Europe was apparently unmoved by this barbarity.

Under this disastrous reign, Genoa, which had already been pillaged by the Saracens from Africa, was again threatened with an incursion; and the Hungarians, coming by way of the town of Fiuma, ravaged Italy.

* Feller, iii., 650.



134. BENEDICT V.—A. D. 964.



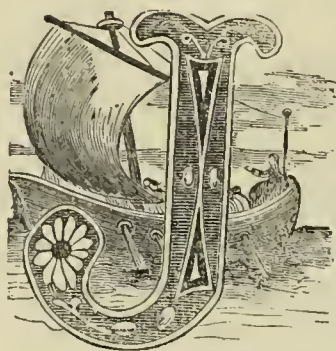
BENEDICT V., named *Grammatico*, a Roman, of the Conti family, cardinal-deacon, was elected May 19th, 964, to succeed John XII., without the consent of the Emperor Otho I. That prince then laid siege to Rome, which, pressed by hunger, surrendered, abandoning Benedict, and received the intruder, Leo VIII. Benedict was sent as a prisoner into Germany, and delivered to Adalgagnus, bishop of Hamburg, who treated him with honor until his death, which occurred on the 4th of July, 965, after a pontificate of one year and a few months. Benedict was buried in the cathedral of Hamburg, and thence removed to Rome in 999, by order of Otho III. In various martyrologies, the title of martyr is given to Benedict. The Holy See was vacant two months and twenty-five days. Benedict was a learned and virtuous pontiff, with mildness and patience equal to his misfortunes.

We are now to see how the antipope Leo VIII. appreciated the prerogatives of the Holy See. The intruder assembled a council, after the departure of Benedict V.

In Fleury (iii., book 56, page 636) we read: "There is a decree of that council by which the pope (*the antipope*) Leo, with all the clergy and people of Rome, granted and confirmed to Otho and his successors the right of choosing a successor in the kingdom of Italy, *to establish the pope*, and to give the investiture to the bishops; so that neither patricians, nor pope, nor bishop could be created without his consent; the whole, under penalty of excommunication, perpetual exile, and death." Nothing was wanting to the dastardly cruelty and impiety which dictated that decision. Usurpers freely part with what they have wrested from the lawful owners.



135. JOHN XIII. — A. D. 965.



JOHN XIII., a Roman, was consecrated pontiff on the 1st of October, 965. His hauteur drew on him the hatred of the Roman nobility, and Rolfredus, prefect of Rome, excited a tumult against the pope, who was obliged to retire to Capua, where, for six months, Pandolpho, the lord of that city, treated him with great honors. In gratitude, John made Capua an episcopal See.

He approved the acts of the council held at Ravenna, in 968, which erected Magdebourg into an archbishopric; and he convened another council, at Rome, in 969, when the Church of Benevento was made an archbishopric.

On the return of Otho, John's protector, to Italy, the Romans recalled the latter, and replaced him in the chair of Saint Peter.

The emperor learning that many of the Romans had shamefully betrayed the pope, punished them with great severity. Peter, prefect of Rome, was tied by the hair to the head of Constantine's horse, and there exposed to the maledictions of the people.*

In 967, John crowned Otho II. as emperor, at the request of Otho I., who wished before his death to see his son invested with the imperial dignity.

It is said that John was the first who introduced the custom of baptizing church bells, because he baptized one at Saint John Lateran, to which he gave the name of Saint John. That opinion is adopted by Baronius; but the rite was certainly in use prior to the reign of John XIII., and, on such occasion, some at least of the ceremonies of baptism were followed, such as the pouring of water, the anointing, and the imposition of the name of a saint. The object was to distinguish one bell from another; or, in obedience to a pious feeling, they sought to call people to church by the voice of a saint, whose name was thus united to an instrument of divine praise.

The Poles having been converted to the Catholic faith, John sent Egiel, bishop of Tusculum, to confirm them in their holy intention.

* Fleury (iii. 56, p. 638) repeats what Platina had said about a bronze horse of Constantinople which was at Rome. There is a serious error here. What many authors, consulted by Platina and Fleury, take for the horse of Constantine is no other than the celebrated horse of Marcus Aurelius, which now stands in the middle of the square of the capitol, at Rome. In the ages of ignorance, this horse and the statue of the emperor were found amidst some ruins. The populace persisted in calling the horse that of Constantine, and on *fête* days wine was distributed through the mouth of that horse. Fea has well illustrated that historical fact, and he supports his views by a host of proofs which render them now indisputable.

He governed six years, eleven months, and six days, and dying on the 6th of September, 972, was interred at Saint Paul beyond the walls.

The Holy See remained vacant nearly three months.

Under the reign of this pontiff, Otho sent to Constantinople, as ambassador, Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, to ask of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, for young Otho, the emperor's son, the hand of Anne, daughter of the Emperor Romannus the Younger, and of the Empress Theophania, whom Nicephorus had married. Luitprand has left an account of his embassy. In an audience, Nicephorus said to Luitprand—"I should wish to receive you well, but the conduct of your master does not permit me. He has taken Rome as though it were an enemy's city. He has endeavored violently to subject several cities of my empire, and being unable to succeed, he now, under pretence of peace, sends you as a spy upon us."

The bishop replied: "My master has not usurped the city of Rome by violence; on the contrary, he has delivered it from tyrants. Was it not in the power of effeminate men and profligate women? I think your predecessors have been asleep, *who called themselves Roman emperors, but were not so in fact!* Have not some of the popes been banished, others reduced to actual want, and not allowed to receive even alms? Who of you other emperors has been zealous enough to punish those crimes, and to restore the Church to its primitive lustre? You have neglected her; but my master has not. He has come from the end of the earth to deliver Rome from the wicked, and to restore all honor and power to the successors of the Apostles. And, then, when rebels have risen against him, and against the pope, he has punished them according to the laws of Justinian, of Valentinian, of Theodosius, and of the other emperors."

The emperor and the bishop exchanged other words, which history has not disdained. Nicephorus said to the ambassador—"You are not Romans, you are only Lombards." The bishop replied: "We Lombards, Saxons, and Franks have no greater insult than to call a man a Roman. With us this name implies all that can be conceived of baseness, cowardice, avarice, impurity, and treachery."

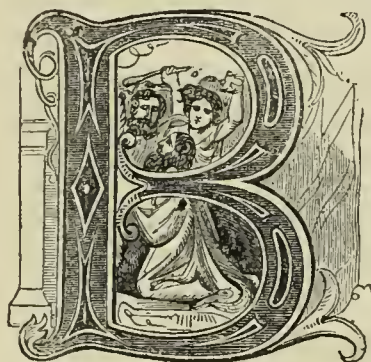
This great nation, which had bestrode the known universe in triumph, accumulated conquests, had yielded to the caprice of exchanging its capital, only in the end to excite such just hatred, and see themselves so completely despised by nations uncivilized by science and art, by rude ignorant men, who, in their turn, ruled the world with the battle-axe, the francisque, and fire.

The emperor's ambassador spoke with respect at least of the popes. Whether the prince interposed with evil intent or wise and Christian views, his envoy defended the rights of religion, which the Roman emperor of Constantinople trampled under foot. In those sad days of duty disregarded,

there was never a pope so little master of himself as to allow such verses as these to be sung before him, verses which Luitprand heard without evincing disgust: "Behold, the morning star approaches—the aurora rises—the death of the Saracens! Prince Nicephorus—long live Nicephorus! Adore him, ye nations—submit to his power!"

Many popes have been accused of not repressing feelings of pride. Was pride ever more satanic than that of Nicephorus? Let us never forget, in the course of this history, that besides the weakness of those whose annals we write, there is always room to mention the weakness of contemporary princes. We must not be aroused at the one without remembering the others, who were doubtless more guilty. Never did a vicar of Christ, never did a pope set himself up as God, like Nicephorus, who made men adore him.

136. BENEDICT VI.—A. D. 972.



BENEDICT VI., a Roman, son of Hildebrand, was elected pontiff on the 20th of December, 972.

Otho I., the emperor, dying at this time, his son Otho II., who had already been crowned by John XIII., succeeded. The Romans, desirous of acquiring what they had called liberty under the emperors and under the republic, broke out in riots, persuaded that they had little to fear from the imperial armies, then elsewhere engaged in obstinate wars. They excited trouble in many cities. Cencius was one of the boldest conspirators in this seditious enterprise. As Benedict defended at once the rights of the Church and those of the emperor, Cencius attacked and imprisoned him in the castle of Saint Angelo, where, by order of the rebel, the pontiff was put to death.

Benedict governed one year and three months. One of the most furious, in calling for the death of the pontiff, was Franco, son of Feruzzi, afterwards pope under the title of Boniface VII.

The disturbances of those times seem to have caused a corresponding disorder in the writings of the historians. Some of them make Donus II. the successor of Benedict VI., while others make the former the immediate predecessor of the latter. Novaes is of the latter class. The dates of the events are no less uncertain. The papacy in those times was lowered and profaned to the extent of becoming a kind of temporal and very precarious

post, dependent on the caprice of the mob, as the Roman empire had been upon the venality of the Prætorian guards. Those sovereigns of the moment rose and fell ere there was time for them to be recognized. We have not erred in announcing, with alarm, all the ferocities of the tenth century, and we have not employed colors too dark to warn the reader of the frightful picture to be unrolled before him.

137. DONUS II.—A. D. 972.



DONUS II. was elected pontiff in 972, with the aid and favor of the counts of Tusculum, who were then very powerful in the city of Rome. He governed three months, with great integrity. He died on the 19th of December, and was interred at the Vatican.

138. BENEDICT VII.—A. D. 975.



AN antipope, named Franco, who had caused Pope Benedict to be put to death, usurped the pontificate, and as he could but continue his career of iniquity, he in a month plundered the Vatican of its most valuable contents. This sacrilegious usurper then escaped to Constantinople, whence we shall see him return in 985, to commit a fresh crime upon the person of John XIV.

Benedict VII., a Roman, son of David, of the Conti family, was elected pope before the 25th of March, 975.

Benedict celebrated two councils at Rome; in one he excommunicated the antipope Boniface—in the other, the simoniaes. After a reign of more than eight years, he died, in the year 984, and was interred at *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*. Ecclesiastical history at this epoch still continues full of

uncertainties and disputes as to dates, facts, and persons. It is believed that Benedict occupied the See eight years and some months, setting an example of all the pastoral virtues, and ruling the Church prudently in those difficult times. Possibly, at a later date, the popes of that period have been judged according to the known perversity that prevailed in general. Perhaps some authors meeting only horrors and abominations among both princes and people, infer that the popes were no better. Benedict VII. was, however, a wise, prudent, and virtuous pope.

139. JOHN XIV.—A. D. 984.



JOHN XIV., originally named Peter Canevanova, changed that name of Peter out of his respect for the prince of the apostles, the first sovereign pontiff whose name has not been taken by any pontiff, although the name was very common among the Christians from the time of Constantine the Great.

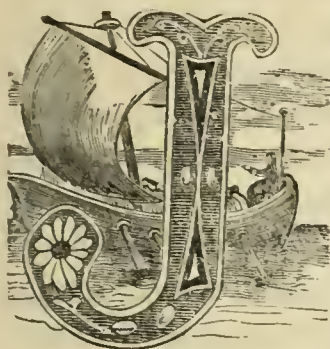
John was cardinal-deacon, bishop of Pavia, his native city, and arch-chancellor to the Emperor Otho II.

After John had reigned nearly eight months, the antipope Franco, calling himself Boniface VII., returning from Constantinople, threw John into prison, where he died—it is doubtful whether of poison or of starvation—in the month of June, 985. He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant nearly ten months. It will not be amiss here to record the end of the antipope Franco. He died suddenly not long after the commission of his second crime. He was so hated, even by his accomplices, that after his death he was pierced with spears, lances, and dragged along the streets by the feet, and left stark naked in front of the horse of Constantine;* but on the next morning some clerics removed and interred the mangled body.

* See note on this horse of Constantine, in the Life of John XIII.



140. JOHN XV.—A. D. 985



JOHN XV., a Roman, son of Robert, was elected pontiff in December, 985. He died the same month, before consecration, and was interred at the Vatican.

At that time there arose in Italy two great hermits, Romuald, in Lombardy, and Nilus, in Calabria.

Saint Romuald belonged to the noble family of the dukes of Ravenna. He introduced the rule of the hermits, which enjoined fasting for every day except Thursday and Sunday.

The life of Saint Nilus is related in great detail by Fleury (iv., lib. lvii., p. 7). At Monte Cassino a monk questioned Saint Nilus as to fasting on Saturday. The saint, who differed in opinion from Saint Romuald, replied: "Let him who eats, not despise him who eats not; and let him who eats not, despise not him who eats." (*Romans*, xiv. 3.) If you reprove us because we do not fast on Saturday, beware that you be not in opposition to the pillars of the Church, Saint Athanasius, Saint Basil, Saint Gregory, Saint Chrysostom, and the councils. We do well not to fast on Saturday, in opposition to the Manicheans, who on that day afflicted themselves in hatred to the Old Testament; but we do not abstain from labor on that day, that we may not imitate the Jews. You also are right in fasting on that day, that you may prepare yourselves for Sunday.

141. JOHN XVI.—A. D. 985.



JOHN XVI. was elected at the end of December, 985. He was a Roman priest, and the son of Leo. Harassed by the tyrant Crescentius, who, with the title of consul, occupied the castle of Saint Angelo, John fled into Tuscany, and appealed to Otho III. As soon as the Romans learned the step that the pope had taken, they recalled him, so much did they dread Otho. The clergy reproached John with yielding to that kind of favoritism which has since been known as

nepotism ; in fact he enriched his relatives beyond bounds. Through the medium of Leo, bishop of Treves, whom he sent as legate to London in the year 990, the pope restored peace between Ethelred, king of England, and Richard, duke of Normandy, whose discords were involving their countries in war. Hugh Capet, king of France, crowned at Rheims on the 3d of July, 987, was some time afterwards deserted by the archbishop of that city, Arnoul, a natural son of King Lothaire. The archbishop being taken prisoner at the siege of Laon, the king solicited a sentence of deposition from Pope John XVI. The pope not replying as promptly as the king desired, a council was convoked at Rheims, and pronounced sentence of deposition on Arnoul, who confessed himself guilty, and submitted to his sentence. Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., succeeded Arnoul in the See of Rheims ; but the pope, having courageously protested against the condemnation of Arnoul, the king wrote to the sovereign pontiff and urged that his authority had not been invaded, and offered to explain the matter if he would meet him at Grenoble. A council was held on the 2d of June, 995, at Mouzon, in which the matter was discussed. The right of Gerbert was there held to be uncertain, and the pope's legate interdicted him until a new council was held, which was convoked for the first of the following July. But the council did not meet so soon, and as long as King Hugh survived, Gerbert remained archbishop of Rheims, and Arnoul remained a prisoner at Orleans. However, this resistance on the part of the head of the Capetian race was unaccompanied by any insulting word or ill-treatment towards the legate, who constantly received in France the honor that was due to him.

In 993, John solemnly canonized, in the Council of Lateran, Adalric, who was made bishop of Augsburg in 924, at the age of thirty-one, and died on the 4th of July, 973. This was the first solemn canonization. Credit must not be given to those who state that the first was celebrated by Leo III., or by Stephen III., in favor of Suidbert, apostle of Westphalia. The name of canonization was not known before the tenth century.*

The exclusive right of canonization, which the sovereign pontiffs reserve to themselves, commenced only in the twelfth century. Until then each bishop in his own diocese declared the virtues of the servant of God, who had lived in sanctity, and no more was required to authorize the veneration of the saint.

John is said to have granted the city of Ferrara to Tedald, great-grandfather of the Countess Matilda.

This pope governed more than ten years. He was illustrious as a cultivator of letters, notwithstanding the rudeness of the time, and he is the

* Novaes, ii., p. 197.

reputed author of some books on military art. He died on the 30th of April, 996, and was interred at the Vatican, in the oratory of Saint Mary.

Under his reign the Russians, following the example of their King Wladimir, became fervent converts to the Catholic faith. "For, although the Christian religion had been introduced among the Russians in the preceding century, yet as late as 940 they were guilty of great cruelty against the Christians, especially priests, whose heads they pierced with nails.* So that the solid establishment of Christianity, and the entire conversion of the nation, date from the reign of Wladimir, towards the close of the tenth century." (Fleury, iv., lib. lvii., p. 11.)

142. GREGORY V.—A. D. 996.



GREGORY V. was originally named Bruno; he was the third son of Otho, duke of Franconia, marquis of Verona, and related to Otho III., king of Germany. He was created cardinal by Pope John XV., and at the age of twenty-four was elected pope, on the 8th of May, 996. Fleury says of him: "Bruno was gifted, conversant with Roman literature, and spoke three languages, the German, the literary Latin, and the vulgar—(*i. e.* the Italian.)" He was the first German who was raised to the Holy See.

Otho having returned into Germany, the Romans revolted against the pope, who had to take refuge at Pavia. There he, in 997, held a great council, in which he excommunicated Crescentius, of the family of the counts of Tusculum, who had caused himself to be named consul, and who wielded at Rome a despotic authority greater than that of the pope. Otho marched upon Rome, where he was crowned emperor by Gregory. Crescentius retired into the castle of Saint Angelo, where he obtained terms of capitulation; but Otho disregarding it, beheaded him. It was soon perceived that the pope, a native of Germany, would favor the opinions of his nation. At first secretly, and then publicly, he confirmed these maxims of jurisprudence:

"The prince elected in a Diet of Germany, acquired by that election the subordinate kingdoms of Italy and Rome.

* *Ephemer. ap. Boll.*, vol. xiii.

“Nevertheless, he cannot entitle himself emperor and Augustus until he receive the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiffs.”

Gregory, wishing to punish the inhabitants of Rome, who had been opposed to him, and who disapproved of the influence exercised by Otho in public affairs, took away from the Romans the right of electing the emperor, urging as the reason that *Germany was the great arm of Christianity*. The pope ascribed the right of election, according to Villani, to seven princes of that country;—the archbishop of Mayence, chancellor of Germany; the archbishop of Treves, chancellor of the Gauls; the archbishop of Cologne, chancellor of Italy; the marquis of Brandenburg, grand chamberlain; the duke of Saxe, sword-bearer; the count Palatine of the Rhine, who served at the first table of the emperor; and the king of Bohemia, great butler. The preceding details have been repeated by a host of authors deemed trustworthy; but Novaes is of a different opinion:* “Critics,” says that author in his history, “are not of one mind upon the question of who instituted the seven electors of the empire. Some writers—as Giordano in his Chronicle—attribute this creation to Charlemagne, and that opinion is supported by the authority of Innocent III.—(*cap. Venerabilem de election, et electi pot.*) Other annalists deem the princes of Germany authors of the method of election; others attribute it to Gregory X., some to Gregory V. (and this is the opinion of Bellarmine); and others again attribute it partly to Gregory V., partly to Otho III., and in part to the German princes. This institution interested the popes, the emperors, and the princes: it must have been approved, then, by those three authorities. That is the view taken by Dupin (*De la Discipline de l'ancienne Eglise*, dissert. 7, chap. 3, parag. 3.) Natalis Alexander (followed by Pagi, *ad ann.* 996, *n.* 13) affirms that under the sway of Frederick II. the princes of Germany gave to seven electors the right of choosing the emperor. “Still,” says Novaes, “the right to elect the emperor is derived from the sovereign pontiff, as Sandini demonstrates in the Life of Gregory V., where he speaks of the number and office of the electors.”

In corroboration of the opinion of Novaes, we may remind our readers of what took place on the recognition of Charlemagne, in his quality of emperor.

Gregory raised to the See of Ravenna, Gerbert, who succeeded him in the pontificate under the name of Sylvester II.

The great erudition of Gregory V., his abundant alms, his virtues, and the qualities of both his heart and his talent,† obtained for him the name of *Gregorio Minore*, Gregory the Less; though doubtless that surname was more frequently bestowed upon him in Germany than in the city of Rome,

* Novaes, ii., p. 198.

† Novaes, ii., p. 200.

whose privileges he had attacked. He died on the 18th of February, 999, at the age of twenty-seven, after governing the Church two years and something more than eight months. He was interred at the Vatican.

It cannot be forgotten that, at the instigation of Otho, born a German, and a constant enemy of the French, a council was held at Rome, at which the customs of the Church, already invoked under similar circumstances, were brought to bear heavily upon Robert, king of France. "Twenty-eight bishops, nearly all Italians, were present.* Eight canons were passed, by the first of which King Robert was directed to put away Bertha, whom he had married within the prohibited degree of relationship, and to do penance for seven years, according to the degrees prescribed by the Church, all under pain of being anathematized. And the same sentence was passed upon Bertha.

"Archambault, archbishop of Tours, who had given them the nuptial benediction, and all the bishops who had assisted in the ceremony, were suspended from communion until they made satisfaction to the Holy See.

"King Robert subsequently obeyed the order of the council, and espoused Constance, daughter of William I., count of Provence."†

The interference of Otho in this case, proves that if the sovereignty of the pope were not independent—if, for instance, it were limited, as has been spoken of, to the possession of the Vatican and the church of Saint Peter—the foreign sovereign, whether Catholic or not, who should occupy Rome, could easily exert an unjust influence upon the other courts of Europe, excite quarrels among them, and, under a pliable ecclesiastical administration, interfere in the rights of the others, and turn religious weapons to the service of secular polity. The pope must remain as he is; there is access to his States by two seas, and thus he can freely become acquainted with the complaints, the petitions, and the needs of all Catholics throughout the universe.

[See the note of the Cardinal Casoni, *Hist. du Pape Pie VII.*; 3 ed., vol. ii., p. 31.]

* Novaes, ii., p. 199.

† Fleury, iv., lib. lvii., p. 38.



143. SYLVESTER II.—A. D. 999.



SYLVESTER II., formerly called Gerbert, a native of Aurillac, in France, was the first Frenchman who occupied the chair of Saint Peter. He was a Benedictine monk of the monastery of Saint Gerandus, and became abbot of Bobbio. Having been made archbishop of Rheims on the deposition of Arnoul, he was himself deposed in 994, and afterwards made archbishop of Ravenna. Some say that he was of low birth, while others maintain that he belonged to the noble Cesi family, a member of which had settled at Aurillac.

Sylvester, on the recommendation of the Emperor Otho III., was elected pope on the 28th of February, and consecrated on the 2d of April, 999. Immediately, in an impulse of generosity worthy of the primitive times of the Church, he confirmed, as archbishop of Rheims, his former rival Arnoul, and then he turned his attention to reforming the monasteries of Christendom. He gave the title of apostolic king to Stephen, king of Hungary, who had converted that country to the Catholic faith, and permitted him and his successors to have the cross borne before them. He reigned four years, one month, and about ten days, including, as was then customary, the day of his consecration.

This Pontiff* was an illustrious scholar and a very learned mathematician, and though, on his deposition from the See of Rheims, he used censurable language towards the Holy See, yet, as pope, he governed with both wisdom and sanctity. The monks of Saint Maur, relying upon the historians of the time, were better able than others to know the real character of this pontiff. They speak of him in the following terms: "A fine and subtle genius, a zealous lover of truth and justice, he was the enemy of haughtiness and of duplicity. His maxim concerning the ministers of the Gospel was this: "He who is concerned in the saving of souls, stands in need of great moderation." This pope protested that he was ready to give up his life to preserve the unity of the Church, and reproached himself only with having overmuch flattered the great; perhaps, in fact, he cannot be held to have been free from the fault of ambition." However, it is beyond all doubt that his great ability in mathematics, in rhetoric, in

* Novaes, ii. p. 205.

music, and in medicine, and the rapid elevation that he so rapidly achieved, were the only reasons why, in a barbarous age, he was suspected of magic. On that score, he was obliged formally to defend himself.

Platina treats Sylvester with unjust severity. In the first place, he does not even seem properly to know this pope's name, for he sometimes calls him Gilbertus, and sometimes Hilbertus. He says that this pope reached the pontificate *with the aid of the devil*. Platina, in his own day, believed in sorcerers, and in page 303 of his book, he gives a host of absurdities that history does not confirm.

Relying on Baronius as my authority, I have spoken of the tenth century as a period of almost universal cruelty, ignorance, felony, and impurity. It is pleasant for a French historian, in the midst of details so deplorable, to be able to point out the great qualities, the generosity, and the lofty science of a son of France, of a child of pious Auvergne, who gave so brilliant and public a contradiction to the age in which he lived.

Bishop Ditmar praises the ability of Gerbert, who constructed a clock at Magdebourg. So much for his skill in art; as regards letters, he propagated their study in the University of Rome.

Novaes copies the epitaph which Sergius IV. had placed, in 1010, upon the tomb of Sylvester II., in the church of Saint John Lateran. It consists of twenty-four lines, in praise of the pope who deserved so well of Italy and France.*

Sylvester II. died March 12, 1003. The Holy See was vacant thirty-three

* We cannot refrain from citing this epitaph, says Artaud :

Iste locus mundi, Sylvestri membra sepulti,
 Venturo Domino conferet ad sonitum ;
 Quem dederat mundo celebrem doctissima Virgo,
 Atque caput mundi culmina Romulea,
 Primum Gerbertus meruit, Francigena, sedes
 Rhemensis populi, metropolim patriæ,
 Inde Ravennatis meruit conscendere summum
 Ecclesiæ regimen nobile, fitque potens,
 Post annum, Romam, mutato nomine, sumpsit
 Ut toto pastor fieret orbe novus.
 Cui nimium placuit sociali mente fidelis,
 Obtulit hoc Cæsar tertius Otho sibi.
 Tempus uterque comit clara virtute sophiæ
 Gaudet et omne sæclum, frangitur omne reum.
 Clavigeri instar erat cœlorum sede potitus
 Terno suffectus cui vice pastor erat
 Iste vicem Petri postquam suscepit, abegit
 Lustrali spatio sacula morte sui
 Obrigit mundus, discussa pace, triumphus
 Ecclesiæ, nutans dedidicit requiem.
 Sergius hunc loculum, miti pietate sacerdos,
 Successorque suus compsit amore sui.

days. A learned Polish Dominican, Abraham Bzovius, wrote the life of Sylvester II. under the following title : *Sylvester II., Cæsius, Aquitanus, Pontifex Maximus.* (Rome, 1629, 4to.) Bzovius, judging from the title, believed Gerbert to belong to the noble family of the Cesi. Bernard Pez published Gerbert's geometry in the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum* (vol. iii., par. ii., p. 5). The monks of Saint Maur mention all the works of Sylvester in vol. vi. of their literary *History of France*.

M. C. F. Hock published in Germany a *History of Pope Sylvester II. and his Age*, since translated into French by the Abbé J. M. Axinger, honorary canon of Evreux, &c. (Paris, 1 vol., 8vo.) *L'Ami de la Religion*, the 1st of January, 1846, thus speaks of M. Axinger's translation :

"The fifty years that have passed, and all their vicissitudes, have discredited theories and inclined judicious and practical minds towards the *study of facts*. Assuredly history always has charms, and has its serious teachings for every generation ; but there are some ages and some men that the disenchantments of the present send back with peculiar force to the lessons of the past. We live in, and are of such an age, and such men.

"In truth, historical works do not now take such colossal proportions as were given to them by the peaceful authors of past ages. This arises from many causes, which need not be more particularly referred to here. Monographs were resorted to as a matter of necessity, and have become a blessing. The necessities of the epoch have given us the *Athanasius the Great*, of Moehler ; the *Gregory VII.*, of Voigt ; the *Innocent III. and his Age*, of Hurter ; and the *Histories of Saint Francis of Assisi* and of *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*.

"By his life of *Saint Sylvester II.*, Mr. Hock has entered upon the same path, and with what success we are to see.

"In a preliminary chapter of remarkable learning, Mr. Hock traces out the limits within which his hero is to move. It is fitting, in fact, to describe the circumstances which surround a man before tracing his biography, in order that the reader may be able to appreciate his genius and his virtues. For human activity has its influence on events, and they in turn modify greatly the direction assumed by our free activity on what is styled our successes and reverses.

"Gerbert, prince of science, philosopher, mathematician, musician, archbishop of Rheims and Ravenna, finally pope, united in himself by his genius,

Quisquis ad hunc tumulum devexa lumina vertis
Omnipotens Domine, dic, miserere sui.

Obiit anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MIII.
Indict. 1, M. Maii, die XII.

These lines have been probably retouched, and are not yet free from fault.

and developed by applying them to practical life, all the elements of progress possessed by the tenth century; he was, like all great men, the personification of his epoch. This assertion, which is the exact analysis of Hock's work, is proved by a simple narration of the events that fill up the life of Gerbert.

"Gerbert is called to the pontifical See, vacant by the death of Gregory V. The new pope addressed the bishops of the Catholic world in a letter full of force, humility, and unction, depicting with unusual ability the vices of the time, and urging a reformation, thus preluding the efforts soon to be continued by Gregory VII. He devotes himself with generous ardor to the external wants of Catholicity. He was the first to call the attention of Europe to the Holy Land. "Rise, soldiers of Christ!" he cried; "seize banner and sword, and effect by counsel and wealth what you cannot by arms." The Pisans alone responded at that time. But it was not the fault of Sylvester that France did not then assume the attitude she held a century later.

"To him, too, is ascribed the first idea of the Jubilee, that great invitation addressed to Christians, to make pause in the career of life, and draw from faith and charity new strength to accomplish the pilgrimage to eternity."

Mr. Hock's work is a valuable one to consult for a picture of the tenth century, and a learned vindication of Sylvester.*

The monk Helgald, of Fleury, author of a *Life of Robert, King of the French* (Duchesne, iv., p. 63), says that Gerbert wrote in sport a Latin line on the three Sees he had occupied, Rheims, Ravenna, Rome :

Scandit ad R., Gerbertus in R., post Papa viget R.

Novaes cites the triplet, which some severe writers blame, because it places on a level a French See, an Italian See, and the most elevated of all, the Roman See, the first See of Catholicity which rules the world.

* Some slight errors and omissions in the original are ratified in Axinger's translation, the French writer using Richer's chronicle, which Mr. Hock did not know. By notes and illustrations, Mr. Axinger, a man of faith and learning, holding the balance with a firm hand, leaves the German writer all his peculiar merit, and gives history all its truth.



144. JOHN XVIII.—A. D. 1003.



HIS pope is styled John the Eighteenth, because John Philagates, the antipope, who usurped the papacy in May, 997, has been commonly, though improperly, enumerated among the popes as John the Seventeenth. He owed his elevation to the favor of the tyrant Crescentius. When Gregory V., expelled by Crescentius, was restored on the demand of Otho, that emperor ordered Crescentius and twelve noblemen of his party to be beheaded, and subjected the antipope John to cruel treatment, of which he died in the month of March of the same year. John XVIII., who is commonly believed to be a Roman, was born at Ripagnano, in the diocese of Fermo, and belonged to the illustrious family of the Secchi. He was elected by the party of the counts of Tusculum on the 9th of June, and consecrated on the 15th of the same month. He governed the Church four months and twenty-two days; died in October, 1003, and was buried at Saint John Lateran. The Holy See remained vacant thirteen days.

145. JOHN XIX.—A. D. 1003.



JOHN XIX., surnamed Fasanus, was elected in November, 1003. He confirmed the institution of the bishopric of Bamberg, in Franconia, erected at the desire of the Emperor Henry.

Under this pontificate concord was restored between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, which had been disunited in consequence of the arrogant pretension of the patriarch Michael Cerularias, who presumptuously assumed the title of œcumenical and universal bishop, which exclusively belongs to the Roman pontiff. John XIX., having forbidden the patriarch to usurp that title, the right of Rome was recognized, and the patriarch Sergius, in its place, took in the Dyptics—*i. e.*, the tables of the Church of Constantinople—the title of the pope.

Some authors think that John XIX., towards the close of his life, abdicated the pontificate to retire to the Benedictine abbey of Saint Paul, at Rome, but modern critics do not admit that fact. This pope governed five years and five months, according to Novaes, and three years and five months according to the Roman list. It seems certain that he died about the year 1009, and that he was interred at Saint John Lateran.

From an author of that same century, we learn that there were then in Rome twenty monasteries for women, forty of monks, and sixty of canons, exclusive of those which were outside of the city.*

146. SERGIUS IV. — A. D. 1009.



SERGIUS IV., a Roman, is said to have been called *Bocca di Porco*; his father's name was Martin. Sergius was consecrated pope after the 17th of June, 1009. He governed the Church a little less than three years. He was liberal to the poor, and adorned by many virtues. He died on the 18th of August, 1012, and was interred in the church of Saint John Lateran, not far from the entrance of the oratory of Saint Thomas. Platina, however, and some other writers, state that he was interred at the Vatican, and that an epitaph of nine couplets was placed on his tomb. It will be remembered that to him is attributed the epitaph on Pope Sylvester II.

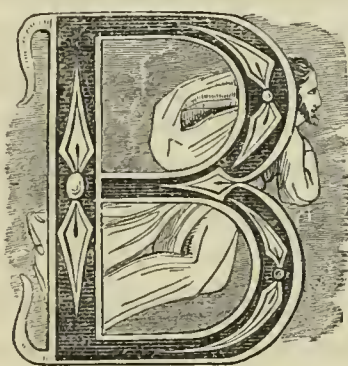
We have spoken of the devout acts of Helena, mother of the great Constantine, the pious princess who discovered the Holy Sepulchre. Till this time Christians, it is true, could visit it through a thousand perils; but pilgrims could pass through by the power of money, and their courage braved the difficulty of the journey, and the exactions with which the Turkish rulers of Palestine oppressed them.

As early as the year 613 the Persians had tried to destroy the church of the Holy Sepulchre, but the zeal of the Catholics restored it. A greater misfortune happened in the year 1009. The monk Glaberus, author of a chronicle printed for the first time in Pithou's *Historia Francorum* (Frankfort, folio, 1646, vol. iii., cap. 7), relates a new catastrophe that befell the Holy Sepulchre. He thinks that it was instigated by the Jews. "The

* Fleury, iv., lib. viii., p. 48.

Church," says he, "was levelled to the ground by soldiers, who were sent by the prince of Babylon. They even endeavored to break, with masses of iron, the grotto of the Holy Sepulchre, but 'failed to effect their purpose.' That same year, Mary, the mother of the prince of Babylon, who was a Christian princess, began to restore the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and a multitude of people from all parts flocked to Jerusalem, and contributed large sums towards the restoration." The pious inhabitants of pontifical Rome were not backward in furnishing the necessary aid to the noble and holy enterprise.

147. BENEDICT VIII.—A. D. 1012.



BENEDICT VIII., originally named John, was a Roman, and son of Gregory, count of Tusculum, of the Conti family. Benedict was elected pope on the 17th of June, 1012; but an antipope, Gregory, soon expelled the legitimate pope. Benedict retired to Germany to solicit the aid of King Henry, who immediately set out for Italy, and restored him to the pontifical See. The pope crowned Henry II. as emperor, in the church of the Vatican, on the 14th of February, 1014. In this ceremony the pope more especially established that form of the imperial sceptre which is used at present—a golden apple surmounted by a cross, and enriched with two crossed circles of precious stones. The apple represents the world; the cross, religion; and the precious stones, the virtues. We owe this information to Glaberus.* Henry confirmed to the Church all the gifts and rights granted by Charlemagne, and by the Othos, father and son. At the same time, he declared that the election of the pontiff should be freely made by the clergy and the Roman people, provided that, in the terms of the decrees of Eugene II. and Leo IV., the consecration took place in the presence of the emperor's ambassadors.

Apparently with a view to consolidate peace with the Greek Church, the pope ordered that at Rome, in the Masses, the Constantinopolitan creed

* The apple to represent the world was not a new idea; we see it in the hand of the emperors in the ancient medals.

should be chanted. It had not been customary to chant it, but as far back as the ninth century it had been usually recited. Lambertini informs us that there are four creeds used by the Church: 1st. The *Apostles' Creed*; 2d. The *Nicene*, drawn up in 385; 3d. The Constantinopolitan; and the 4th, that which commences the holy office with the word *Quicumque*, and commonly attributed to Saint Athanasius. This opinion is shared by Baronius.* Many other authors, and especially the monks of Saint Maur, Natalis Alexander, Tillemont, Muratori, Father Speroni, Papebroke, Le Quien, Mabillon, Ceillier, Dupin, and Benedict XIII., demonstrate that Saint Athanasius was not the author of the creed, for he would not have omitted the word consubstantial, as that was at once the strongest term against the Arians, and the most precious pledge to the Catholics of that time. The creed was not known until the sixth century. Theodolf, of Orleans, is the first who attributed it to Saint Athanasius, which leads to the inference that the error originated in France. Novaes then quotes various authors on either side of this question, and seems to incline, though not at all decidedly, to the opinion that does not attribute it to Saint Athanasius.

Benedict, finding his states constantly ravaged by the Saracens, determined to repulse them. In the year 1016, he assembled an army, embarked with it, and pursued the infidels upon the Tuscan seas, gained a brilliant victory over them, and restored to his subjects a liberty, honor, and repose, and a reputation of which they had long been deprived.

At the same time, the Greeks, who, after so much baseness, had become exacting, devastated the principalities of Apulia. The pope sent against them Raoul, prince of Normandy, who attacked and beat them, and compelled them to retire from the province which they had treated as tyrannically as though it had not belonged to Christendom. That same year, according to Mabillon, the pontiff canonized Saint Simeon, the Armenian, a hermit monk of Padalirona, near Mantua, who died in July of that year. Lambertini shows that the pope more probably beatified only, and did not canonize that pious man.

The Greeks having reappeared in considerable strength before the city of Rome, Benedict, in 1019, went to Germany, to solicit the aid of Henry. The emperor received him in the town of Bamberg, which he declared a feudatory of the Church, with the obligation of a tribute, consisting of a caparisoned palfrey and a hundred marks in money.† After the expulsion of the Greeks, Benedict and Henry visited the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, just as they were electing an abbot. On that account, and because

* *Annal. Eccles., ad an. 340, n. 11.*

† This, no doubt, was one of the origins of the tribute of the palfrey.

he had recovered his health, which had been much weakened by the fatigues of war, the emperor made great presents to the monastery.

Benedict, on his return to Rome, summoned thither Guy of Arezzo (supposed to belong to the Donati family), a Benedictine monk in the convent of Pomposa, that he might teach the Roman clergy the notes of the *plain chant*, which the Italians call the *canto fermo*. The notes which he had invented are, *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, and are taken from the hymn composed in honor of Saint John the Baptist, by Paul the deacon, a celebrated poet and monk of Monte Cassino, in the ninth century.

The hymn opens with these words :

*Ut queant laxis
Resonare fibris,
Mira questorum
Famuli tuorum
Solve pollutis
Labbii reatum.*

Such is the opinion of Baronius ; but Mabillon maintains that it was not Benedict, but his successor, John XX., who summoned Guy of Arezzo to Rome.

Benedict held a council at Pavia, in which he published eight decrees. He wrote various epistles, which are almost all unknown to us, with the exception of that which he wrote at Monte Cassino, when he was there with his deliverer Henry. From the events of Benedict's life we may infer that he possessed talents and virtues, and that his memory is worthy of our esteem. He distinguished himself alike as a statesman and as a minister of religion. To these merits he added that of having conducted a war that freed Rome from the Saracens and Greeks.

Benedict governed eleven years and nine months. He died A. D. 1024, and was interred at the Vatican.

The antipope Gregory, who had molested Benedict, soon after yielded, from fear of the anger of Henry, who always showed himself the firm and faithful friend of Benedict VIII.



148. JOHN XX.—A. D. 1024.



JOHN XX., brother of Benedict VIII., was a layman, and the first who, without being in holy orders, reached the pontificate. He was elected on the 6th of June, 1024. He would neither yield to the entreaties, nor receive the gifts of the Constantinopolitans, who asked for the Oriental Church in the East the title of Universal, which the Roman Church had for all the Christian world. Thence originated anew differences between the Latin and Greek Churches.

Conrad II., the Salic, visiting Rome in the year 1027, John crowned him emperor on Easter-day of that year.

On that occasion, Canute, king of England, was at Rome in the habit of a pilgrim, having come to prostrate himself at the tomb of the Holy Apostle. It was at that period that commenced the English tribute to Rome known as Peter's Pence.

The Parisians and the inhabitants of Limoges had a dispute whether Saint Martial should be styled only Confessor, or, as those of Limoges wished, Apostle also. The pope decided in favor of the Parisians, and caused a fine altar to be raised to that saint in Saint Peter's. Saint Martial was bishop of Limoges when Decius was emperor. In 1032, the pope beatified Saint Romuald, founder of the Camaldulensian monks. His canonization did not occur till the reign of Pope Clement VIII.

John governed the Church nearly nine years. He died in 1033, and was interred at the Vatican, between the Silver and the Roman gates.



149. BENEDICT IX.—A. D. 1033.



BENEDICT IX., a cardinal-deacon, previously called Theophylactus, was a Roman of the Conti family, son of Alberic, count of Tusculum, and nephew of the two preceding pontiffs. He was elected pope in 1033, on the 9th of December, at the age of ten years, according to Bury, but probably at a more mature age. Novaes thinks that Benedict was then eighteen or twenty years of age, and that ignorant copyists wrote *decennis* instead of *vicennis*. Although he was an intruder into the papacy, his family lavished so much gold among the Roman populace that he was received as legitimate.

In 1073, Benedict, learning that Conrad had arrived in Italy, addressed letters of congratulation to him, and received favorable replies. On the 19th of June of the same year the Romans, unable any longer to endure the licentiousness of Benedict IX., deposed him; but in the following year the Emperor Conrad ordered that the pontiff should be restored to his dignity.

On the 17th of November, 1042, Benedict canonized Saint Simeon, a Syracusan noble and a Benedictine monk. Two factions arose in Rome and commenced a cruel war. The counts of Tusculum, and Ptolemy, the Roman consul, strove for the ascendancy. Benedict was expelled on the 1st of May, 1044, and Ptolemy caused Sylvester III. to be named pope. Subsequently the Romans recalled Benedict to power, but he abandoned it to Gregory VI., of whom we shall speak hereafter. After the death of Clement II., of whom we shall also have to speak, Benedict once again held the pontificate from the 8th of November, 1047, to the 17th July, 1048. Thus, by turns expelled and restored, Benedict occupied the See above ten years.

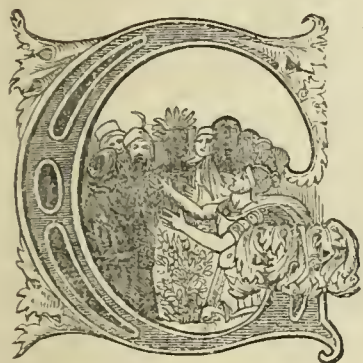
The life of Benedict was irregular at first, but in his later years he changed his conduct. Urged by Saint Bartholomew, fourth abbot of the monastery of Grotta Ferrara, near Frascati, Benedict renounced the pontificate, and taking the habit of a monk, asked pardon for his past life, and led an exemplary one to the end of his days, about the year 1065.

On the subject of this reign Baronius says: "Reproaches are uttered against the Church of Rome, but she is not guilty of the abuses of that time; the power of secular princes compelled her to endure them. The

disgrace of those irregularities must fall, in the first instance, upon Conrad the Salic."

Sylvester III., antipope, after owing an ephemeral power to Ptolemy, the Roman consul, was expelled, and died in obscurity.

150. GREGORY VI. — A. D. 1044.



GREGORY VI., originally called John Gratian, was son of Peter Leo, an illustrious Roman, and was archpriest of Saint John *at the Latin gate*. He was not even cardinal, as Crescimbeni* proves, for that Church had not yet the cardinalate; and it is affirmed† that he bought the pontificate from Benedict IX.

Baron Henrion, in his history of the papacy, says of this pontiff:

"This prudent liberator of the Church, placed in possession of the Holy See by the cession of Benedict IX. in May, 1044, reigned under the name of Gregory VI. Finding that the temporalities of the Church were so diminished that scarcely enough remained for its subsistence, he excommunicated the usurpers, and those culprits in their anger approached Rome in arms. The pope on his part raised troops, occupied the church of Saint Peter, drove away those who stole the offerings placed upon the tombs of the apostles, resumed some Church lands, and restored safety to the roads where pilgrims had long been unable to pass, except by forming caravans. This conduct displeased the Romans, accustomed to plundering. Upon their complaints, Henry III., king of Germany, rapidly crossed the mountains, and at Sutri, during the Christmas holidays, held a council to examine whether the election of the pope had not been simoniacal. Nevertheless, both Gregory and the clergy had honestly deemed it their right to purchase the resignation of the unworthy Benedict, and release the Church from a great scandal. Amidst these doubts Gregory stripped himself of the pontifical ornaments, and laid down his pastoral staff. After that laudable act he retired to the monastery of Cluny, where he ended his days.

The council was held in presence of Henry III. the Black, who, after

* History of Saint John at the Latin Gate, p. 216.

† Novaes, ii., p. 230.

‡ *Histoire de la Papauté*, 1834, 12mo., vol. i., p. 234.

Conrad, received the title of emperor. Gregory VI. is recognized as a legitimate pope, because Saint Gregory VII., in taking the number of *seventh* and not of sixth, seems to have approved the accession of Gregory VI.*

Gregory VI. governed the Church two years and nine months.

151. CLEMENT II.—1046.



ROGER, or Suidger, a Saxon, who took the name of Clement II., was canon of Halberstadt, then chaplain to the archbishop of Bremen, and subsequently chancellor to the Emperor Henry III., and bishop of Bamberg. After the resignation of Gregory VI., at the Council of Sutri, Clement was against his will unanimously appointed, for there was not then in the Roman Church an ecclesiastic more worthy of that honor than he. Elected on the 21st of December, 1046, and crowned on the 25th, Christmas-day, he on the same day crowned King Henry III. as emperor.

At the beginning of 1047, Clement convened a council to check the perversity of simoniacs, who at that time were desolating the Church. Contests arose upon the question of precedence between the archbishops of Milan and of Ravenna. Both claimed the precedence, and, like the patriarch of Aquilea, each wished to occupy the place of honor. Clement II. decided that in the councils the archbishop of Ravenna should be seated at the right hand of the sovereign pontiff, if the emperor was not present; but in case the emperor were present, the archbishop should sit on the left of the pontiff. The pope interposed in a dispute between the emperor and the people of Benevento: the emperor insisted that His Holiness should excommunicate them, because they would not receive him. Clement then gave his attention to the affairs of Germany, and he canonized the pious virgin Saint Viborada, martyred by the Hungarians in 925.

Clement governed nine months and fifteen days, and died at Pesaro. In compliance with his last will, his body was removed to Bamberg.

The Holy See was vacant twenty-nine days, till the return of Benedict IX., when he usurped the See for the third time; and nine months and seven days, till the creation of Damasus II.

* Novæus, ii., p. 231.

152. DAMASUS II.—A. D. 1048.



DAMASUS II., originally named Poppo, bishop of Brixen, was recommended for the pontificate by the Emperor Henry III., in 1047, and created pope at Rome, on the 17th of July, 1048.

Clement, archbishop of Lyons, had been spoken of, but he magnanimously refused the dignity.

Damasus did not belong to Brescia. Baronius was deceived by the likeness which exists between the Latin words *Brixinensis* and *Brixiensis*. Neither was this pope, as Alphonso Chacon* maintains, either patriarch of Aquilea or of Cowbirth. He was a man of middling condition, but of very distinguished intellect. He governed only twenty-three days, and died at Palestrina, near Rome,† and was interred at Saint Lawrence outside the walls.

The Holy See remained vacant six months and four days.

* *Lives of the Pontiffs*, article Clement (Rome, 1677; 4 vols. folio). Chacon, a Spanish Dominican, died at Rome in 1599, with the title of Patriarch of Alexandria.

† Benno states that Damasus II. was poisoned by Benedict IX., but it is certain that Benedict, whom we have not defended against other accusations, was not guilty of that crime. Damasus died in the month of August, by the excessive heat that then prevailed in Rome and its neighborhood. Baronius speaks on this point as he thought he ought to speak of a perverse and malignant man, and said that that writer had put forward more falsehoods than words. In fact, Benno, a writer of the eleventh century, created cardinal by the antipope Guibert, who styled himself Clement III., was an unscrupulous fanatic, and was especially bitter against Gregory VII. We agree with Novaes, and we think that one may apply to Benno those words of Tacitus, that a critic of our time has somewhat too severely applied to another author: "*Obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quia malignitati falsa species libertatis inest* (Hist., liv. i., 1)—*The words of accusing envy are received by greedy ears, because malice has a certain false show of freedom.*"



153. ST. LEO IX.—A. D. 1049.



SAINT LEO IX., originally named Bruno, count of Hapsburg, was born in Hapsburg, a town on the frontiers of Lorraine, the Palatinate, and Alsace. He was related to the Emperor Henry III., and a cousin of Gerard of Alsace, duke of Upper Lorraine, from whom descends the house of Lorraine, now reigning in Austria. At an early age, Bruno entered a Benedictine monastery, and became bishop of Toul when only twenty-four years of age.

Fleury thus speaks of the accession of this pope :* “In a diet or assembly of the nobles, held by the emperor at Worms, *a unanimous vote elected, as pope*, Bruno, bishop of Toul, who was present, but never thought of such an event. He was forty-six years old, and had been bishop during twenty-two years, which he had worthily employed. At first, he applied himself to reform the monasteries, by means of Guidric, abbot of Saint Apre, a disciple of Saint William of Dijon. Bruno was successfully employed in negotiating peace between Rodolph, king of Burgundy, and Robert, king of France.

“His virtue, as well as his manly learning and agreeable manners, made him a general favorite. He loved music, and could even compose it. He was so devoted to Saint Peter, that he annually went to Rome, and sometimes with a retinue of five hundred men. Such was Bruno, when elected pope.

“For a long time he refused the dignity, and when he was more and more urged, he asked three days for deliberation, which he spent without eating or drinking, entirely absorbed in prayer; and then he made a public confession of his sins, believing that he should thus show his unworthiness. The tears that he shed during that act, made all present weep with him, but without changing their resolution that he should be pope. Bruno, then, was obliged to accept the pontificate, but he declared, in presence of the *deputies from Rome*, that he accepted only on condition of the consent of the clergy and people of Rome. He returned to Toul, where he celebrated the feast of Christmas with four bishops—Hugo, an Italian, deputed by the Romans,

* Fleury, iv., lib. lix., p. 112. Further on, Fleury confesses that deputies from Rome had brought news of the election, and that at Worms they could only discuss an election, and not elect.



ST LEO IX.

Eberhard, archbishop of Treves, Adalberon, bishop of Metz, and Thierry, bishop of Verdun.

“Bruno set out from Toul in the habit of a pilgrim, on his way to Rome, continually engaged in prayer for the salvation of the souls committed to his charge. At Augsburg, being in prayer, he heard a voice which said: ‘I know the thoughts that I think towards you, saith the Lord, thoughts of peace;’ and the rest of the *Introit* taken from Jeremiah, which is sung on the last Sundays after Pentecost.* Encouraged by this revelation, and accompanied by great numbers, who hurried from all parts, he arrived at Rome.

“The whole city met him with canticles of joy, but he alighted from his horse and walked for some time barefoot. After kneeling in prayer, he spoke to the clergy and people, and explained the choice that the emperor had made of his person,† begging them freely to express their opinion, whatever that might be. He added that, according to the canons, the election by the clergy and the people ought to precede any other suffrage; and that as he had come to them against his own will, so he should willingly return, unless his election should be unanimously ratified by them. Cries of joy were the only reply to this address, and he then exhorted the Romans to correct their morals, and begged them to pray for him. He was then enthroned on the 12th of February, 1049, which was the first Sunday in Lent, and took the name of Leo IX.”

When he received the reins of government, he found nothing in the coffers of the apostolic chambers. All that he had brought from Toul had been disbursed in travelling expenses and alms. His retinue was equally without means, but on the very day when they were about to depart secretly from him, deputies from the nobility of Benevento arrived with magnificent presents for the pope, whose blessing and protection they solicited. Leo then reproached his attendants with their want of faith, and taught them from that instance that we should never distrust Providence. Subsequently, when his reputation attracted to Rome an extraordinary number of pilgrims, who laid great offerings at his feet, he took nothing either for himself or for his servants; all was for the poor in that eternal capital of charity. We should remark here, that during his journey from Toul to Rome, Bruno had for the most intimate of his companions Hildebrand, who was subsequently Saint Gregory VII.

The second week after Easter, which that year (1049) fell on the 26th of March, Pope Leo held a council at Rome, to which he summoned not only the bishops of Italy, but also those of Gaul. In that council, in spite of great tumults, all simoniacal ordinations were declared to be null and void, and all the ancient canons were renewed.

* Jeremiah, xxix. 11-14.

† Fleury errs, Bruno did not use this language.

The pontificate of Leo was one continual journey for the weal of the Church; everywhere his object was to cause respect to be paid to regulations that had fallen into disuse, and in some cases were absolutely forgotten by the faithful. At Pavia, he held a council which re-enacted several decrees relating to ecclesiastical discipline.

Thence the pontiff repaired to Rheims. The details of the council are faithfully reported by Fleury, and may be consulted in his work. At Mayence, the pope held another council, in presence of the emperor, and he there condemned simony, and published a decree upon the continence required of clerics. On that occasion, the archbishop of Mayence was declared legate in Germany for the Roman Church.

Leo, still accompanied by the Emperor Henry III., celebrated at Cologne the feasts of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and granted various privileges to the priests of that cathedral.

At that period the canons of Bamberg obtained the right to wear the mitre: the chapter of Besançon partially received the same favor: it was permitted to the deacon and sub-deacon, assisting the bishop at the altar, also to wear the mitre.

Novaes* adds, that the same privilege is still at present recognized for the canons of Poitiers, of Lyons, of Milan, of Annecy, of Viterbo, and of Sienna. The canons of Sienna received that honor in 1802 from Pius VII., at the solicitation of their archbishop, the Cardinal Zondadari.

Leo, on his return to Italy, celebrated the feast of Christmas at Verona, and thence went to Venice to venerate the body of Saint Mark.

On his return to Rome, in 1050, he assembled a council in the month of April, and there condemned Berengarius; archdeacon of Angers, head of all the *sacramentary* heretics, who maintained that the sacrament of the Eucharist was only a figurative representation of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and that there was no change in the substance of the bread and wine.†

In the same council the pope canonized Saint Gerard, bishop of Toul, who died on the 23d of April, 994.

At Vercelli, Leo again condemned the heresy of Berengarius, and the book, *Of the Body of Jesus Christ*, of John Scotus, in which book Berengarius had learned his errors. According to Feller (v., p. 456), the work is no longer extant.

The Holy Father then proceeded to Capua, Monte Cassino, Salerno, and Benevento. He relieved the last city from the excommunication pronounced against it in the previous year, because a conspiracy had been formed there to alienate the people from the pontifical government.

* Novaes, ii., p. 328.

† Novaes, ii., p. 239.

In 1025 he canonized, at Ratisbon, Saint Wolfgang and Saint Erard, former bishops of that city.

The same year the pope visited the emperor at Worms. In the month of December he subscribed a decision relating to the city of Bamberg. It was a feudatory of the Church (see our life of Benedict VIII, p. 273), and had to present a caparisoned palfrey, and a hundred marks in money. Leo reserved to himself only the palfrey that Bamberg was to continue to present to him; and as to the fief, he yielded it to the emperor, who, on his part, yielded to the Holy Father, in absolute sovereignty, Benevento, a duchy which had been secured to him by the Lombards.

The emperors and the kings of Italy pretended to preserve the paramount lordship in that duchy, which, said they, Charlemagne could not give to the pope, although he had given him all the adjoining Neapolitan territory. But what could Charlemagne *not* do?

The Holy Father, having returned to Rome, celebrated a council there; and then he marched against the Normans, who devastated Apulia. Unfortunately the pope was defeated, and made prisoner. He remained at Benevento till 1054, and there, by his skill, Leo changed his enemies into protectors of the Holy See.* Having recovered his liberty, the pope returned to Rome, after giving to the Normans the investiture of a portion of the lands they had conquered.

The Holy Father, with great penetration of mind, refuted a writing of Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, who, with abominable pride, had controverted the primacy of the Roman Church. The letter of the courageous pontiff is in *Labbe's Councils* (vol. ix., col. 949), and in *Harduin* (vol. vii., col. 927). Leo reproaches the church of Constantinople with the disgrace of ordaining eunuchs as bishops; and he adds, that once they even ordained a woman. Leo would not have said so, had the ignoble fable of "*Pope Joan*" then been in circulation, for Cerularius would have made use of it to defend himself against Rome. This judicious remark we owe to Mabillon.

At the same time he sent legates to Constantinople to endeavor to reclaim the patriarch. Among those legates was Cardinal Frederick, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Church, afterwards pope, under the name of Stephen IX. Irritated by the resistance made to them, the legates excommunicated Cerularius, who, in his turn, excommunicated them, and caused the name of the Roman Church to be removed from the dyptics, or church-list of the Eastern Church. The schism of Photius was then renewed, which had disturbed the reigns of Nicholas I. and Adrian II.*

* See *History of the Origin of the Kingdom of Sicily and Naples*, concerning the adventures and the conquests of the Norman princes who established it, &c. Paris: Anisson, 1700, 12mo.

† See our lives of those pontiffs.

We extract the details of the excommunication from Fleury (iv., book lx., p. 159). This account gives a well-timed view of the various heresies which Rome then courageously pursued.

"We," says the excommunication, "have been sent by the Holy See of Rome to inquire into the truth of the reports that have been made to it, and in this imperial city we have found much good and much evil. For, as to the pillars of the empire, the dignitaries and the wise citizens, the imperial city is most Christian and orthodox; but as to Michael, abusively termed patriarch, and his abettors, they have spread abroad many heresies. They, like the simoniacs, sell the gift of God; like the Valesians, they make eunuchs their hosts, and afterwards raise them not only to the priesthood, but to the episcopate; imitating the Arians, they rebaptize those already baptized in the name of the holy Trinity—namely, the Latins; like the Donatists, they say that out of the Greek Church there is in the world neither Church of Christ, nor true sacrifice, nor true baptism; like the Nicolaites, they permit the ministers of the altar to marry; like the Severians, they say that the law of Moses is accursed; like the Macedonians, they expunge from the Creed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son; like the Manicheans, they say, among other things, that whatever is leavened has life; like the Nazareans, they observe the Jewish purifications; refuse baptism to children dying before the eighth day, and communion to women in child-bed, and exclude from their communion those who cut their hair or beard according to the usage of the Roman Church.

"Michael, warned by Pope Leo of his errors and his many excesses, turned a deaf ear, and when we sought to repress these disorders by reason, he has refused to see or converse with us, or assign us churches to say Mass, as he had already closed the churches of the Latin rite, styling them Azymites, persecuting them everywhere, and in their own person anathematizing the Holy See, in contempt of which, Michael assumes the title of œcumenical patriarch.

"Therefore, by the authority of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy Apostolic See, the Seven Councils, and the whole Catholic Church, we subscribe the anathema pronounced by the pope, and in his name, say:

"Michael, falsely styled patriarch, neophyte clad in the monastic garb solely from fear of man, accused of many crimes; and with him Leo, called bishop of Acris and Constantine, chaplain of Michael, who has trampled under his profane feet the sacrifice of the Latins;—be they and all their sectaries anathema, with the simoniacs and other heretics that have been named, and all others, and with the devil and his angels, if they be not converted. Amen, Amen, Amen.

"The legates also pronounced another excommunication *viva voce*, in presence of the emperor and the nobles, in these words: 'Whosoever shall

obstinately blame the faith of the Holy See of Rome and its sacrifices, let him be anathema, and let him not be deemed Catholic, but a prozymite heretic, that is to say, *Defender of the Leaven.*'”

Fleury, as though afraid of seeming too Roman, adds: “Those heresies imputed to the Greeks were, for the most part, only consequences drawn from their doctrine, but they did not avow them.”

Saint Leo IX. governed the Church five years, two months, and seven days. He was a pontiff of a tender and solid piety, says Novaes, and endowed with a living and ardent zeal. He began to learn Greek at the age of fifty, and made rapid progress in it, so that he was able to refute the Greek schismatics. Victor III., himself a pontiff,* writes thus of Saint Leo: “He was a truly apostolic man; born of the royal family, rich in learning, eminently pious, and ripe in the knowledge of all ecclesiastical learning.”

Bury says that Leo IX. shone at Rome like another sun.

This pope died at the age of fifty-two years, on the 19th of April, 1054, and was interred at the Vatican, near the altar of Saints Andrew and Gregory. Paul V. having found the body in perfect preservation, caused it to be placed with great pomp on the 8th of January, 1606, beneath the altar dedicated in his name, and those of Saints Martial and Valerius.

The Holy See remained vacant eleven months and twenty-five days.

A great number of authors have written the life of Saint Leo IX.,—Augustine Bontemps, monk of Arras (who wrote in verse), Saint Bruno, cardinal-bishop of Segni, and Wilpert, a contemporary of the Saint.

At that period flourished in England King Edward the Confessor, the son of Ethelred and of Emma, sister of Richard duke of Normandy. He reduced to order the laws published by his grandfather, King Edgar, which the Danish domination had well-nigh abolished. They comprised, substantially, the ordinances of former kings, and contained many wise regulations in ecclesiastical matters. The laws of King Edward are famous, and were long held in reverence. This king also rebuilt the ancient abbey of Westminster.

* *Biblioth. Pat.*, 854; *Dialog.*, book iii., vol. xviii.



154. VICTOR II.—A. D. 1055.



VICTOR II., originally named Gebehard, was born at Insprück, the capital of Tyrol: a Benedictine monk. He was a relation and privy councillor of the emperor Henry III., and after being a Benedictine monk became a bishop. He was indicated for the papacy by the celebrated Hildebrand, subsequently Pope Gregory VII. Gebehard resisted the entreaties of Hildebrand, who overcame his repugnance, and Gebehard was elected on the 13th of April, 1055, and enthroned on the 16th of the same month.

This pope maintained a good understanding with the Emperor Henry III. The period of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century had gone by. Virtue, experience, and courage were often seated on the pontifical throne. In one council, Victor threatened with excommunication those who usurped the property of the Church. He forbade Ferdinand, king of Castile and Leon, to usurp the title of emperor; and that prince immediately obeyed the orders of the pontiff.

In a council held at Tours, and presided over by Hildebrand, Berengarius was again condemned. That heresiarch having obtained permission to defend his opinion upon the Eucharist, dared not do so, and he publicly confessed the common faith of the Church, and promised that thenceforth he would thus believe. Berengarius subscribed the recantation with his own hand, and the legates, believing his conversion sincere, received him into communion.

In the year 1056 the pope went to Germany to see the Emperor Henry III., and to restore peace between several nobles and that prince. The pope celebrated Easter at Ratisbon. The zeal of Victor for discipline, and his affection for the stern Hildebrand, have drawn upon him the hatred of some writers; but the most judicious authors do justice to his character for integrity and exalted piety. A cup of poison was one day presented to him. The legend says that the cup became so heavy that the pope could not lift it, and thus the crime was discovered. He died at Florence, on the 28th of July, 1057, and was interred in the church of Santa Reparata, in that city.

The Holy See remained vacant five days.

155. STEPHEN X.—A. D. 1057.



HILDEBRAND already reigned by his virtues : none could hope for the pontificate, except by conforming to the austere rules professed by that noble monk. There was a prince of the house of Lorraine who was renowned for his virtues. This was Junian Frederic, related both to the imperial family and to the royal family of France. This prince had recently entered the monastery of Monte Cassino, where he was discovered by Pope Victor II., who named him cardinal-priest of Saint Chrysogonus. On the death of Victor II., they sought his consent to nominate him pope, but he declined the honor. A general acclamation in the church of Saint Peter in *Vincoli*, soon forced the modest cardinal to accept the pontificate. On Saint Stephen's day, August 2d, 1057, he was enthroned in the church of Saint John Lateran, and the electors themselves conferred the name of the saint upon the new pontiff.

In four months this pope restored good order in the Church ; he forbade the marriage of clerics, and sought out incontinent livers. It was not enough that the pontiff himself was a model of purity, he required that the lowest cleric should live a spotless life. Even those clerks who put away their concubines, and did penance, were excluded from the sanctuary for a time, and were permanently deprived of the power to celebrate the holy mysteries. God was appeased, and no longer continued the chastisement he so long had inflicted upon his Church.

Hildebrand, who resided in France, was recalled, and sent as legate to the Empress Agnes, mother of King Henry IV. Stephen then gave a singular order, which strikingly proves his confidence in the greatest servant the Church at that time possessed. The pope, by his entreaties and by his authority, induced the bishops, clergy, and Roman people to consent that, in the event of the pontifical chair becoming vacant, they would not proceed to an election until Hildebrand returned from his legation. The pope then went to Tuscany, and died in the arms of Saint Hugh, abbot of Cluny, at Florence, where he was interred in the church of Santa Reparata.

Stephen governed about nine months. The Holy See remained vacant eight months and twenty days.

156. BENEDICT X.—A. D. 1058.



BENEDICT X., Conti (who, according to many authors, was an antipope, but who stands in the *Diario* among the legitimate popes), was raised to the pontificate by an armed faction, without waiting for the return of Hildebrand, as Stephen had required. The intruder thus elevated was so extremely ignorant, that Saint Peter Damian said, "I will acknowledge him as the true and very true pope, if he can explain a single verse of any psalm." He kept the pontificate nearly nine months. Subsequently, being deposed by Nicholas II., he died about the year 1059, and was buried at Saint Mary Major.

157. NICHOLAS II.—A. D. 1058.



HILDEBRAND, upon whom rested a great portion of the strength of the Church, was not wanting to his mission. He learned with disgust the election of Benedict X., whom so many authors consider an antipope. As we have seen, a tumultuous faction, led by the Roman oligarchy, had nominated and raised the intruder. Cardinal Hildebrand, returned from his legation, soon changed the face of affairs.

Gerard, bishop of Florence, born at the castle of Chevron, in Savoy, which then formed part of the kingdom of Burgundy, appeared to Hildebrand one worthy of the tiara.

A council was then held at Sienna, when the bishop of Florence was named pope; and authority was thus restored to worthy hands.

Gerard, who took the name of Nicholas II., received the crown in 1059.

He convoked a council of Tuscan and Lombard bishops at Sutri, to consider the intrusion of Benedict X., who was then condemned and deposed.

From Rome the Holy Father went to visit the March of Ancona, and as he passed through Spoleto made a promotion of cardinals.

The Nicolaites, defenders of the marriage of ecclesiastics, began to excite dangerous schisms. The Pope ordered rigorous measures against them. He made a law against the simoniacs, who profanely trafficked in sacred things. In a council held at Rome, at which one hundred and thirteen bishops were present, Nicholas confined to the cardinals exclusively the right to elect the pope. The inferior clergy and the people were simply to give assent.*

He next ordered a council to meet at Amalfi, to restore clerical reform, and the exact observance of ecclesiastical discipline. In this council the Normans were absolved from the excommunication which they had incurred. Richard, one of their leaders, received the principality of Capua; and to another leader, Robert Guiscard, the pope assigned Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily. These leaders took the oath of fidelity to the pope, as vassals and feudatories of the Roman Church. In the reign of Nicholas, a council again condemned Berengarius, who had returned to his errors (Novaes, ii., 254). At first he appeared to yield to the voice of the Church, and then resumed his errors, and aggravated them by the most horrible insults.

In 1060, Nicholas convoked another council, at which he granted to Aldred, bishop of York, for himself and his successors, the honor and use of the pallium. He confirmed to the holy English King Edward the privileges already granted to him by the Holy See.

The pope desired to revisit Florence, of which he had remained bishop; and died there, full of merits, virtues, wisdom, candor, and pontifical vigor. Every day in the year he washed the feet of a dozen poor men.

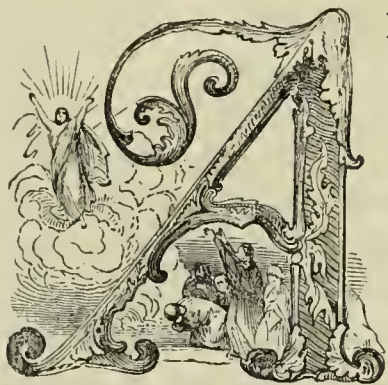
This pontiff governed the Church two years, six months, and twenty-five days. He died on the 22d of July, 1061, and was buried at the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant two months and nine days.

* See what is said on p. 32 as to the mode of election in the year 142.



158. ALEXANDER II.--A. D. 1061.



ANSELM BADAGIUS, of an illustrious family of Milan, was canon-regular of Saint John Lateran, and then created bishop of Lucca. By unanimous vote, the electors named him pope, on the 1st of October, 1061. At this period arose the custom of not waiting any approbation of the emperors. Moreover, at that moment there was no emperor; young Henry IV. was simply king of Germany. That point should be first established: we shall frequently have to revert to it when we have to describe the reign of Gregory VII. Holy Church at that time was as absolutely independent as it has remained to our own days, and as it was in the primitive days of Christianity. When this election became known to Agnes, mother of King Henry, both mother and son were very indignant that it had been made without their consent, and in revenge they set up an antipope, Cadaloüs, bishop of Parma, who was consecrated by the bishops of Vercelli and Placenza.

The legitimate electors of the true pope asked Anselm to assume the name of Alexander.

In a council of over a hundred bishops, held at Rome, Alexander ordered priests to celebrate but one Mass a day. At the same time it being the custom of the period to celebrate in the same morning the Mass for the dead, and another of the day, the pope repeals the custom, but without rejecting or condemning it. The reforming spirit of Hildebrand watched beside Alexander his friend. The pope confirmed the decrees of Leo IX. and Nicholas III. against incontinent clerics and simony, a vice which infected all the elections of that time.

In 1063, Count Roger gained a victory over the Saracens, and sent to the pope four camels, which were taken from the enemy. The Holy Father, in gratitude for the victory, sent the general a standard, blessed by his pontifical hands.

He granted to all who wrested from the hands of the infidels any portion of Sicily, a plenary indulgence. This single document, preserved by Malaterra, suffices to confound the bad faith of Luther. That enemy of the Church would not attentively examine the venerable custom of the popes, who, disposing of the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, and of the treasure of the Church, granted privileges to those who did great things in the cause of

God. Luther, taking no account of dates, or of the facts of history, or of the array of information which could not have escaped him, impiously maintained, in the sixteenth century, that indulgences were a modern invention of the popes, tending to despoil the faithful of their substance. And yet we have here an indulgence granted by Alexander II., a pontiff who reigned nearly five centuries before the so-called Reformation.

We have many of the letters of Alexander II., among which we remark that which he wrote to the French bishops on the unhappy condition of the Jews.* Many Christians, unworthy of their name, in a strange devotion massacred the unfortunate Jews, in hope of gaining eternal life by such abominable murders. Alexander praised the bishops of France for not having encouraged those cruelties against a people once dear to God, but now scattered over the world by his justice.

No less remarkable is the letter which this pope wrote to Harold, king of Norway; it proves the power which the pope then exerted in the interest of humanity, amid the snows of the remote north as well as amid the burning sands of the south.

“As you are as yet but little instructed,” wrote the pope, “either in the faith or in holy discipline, it is for us, who have the charge of the whole Church, to enlighten you by frequent instructions. But our distance from your kingdom preventing us from personally doing so, we have commissioned our legate, the archbishop of Bremen. Be assured, then, that by following his advice you render obedience to the Holy See itself.”

The Holy Father, in two councils that he assembled at Rome, and which were attended by many bishops, condemned the heresy of the *incestuous*, who, with the sanction of the Emperor Justinian, counted the degrees of consanguinity the same for marriage as in case of inheritance; that is to say, according to the civil law, and not according to the canon law. This constitution of Alexander has been vigorously assailed, not only by the heterodox Francis Ottman, Boëmer, Treutler, Wiserbach, and others, but also by some Catholics, including Cujas and Van Espen. Notwithstanding the pontifical decision, they maintain that for marriages the degrees of consanguinity should be counted according to the civil law, which in the *collateral* line does not count the stem, but only regards the degree in which two relatives of different branches are distant from each other; while, on the contrary, the canon law considers to what degree the relations are distant from the common stem. The arguments of the opponents of pope Alexander, on that point, were well refuted by Father Melchior Frederic.†

In 1751, to refute the same arguments anew, Joachim Sandonnini, pro-

* Novaes, ii., p. 110.

† *De Sanguinit. et Affinitat.*, questio 2.

fessor of canon law in the University of Pisa, published a very remarkable dissertation.

On the death of Edward, king of England, disputes arose between William, duke of Normandy, and Harold. Alexander sent to William the standard of Saint Peter. Victory crowned the efforts, the piety, and the religious confidence of William.

Alexander deeming another council necessary to purge the Church completely of simony and incontinent clerks, convoked one at Mantua, and attended it, in 1067. As he passed through Milan, he canonized Arialdo, who was martyred, on the 28th of June in the preceding year, by the simoniacs and the Nicolaites. In that council, Alexander was recognized as the true pontiff, and the antipope Cadaloüs condemned. The latter died in the following year, after having, a short time before, asked pardon of Alexander, saying, "You are the Universal Shepherd of the Church of God."

Alexander granted the use of the mitre to Wratislaus, king of Bohemia: that privilege was confirmed subsequently by Gregory VII. It is a favor rarely conferred upon a layman.

Alexander was the first to reform, in Italy, the regular canons of Saint Augustine, who were spread all over Europe, where they had four thousand five hundred and fifty monasteries, seven hundred of which were in Italy.

This pope governed eleven years, six months, and twenty-one days. He was a pontiff full of eloquence and learning. The two Pagi express their wonder that such a pontiff has not been canonized.

He died on the 21st of April, 1073, and was buried in the church of Saint John Lateran, where he had been canon, and where he had introduced the regular canons of Saint Augustine, who were confirmed in the same Basilica by Pascal II., in 1106, and by Anastasius IV., in 1154.

There was no vacancy in the Holy See.

Two days after the election of Alexander, the 28th of October, 1061, as is known, the faction of King Henry elected Pope Cadaloüs, bishop of Parma, who, according to some, assumed the name of Honorius, and according to others took none, which seems to diminish the gravity of his offence. We have already seen that after various vicissitudes, he was deposed by the Council of Mantua.

Under this reign flourished Saint Peter Damian, whose writings are still so celebrated.

Saint Peter Damian considered himself relieved of the administration of the See of Lucca, by his renunciation of it under Nicholas II., and under Alexander. He subsequently took in his letters only the title of monk. Soon after his retirement, he wrote letters to the cardinal-bishops, in which, considering them as judges and counsellors of the pope in every council,

he exhorts them to fly avarice, and not only seek no presents, but not even to receive those spontaneously offered. He dilates upon the malignant nature of avarice, which renders all good works useless. "Though the avaricious man," he exclaims,* "build churches, be assiduous in preaching, reconcile enemies, strengthen in the faith those who hesitate; though he offer the holy sacrifice daily; though he keep aloof from secular affairs; yet, so long as avarice rules him, it corrupts all his virtues."

Saint Peter Damian complains of the luxury of the ecclesiastics, in one of the writings in which he justifies his renunciation of the bishopric. "The day of modesty, mortification, and sacerdotal severity is gone. Myself even, when I wait upon you (he speaks to the pope and to Hildebrand), you hear forthwith a whole host of railleries, jokes, witticisms, questions out of number, words without utility, amidst a dissipation which quenches devotion and destroys good example. If we do not indulge in this, we are accused of harshness and of inhumanity. I am ashamed to mention still more disgraceful disorders, hunting, hawking, the passion of games of chance or chess, which transform a bishop into a buffoon. One day when I was travelling with the archbishop of Florence, I was told that he was playing a game of chess. I was shocked to the heart, and took an opportunity to show him how unbecoming such an amusement was in a man whose hand offers up the Body of our Lord, and whose tongue renders him the mediator between God and man, especially as the canons forbid all games to bishops. He replied that they forbid only games of chance; but I maintain that they apply to all. He at length yielded, and begged me to impose a penance upon him. I ordered him to recite the Psalter three times, to wash the feet of twelve poor men, and to give each of them a penny, and thus to repair the sin that he had committed with his hands and his tongue."

Under Pope Alexander II., Sigefroy, archbishop of Mentz, conducted to Jerusalem a great number of pilgrims. The whole numbered above seven thousand men. On reaching Constantinople they saluted the Emperor Constantine Lucas, and visited Saint Sophia. Having passed into Syria, they found themselves in Moslem territory, and the Arabs came in numbers to pillage the pious caravan. Fortunately, the Christians were assisted by the Turkish governor of Ramleh, who caused them to be escorted to the Holy City. There they were received by the venerable patriarch Sophronius, and led in procession to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to the sound of cymbals, attended by both Syrians and Latins. The pilgrims beheld with pain the churches which the Fatimite caliph Hakim had laid in ruin, and they gave considerable sums for their repair.

A few words must be said of the morals of Henry IV., king of Germany.

* *Opuscula Pet. Damiani*, c. 3.

"Henry, king of Germany," says Fleury (vol. iv., book lxi., p. 214), at the age of eighteen was already one of the most wicked of men. He had two or three concubines at once. In the year 1066, he had married Bertha, daughter of Otho, marquis of Italy, being scarcely fifteen years old. But as he married her by the advice of his councillors, and not from his own choice, he never loved that princess, and always sought to separate from her. He became cruel, even towards his confidants. His accomplices in crime became objects of his suspicion. He knew how to conceal his anger, and cut men off at the very moment when they least suspected him, and then to feign, even unto tears, his grief at their death.

"He sold bishoprics to the highest bidders, or to those who could best flatter his vices; and after he had thus sold a bishopric, if another competitor offered more money, or more acceptably praised his crimes, he deposed the former as a simoniac, and ordained the other in his place; whence it happened that many cities had two bishops at once, and both of them unworthy." Such was King Henry, and the sequel of this history will make him still more clearly known.

We now come to the commencement of the reign of the celebrated Hildebrand, Saint Gregory VII., the friend and immediate successor of Alexander II.

159. ST. GREGORY VII.—A. D. 1073.



It is well once more to review the situation of the Church. The tenth century had displayed its fury, its cowardice, its frantic and ignoble manners. The eleventh century had given the terrible spectacle of a deeper ignorance, combined with an unruly pride. The pontifical throne itself was subjected to indignities which filled all true Catholics with terror and despair. Yet the majority of the pontiffs had merited the honor of sitting in the chair of Saint Peter. Still, as we remarked, if there were shocking scenes to be deplored, there were fewer heresies to be uprooted. Those of Constantinople were at that time a kind of necessary ulcer, and they spread but little, in either Africa or Italy. Berengarius, it is true, scandalized France, but no sovereign supported him. That false spirit was in some sort periodically condemned at each council. At the same time, some firm and generous hearts, inexorable to evil, but



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intrepid in restoring the good and the wise, arose more especially among the monks. We have seen that many of them were the depositaries of the learning of the Fathers ; we have seen one order obtain almost always, as if by right, the pontifical tiara. Now again it is a son of Saint Benedict that wears it ; he must continue the work of the few reformers who have preceded him. Free from anxiety as to heresies, he hastens to take in hand the defence of morality. It was much that in the confusion of the sects that boasted of being Christians, God had not seemed to abandon his Church, or rather that he had only punished it in a mercy that promised a return to calm and peace. "God had preserved in his Church," says Bossuet,* "a character of authority that those heresies could not assume. She is catholic and universal ; she embraces all times ; she extends on all sides ; she is apostolic ; continuity, succession, the chain of unity, primitive authority belong to her ; all who leave her acknowledge her first, and cannot efface the stamp of novelty and rebellion. The very pagans regarded it as the stem, the whole from which the fragments were detached, the ever-living trunk, left intact, though branches were lopped off. Celsus, reproaching Christians with their divisions, remarked amid the schismatic churches, whose rise he beheld, one Church distinguished from all others, and always more vigorous, which for that reason he styled the Great Church.

"The true Church had a majesty and uprightness which heresies could neither imitate nor obscure. If the Arians were asked where the Catholic Church held her assemblies, and who were her bishops, they instinctively pointed to her. Heresies, do what they would, could not shake off their founder's name.† The Sabellians, Paulianists, Arians, Pelagians, and others, in vain took umbrage at the party name given them. The world, in spite of their wishes, used natural language, and designated each sect by him who gave it birth.

"As for the Great Church, the Catholic and Apostolic Church, it has never been possible to name any founder but Christ himself, or show its first pastors, without going back to the apostles, or give it any name but that which it took.

"What matters it that some branches are torn from the Church of Christ? The nourishing sap is not thereby lost ; new branches push forth. In fact, if we consider the history of the Church, we see that as often as a heresy declines, the Church repairs her losses, both by extending without and by increasing in light and piety within, while in obscure corners the discarded branches are seen withering away. The works of men have perished, in

* Discourse on Universal History, edition of 1844, p. 289.

† See, above, the excommunication of Cerularius. With what a host of denominations the legates overwhelm the revolted patriarch !

spite of the support of hell; the work of God subsists; the Church has triumphed over idolatry and all errors."

But heresies are not the only things to be feared; the Great Church has formidable dangers still. A family often suffers more from a domestic misfortune than from the loss of precious goods. If peace is lost in the bosom of a palace, what avail outward homage, the praise of men incompetent to preserve that action necessary to authority? Immorality can corrupt a situation most blessed by God. The wound must then feel the salutary instruments which isolate it from what remains sound; the hand of authority must repress its strength, and that hand is efficacious only when, prudent and deaf to human respect, it undertakes the cure, and in a spirit of forecast leads it to its term. If that term is passed, we see at least the point where reason would rest satisfied; the confines of truth, solidity, possible progress are attained, and wise laws are passed for the good of the nation; they have only to ask the solid establishment of religion, which claims eternal respect.

The Christian republic repulses no noble progress. The dreams of statesmen lead only to conquests, often useless in the uncertain game of war; sometimes contemptuously reject art and science, centre in a single hand the rule of numberless provinces, often sundered by diversity of interest, and tending to disunite and become again spontaneously small and feeble, or to oppress a neighbor and make it a tool, a helot, or a slave.

In this view, he who takes from none, who can give to all (is any gift greater than repose and assured conciliation?)—he who counsels mildly, who, if need be, represses with unforeseen strength—can and must hold an honorable place among men; and when he is the acknowledged chief of a true religion, what treasures of counsel, clemency, and light he can diffuse among the blinded! for all men at variance are in a manner blinded by passion, anger, preoccupation, ruined interest, low cupidity, maintained with a kind of satisfaction around them.

This state of grief, misunderstanding, anarchy even, once admitted, let us examine, with the facts before us, the duties imposed by circumstances on the pontiff whose history we are about to sketch, and the means which he employed not to be wanting to duty. We shall not exaggerate our praise, or censure without restraint. Our opinion shall rest on this political consideration: It was not Saint Gregory VII. who reigned alone from 1073 to 1086; it was with this pontiff the spirit of reaction of morality insulted in contempt of the dignity of conduct imposed on the clergy especially, and on kings;* it was the voice of nations stigmatizing bad example and avidity,

* Saint Peter Damian, a contemporary, says: "The world plunges into the abyss of all vices; the enormous mass of crime accumulating as it nears its end. Ecclesiastical discipline is almost gone; the holy canons are despised, and the ardor due to God's service is shown only in the pursuit of earthly goods. The lawful order of marriage is disregarded, and, to the shame of the

set up in the place of honor or finer sentiments ; it was an almost universal return to the devotedness of the primitive Church ; it was a general cry against usurpers, simoniacs, disturbers of the apostolic glory, who no longer disputing as to the separate or different natures in Christ, and finding themselves almost united in creed, believed while rending the Church, believed while violating its rights, without perceiving that heresies and the reign of rhetoricians was almost to be regretted, as at least the defenders of the Roman doctrine, those who may be called *animi dites* could refute and at times silence these false spirits. It was left for these men who abused intellect only to revive underhand the demolished arguments, and revive with new names a Marcion, Arius, Eutyches, and others whose names had had their time, and who were forced to assume the new titles of Severus, Priscillian, Apollinaris. Bossuet here leads us to an appreciation of one of the most substantial glories of the Great Church. Our enemies sought to revive the dead, incapable of resurrection, and shrank from among those who first raised the standard of revolt by wearing a rebel mitre.† We, on the other hand, with an army ever the same, bearing on our banners the names of Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Athanasius—to take here but a few in the first letter of the Catholic alphabet—we fought, drawn up in serried lines, without losing a man ; all seemed to have been said in controversy, it was exhausted. An intelligent scribe, in default of those generals who are rarely wanting, gained a glorious victory by citations analogous to the dispute, and by the aid of recollections scattered through all libraries, and traditions treasured up in all hearts.

Our bodily powers are weakened by fever. It produces always the same

Christian name, men live like Jews. We have long since renounced all virtue, and every pest of perversity has overwhelmed us like a deluge. The whole world is like a sea roused by a tempest. The churches are assailed by such frightful calamity, that like besieged Jerusalem, they are surrounded by all the armies of Babylon. Laymen seize the rights, the revenues, the possessions of the Church, and seize the substance of the poor, as they would the spoil of their enemies. In our days the world is but a theatre of intemperance, avarice, and lust ; and as it was once so divided as to obey at once three princes, so, alas ! mankind bows its servile neck to these three vices, and basely obeys their laws." Aurelian de Courson, from whose *Histoire des Peuples Bretons* (ii., p. 164) I cite this, adds : " Such disorders called for the influence of the clergy in the temporal order. Prince and people felt the want of an order, exercising the greatest authority in society by its light and virtue, and in some sense the only support of order. Kings, threatened with constant revolts of powerful vassals, endeavored to extend the power of the clergy ; for in the principles of Christianity princes are the images of God on earth, and the depositaries of his authority. The preaching of this doctrine among nations full of energy, owning no check but that of religion, was in the Middle Ages the only safeguard of kings. (Bernardi. *Origin of French Legislation*, lib. i., cap. x., p. 74) The Carlovingsians were so convinced of the necessity of this intervention by the clergy in temporal affairs, that we can assert, without fear of being taxed with exaggeration, that the main object of their policy was to multiply ecclesiastical seigneuries in the parts of the empire most difficult to hold. (*Ib.*, p. 165.) These are privileges not to be forgotten in reading the life of Gregory VII.

* De Maistre, *The Pope*, vol. i., p. 79.

agitation, the same burning, the same tremor. There are plants, and always the same, which calm this agitation, extinguish this burning, and quiet these tremors. But let us not defer the solemn account that we have to render.

Gregory VII. (originally named Hildebrand), born at Soane, a town of Tuscany, was the son* of Benzo, of the illustrious family of the Aldobrandeschi, one of the most powerful in Sienna, and possessing numbers of towns and castles. Others, and still more numerous authors, make Hildebrand the son of a carpenter in that same town of Soane. It is very certain that at an early age he entered a Benedictine abbey, where study made him one of the most learned monks of that age. His merits led to his appointment as sub-deacon in the Roman Church by Saint Leo IX., like himself a Benedictine.† Victor II., another Benedictine, to honor one who had become an honor to his order, sent Hildebrand as legate to France. Nicholas II. showed his appreciation of the ability, eloquence, and ecclesiastical learning of the monk of Soane by creating him cardinal-archdeacon of Saint Mary in Dominica, in 1059. He was to lack no suffrage that would hasten that final and just elevation which was of such happy augury for the interests of Catholicity. In 1061, Alexander II. appointed Cardinal Hildebrand vice-chancellor of the Roman Church. Finally, while the funeral of Alexander was performed in the Vatican, the clergy and people proclaimed Hildebrand as pope, and the cardinals united in confirming the choice. Hildebrand alone opposed it. His letter on the occasion is well known; it is included in the collection of Labbe (t. x., col. 6, p. 7). Hildebrand was then sixty years of age.

Gregory hastened, says Novaes, to notify the emperor of his election,‡ not for the purpose of awaiting his confirmation (that abuse had ceased from his predecessor's election), but in order that the emperor should prevent the carrying out of that election, which Gregory urged the emperor to oppose.

Here we must for a moment pause to consider this recital of Novaes. It was not the *emperor* that Gregory addressed himself; for at that time there was no emperor. Agnes, the empress, widow of the Emperor Henry III., governed the empire as far as she was permitted by Henry IV., who was simply king of Germany. That prudent woman, who was only titular empress, had no direct right, well or ill founded, that an emperor could exert at Rome to influence the election of a pope. Novaes, then, is in error. Feller is mistaken also, on this point; but so many historians have similarly been mistaken before Novaes and Feller, that we will not dwell with much detail upon this historical irregularity. A simple note from an excellent work that we owe to one of the most learned and pious men of our time,

* Novaes, ii., p. 267.

† Ibid., p. 268.

‡ Ibid., p. 269.

Gosselin, director of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice,* will throw sufficient light upon this fact. That writer says: "According to the custom and public law of Germany, the choice that the German nobles made of the king of Germany, did not properly confer upon him the imperial dignity; he was not to take the title of emperor, until recognized and crowned by the pope. This last formality had never taken place with respect to Henry, as he had never been crowned by a legitimate pope, but only by the anti-pope Guibert, who styled himself Clement the Third. Henry, therefore, was not, properly speaking, *emperor*, but only king of Germany and *emperor elect*. It is in that sense that the Saxon lords say that *Rome has not yet given him the royal dignity*."

We resume the course of our narrative. King Henry IV. sent Gregory, bishop of Vercelli, to be present at the consecration of Pope Gregory VII.

The newly elected Pope was ordained priest in the Basilica of the Lateran, and then consecrated in the Vatican, on the 29th of June, 1073. He is the first pope who, being only a deacon, was then ordained priest. He took the name of Gregory, in memory of Gregory VI., who had been his preceptor.

The new pontiff directed his earliest cares to the suppression of simony and the heresy of the Nicolaites. Thence arose that fatal difference between the priesthood and the emperor, which lasted more than forty years. Henry, king of Germany, *emperor elect*, but *uncrowned*, pretended to give investiture to bishops by sending them the ring and crozier.† Gregory resolved to suppress that abuse, which the partisans of the emperor termed the *regalia*.

The pope, grounding his views upon the authority of former popes and upon the sacred canons, determined, in a council held at Rome in 1074—in order to oppose a scandal given by the Nicolaites, and of which the clergy of Milan rendered themselves guilty—that no clerk could take a wife; that holy orders should be conferred on such only as would profess perpetual celibacy, and that no married man should assist at the priest's Mass.‡

When, amidst the great affairs which he has to narrate, a historian meets with a document by the aid of which the personal and secret feelings of the principal person in the narrative become known, this confidential revelation throws a bright light on the whole narrative.

In a letter of Gregory to Hugo, abbot of Cluny, he opens his heart to his friend, and speaks to him with the most tender confidence:

"Would," he writes, "that I could make known to you the full extent of

* *Power of the Pope in the Middle Ages*.

† Novæus, ii., p. 270.

‡ Letter to Otho, bishop of Constance: *Labbe, Concil.*, tome x., col. 316. See also Baronius, *ad annum* 1074, No. 40.

the tribulations which assail me, and of the labors, incessantly renewed, which overwhelm me, and crush me beneath their daily increasing weight.* Many a time have I asked our divine Saviour to deign to remove me from this world, or to permit me to become useful to our common mother. An unspeakable pain and extreme melancholy seize me as I behold the Eastern Church, which the spirit of darkness has separated from the Catholic faith. Looking to the west, to the south, and to the north, I can only discover a few bishops who have entered the episcopacy by canonical ways, and who govern their flock in a spirit of charity, and not with the despotic pride of the powers of the earth. Among the secular princes, I know none who prefers the glory of God to his own glory, and justice to self-interest. As for those among whom I live, the Romans, Lombards, and Normans, I often tell them that they are worse than Jews and pagans. When, at length, I revert to myself, I find myself so overwhelmed beneath the weight of my own actions, that I see no hope of salvation, save only in the mercy of Christ; for, if I had not the hope of a better life, and the prospect of being useful to the Church, God knoweth that I would no longer abide in Rome, where I feel myself as though in chains. It is thus that, divided between a grief daily renewed within me, and a hope, alas! only too distant, I am assailed by a thousand tempests, and my life is but one continual agony."

In a second council, held during the Lent of 1075, it was decreed that whoever had received, in consideration of any present, any grade or office of holy orders, could no longer exercise his ministry in the churches; and that all those who received from laymen the investiture of a church should be excommunicated, as well as the lay donors. King Henry showed irritation at these decrees: Gregory had imparted the decree to him, and wished entire obedience. The prince, whose violence increased, meditated vengeance for what he called an insult to his authority. He secretly prepared a conspiracy against the life of the pope, and he excited to rebellion several German bishops and clerks, who had been mentioned in the decree as being habitually guilty of simony and incontinence. Gregory replied that, on his arrival in Italy, having been appointed to the administration of several religious houses, he had restored order and regularity in them, and that now, since he had been named pope,† it was his duty to interfere wherever he discerned evil. It is further stated, that many of the accused clerks asked if it was required that they should live like the angels, and protested that they would rather renounce the priesthood than their wives! Oh, shame upon those God-forsaken times!

We describe scenes of the middle ages, which are not to be separated from

* I find this letter in the *History of Pope Gregory VII. and of his Time*, by J. Voigt.

† Novaes, ii., p. 271.

‡ *Italie*, p. 71.

the actual facts. This the reader should bear in mind, and also the circumstances in which the Holy See had been placed during eight centuries;* and the civil disorders of Rome, where it was proposed to assassinate the pope; and the hateful cynicism of the dissenters; and the encouraging fidelity of the rest of Christendom; and the excitements of those who regretted the imperial authority; and, finally, the indomitable character of a reformer, shocked in his views of order and regular discipline.

Gregory VII. sent legates to the king to request him to repair to Rome, with a definite menace of excommunication if he should refuse. He redoubled his invitations when he learned that a conspiracy existed in Rome itself, supported by the king's ambassadors. Henry resolved to give satisfactory explanations as concerned the disorders of his clergy, and promised to destroy the abuses of simony; but he ordered the conspirators to effect their purpose.

Quintius, son of the prefect of Rome, on Christmas night, 1075, burst in with his soldiers upon Gregory VII., who was calmly celebrating Mass at the High Altar of Saint Mary Major. The accomplices of Henry recalled the times of Constans II., and excited the rage of another Calliopas. The pope, severely wounded, was stripped of his pontifical habits, and ordered to prison. Without a word, and head erect, he followed the assassins, who marched before him. But it was not to be with Gregory as it had been with Martin. The people, faithful to their pontiff, learning that he was imprisoned in a tower, rush to arms to deliver him.

The multitude soon enter the tower in which the pope was confined; then rushed to the house of the assassin Quintius, who was brought before the pope and compelled to fall on his knees and ask pardon for his odious crime. Gregory pardoned him, and only imposed, as a penance, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He then returned to Saint Mary Major, where he once more began the holy sacrifice. As though he had forgotten the scene of which he had been the victim,* he recited the prayers in a calm voice, amidst the general emotion, and gave the benediction to his liberators.

* "The Church," says a celebrated writer (*Hist. Générale de la Civilization en Europe*, 3 ed., pp. 86-90), "was a regularly constituted society, having its principles, its rule, and its discipline, and feeling an ardent need of extending its influence and conquering its conquerors. Never has any society made such efforts to act on all around it, and to assimilate to itself the outer world, as the Christian Church did from the fifth to the ninth century. It in some sort attacked barbarism at both ends, to civilize while it conquered." To carry out the idea presented by that homely but expressive phrase, *both ends*, he might have said, "from the fifth to the eleventh century," for, in the supposition of the author, who says "*from the fifth to the ninth century*," what becomes of that *tenth* century, which Baronius so well terms "*century of iron, century of lead, and dark age?*" But in stopping at the ninth century, the sentiment of the profound and judicious author was none the less to recall, in their entirety, the centuries which have been called *barbarous*.

† Novaes, ii., p. 72.

Better endowed than the tenth century, which amidst so many crimes had seen only solitary virtues, the eleventh century, though still witnessing horrible crimes, saw great characters, worthy of the admiration of ages most honorable to humanity.* Gregory made it an invariable rule to act at the outset with gentleness. "No one," says he, "reaches the highest rank at a single spring; great edifices rise gradually." Certain of his strength, he chose to employ conciliation. He especially sought to convince Henry, but the excesses in which that prince wallowed were so abominable that his subjects in all parts, and especially the great, revolted against him. In 1076, Gregory assembled a council, which pronounced the excommunication of the king, with all the terrible consequences attendant upon it.

History shows several emperors of the East excommunicated by preceding popes;—Arcadius, by Innocent I.; Anastasius, by Saint Symmachus; and Leo the Isaurian, by Gregory II. and Gregory III.

The decree of the same council set forth that the throne vacated by Henry was adjudged to Rudolph, duke of Suabia, already created king of Germany by the electors of the empire.

Henry burst into great fury on learning the proceedings of the council, and he had the audacity to address to the pope the following letter:

"HENRY, KING BY THE GRACE OF GOD, TO HILDEBRAND:

"When I expected from you the treatment of a father, and was obedient to you in all things, to the displeasure of my subjects, I learned that you were acting as one of my greatest enemies. You have deprived me of the respect due me from your See, and by your evil arts you have endeavored to deprive me of the kingdom of Italy; you have not scrupled to lay hands on bishops, and treated them with indignity. As I overlooked these excesses, you took my patience for weakness, and you dared to ask me that you should die or deprive me of my kingdom and life.† To repress such insolence, not by words but by acts, I have assembled all the nobles of my kingdom, as they begged that I would. There was discovered what fear had previously kept unsaid, and it has been proved, as you will see by their letters, that you cannot remain on the Holy See. I have followed their advice, which seemed to me to be just—I renounce you as pope, and, as a patrician of Rome, command you to leave the See.‡

"Such is the letter that we address to the monk Hildebrand, and that we

* Among the young generals who served under Henry IV. we cannot forget one of his relatives, who acquired then a deplorable reputation. When we meet with him again he will be *the captain who freed the Holy Sepulchre of Christ*.

† Paul Bernried (*Vie de Grégoire VII.*) says of this letter that it is full of forgeries.

‡ The *Patricians of Rome* belonged to a time far distant from that in which Henry thus expressed himself and claimed their title.

send to you, that you may know our will, and that your love may do what it owes us, or rather owes to God and us. Rise up against him, then, my faithful subjects! And let him who is the most faithful to me be the first to condemn him! We do not bid you shed his blood, for, after his deposition, life will be harder to him than death; but compel him to descend, if he refuse to do so, and place in the apostolic chair another elected by us, with the common consent of the bishops, who can and will heal the wounds that this one has inflicted upon the Church.”*

A Parmesan cleric, named Roland, was appointed to bear this letter to Rome, with the other decrees of the *Conciliabula*. A second synod had been assembled. The bishops met in the Church of the Lateran.† The pope occupied an elevated seat. Roland, entering the assembly, announced that he was sent by the king of Germany, and that he came to the synod by his order; and then, turning towards the pope, he said: “The king, my master, and all the Ultramontane and Italian bishops, order you immediately to renounce the throne of Saint Peter and the government of the Roman Church, which you have usurped; for it is not just to raise you to a dignity so eminent without the approbation of the bishops and the imperial confirmation.”‡ And then, turning to the clergy, Roland thus continued: “My brethren, I have to announce to you that you must present yourselves before the king at the approaching Feast of Pentecost, to receive a pope from his appointment, as this one is now known to be not a pope, but a devouring wolf.”

At these words, John, bishop of Porto, rose hastily from his seat and exclaimed, “Seize him!” The new prefect of Rome, his soldiers and other nobles, drew their swords and rushed at him. They would have killed him, had not the pope descended from his throne, and covering Roland with his body, saved the wretch’s life. Gregory calmed the excited spirits, and recommended them to have moderation in their anger. His words on that memorable occasion were: “My children, let not the peace of the Church be disturbed. Behold, we live in those dangerous times spoken of by Scripture, when men shall be lovers of themselves, greedy, proud, and disobedient;§ it is necessary that scandals come: and the Lord hath said that he sent us as sheep among wolves. We must be wise as serpents, but also mild as doves. We must hate no one, but bear with the madmen who will violate the law of God. For a long time we have lived in peace. It is the will of God that the harvest shall again be watered with the blood of the saints. Let

* But Henry forgets here that Quintius had attempted the life of the pope, and that the latter, when saved, gave his benediction to his liberators with a hand bound up in strips of a surplice hastily torn up to stanch the blood.

† *Voigt*, p. 375.

‡ To speak regularly, the word should be *royal*, not *imperial*.

§ 2 Timothy, i.

us be prepared for martyrdom, if need be, for the love of God, and let nothing separate us from the charity of Jesus Christ."

Before the election of Rudolph, Gregory had declared that he would repair to Germany. King Henry, on his part, promised to come into Italy. The pope left Rome with an escort furnished by the countess of Tuscany, daughter of Boniface, marquis of Tuscany. The march of Gregory was a triumph.* Amidst that escort he reached Vercelli. It was feared by some that Henry would make his appearance at the head of an army, but he had not that intention. The pope, nevertheless, deemed it best to retire into the fortress of Canossa, belonging to the Countess Matilda, in order that he might be secure from all violence.

Henry had spent nearly two months at Spire in a profound and melancholy solitude. The weight of the excommunication oppressed him with a thousand griefs. Weary of that state of uncertainty, and still, as ever, tricky and hypocritical, he conceived the idea of winning over the pope by an apparent piety, and of satisfying his requirements by a brief humiliation; moreover, the decree of excommunication declared that it should be withdrawn if the king appeared before the pope within a year from the date of the decree. The winter was severe. After running a thousand dangers, the king and his queen arrived at Turin, and proceeded to Placentia. Thence the prince announced that he would proceed to Canossa, by way of Reggio.

The Countess Matilda† met him with Hugo, bishop of Cluny. She wished to restore harmony between the pope and the king. Gregory seemed to desire that Henry should return to Augsburg, to be judged by the Diet. The envoys of the king at Canossa replied: "Henry does not fear being judged; he knows that the pope will protect innocence and justice; but the anniversary of the excommunication is at hand, and if the excommunication be not removed, the king, *according to the laws of the land*, will lose his right to the crown.‡ The prince humbly requests the Holy Father to raise the interdict, and to restore him to the communion of the Church. He is ready to give every satisfaction that the pope shall require; to present himself at such place and at such time as the pope shall order; to meet his accusers, and to commit himself entirely to the decision of the head of the Church."

* *Histoire de Grégoire VII.*, by Voigt, translated by M. Jager, p. 418.

† See *Histoire de Grégoire VII.*, cited above.

‡ In an excellent note on this passage, M. Jager says:—"Here we have an indisputable proof of the effect of the excommunication. We see that, according to the public law then prevailing, it implied deposition, when he who had incurred it failed to be reconciled to the Church within the space of a year. The historian Lambert expressly says on this occasion: *Ut si ante hanc diem excommunicatione non absolvatur, deinceps, juxta palatinas leges, indignus regio honore habeatur.*" To this we add: to be *indignus regio honore*—unworthy of the kingly title—included unworthiness to bear the title of *emperor elect*, and so Henry was neither king nor emperor elect.

Henry, says Voigt, having received permission to advance, was not long on the way. The fortress had triple inclosures; Henry was conducted into the second; his retinue remained outside the first. He had laid aside the insignia of royalty; nothing announced his rank. All day long, Henry, bare-headed, clad in penitential garb, and fasting from morning till night, awaited the sentence of the sovereign pontiff. He thus waited during a second and a third day. During the intervening time he had not ceased to negotiate. On the morrow, Matilda interceded with the pope on behalf of Henry, and the conditions of the treaty were settled. The prince promised to give satisfaction to the complaints made against him by his subjects, and he took an oath,* in which his sureties joined. When those oaths were taken, the pontiff gave the king the benediction and the apostolic peace, and celebrated Mass.

After the consecration of the host, the pope called Henry and all present, and still holding the host in his hand, said to the king: "We have received letters from you and those of your party, in which we are accused of having usurped the Holy See by simony, and of having, both before and since our episcopacy, committed crimes which, according to the canons, excluded us from holy orders.

"Although we could justify ourselves by the testimony of those who have known our manner of life from our childhood, and who were the authors of our promotion to the episcopacy, nevertheless, to do away with all kind of scandal, we will appeal to the judgment, not of men, but of God. Let the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, that we are about to take, be this day a proof of our innocence. We pray the Almighty to dispel all suspicion, if we are innocent, and to cause us suddenly to die, if we are guilty."

Then turning towards the king, Gregory again spoke: "Dear son, do also as you have seen us do. The German princes have daily accused you to us of a great number of crimes, for which those nobles maintain that you ought to be interdicted, during your whole life, not only from royalty and all public function, but also from all ecclesiastical communion, and from all commerce of civil life. They urgently demand that you be judged, and you know how uncertain are all human judgments. Do, then, as we advise, and if you feel that you are innocent, deliver the Church from this scandal, and yourself from this embarrassment. Take this other portion of the host, that this proof of your innocence may close the lips of your enemies, and engage us to be your most ardent defender, to reconcile you with the nobles, and forever to terminate the civil war."

This address astonished the king. Going apart with his confidants, he tremblingly consulted as to what he could do to avoid so terrible a test.† At

* See it at length in Voigt, p. 431.

† Voigt, p. 433.

length, having somewhat recovered his calmness, he said to the pope, that as those nobles who remained faithful were, for the most part, absent, as well as those who accused him, the latter would give little faith to what he might do in his own justification, unless it were done in their presence. For that reason, he asked that the test should be postponed to the day of the sitting of the general diet, and the pope consented.

When the pope had finished Mass, he invited the king to dinner, treated him with much attention, and dismissed him in peace to his own people, who had remained outside the castle. Henry, on his return to his nobles, was not well received. Henry, as Voigt shows, soon became alarmed at their disapprobation, which originated only in a feeling of wounded complicity and ambitious views, which could not hope for success after the victory gained by Gregory.

Henry, hearing himself accused of weakness, thought to deliver himself from so much annoyance by a bold perjury; and he endeavored to draw Gregory and Matilda into a snare. Warned by faithful friends, they did not visit the king as had been agreed; and that new wrong determined Gregory to suspend his departure for the Diet of Augsburg. No one, not even the pious Matilda, now dared to speak of a reconciliation.

Henry held at Brescia, in 1080, a pseudo council of the bishops devoted to him; and there he caused Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, an avowed enemy of Gregory, to be elected as pope; and he deposed Gregory, although he was recognized as the legitimate pope by the whole Catholic world, with the exception of the bishops in revolt, under the direction of Henry. On learning this, Gregory celebrated at Rome, in the year 1080, a regular council, in which he again excommunicated Henry, and especially the antipope, whom he would never absolve.

Thus arose the schism known as the *Henricians*, who were condemned by various councils. Those sectaries maintained that the emperor ought to exercise the highest authority over the election of the pontiffs and the bishops, and that no one could be recognized as legitimate pontiff or legitimate bishop, unless he had been elected by the *emperor* or by the *king of Germany*;* and that no account was to be taken of excommunication pronounced against kings. This schism ended under the reign of Calixtus II., about 1120.

From the troubles during the reign of Henry IV. and Henry V., arose the custom of sending to Rome Ambassadors of Obedience.†

The Holy Father also at this time excommunicated Boleslaus II., king

* The Henricians added this clause, because they plainly saw that in the public law of the time, which they wished to modify to their own liking, a king of Germany was not an emperor complete.

† A dissertation on this point, by Christian Gottlieb Buder, appeared at Jena, in 1737.

of Poland, known to have assassinated Saint Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow. At this time, also, Demetrius, king of Russia, declared his states tributaries of the Holy See, which course had been taken by many other princes, as is observed by Muratori.*

Berengarius led a miserable and despised life in France, and for the fourth time begged and received permission to abjure. He finally died penitent in 1088. Gregory now received, as fiefs of the Church, Tuscany and Lombardy, offered to him by the Countess Matilda. The donation was confirmed by her in 1102, under Pope Pascal II.

The actions of that great Catholic princess, who has so well deserved of the Church, have been described by Francis-Maria Fiorentini, chief physician of Pope Urban VIII. (Lucca, 4to, 1642). The merit of that work has been attested by Cardinal Sforza Pallavicini, Cosmo della Rena, Cardinal Bona, Luc Holstenius, Anthony Pagi, Charles du Cange, Louis Anthony Muratori, Geoffry William Leibnitz, Father Andrew Rota, and by all who have had occasion to speak of the pious daughter of Boniface, marquis of Tuscany. The enemies of the sovereign pontiff have accused her of having been too intimately connected with Gregory VII.;† but the virtue of that pope, and that of Matilda, have caused all impartial historians to treat that accusation as a mere calumny. Not a fact, not an indication, has ever justified it. The truth of the Countess Matilda's donation has never been doubted; it is one of the most authentic titles claimed by the pontiffs. But this title itself was the subject of discord. Matilda, we may here say, possessed Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, a part of Umbria, the Duchy of Spoleto, Verona, almost all now known as *the Patrimony of Saint Peter*, from Viterbo to Orvieto, with a part of the March of Ancona.

Pope Pascal II. wishing to take possession of those States, Henry IV. opposed him, on the ground that most of the fiefs given by the countess were appendages of the imperial authority. These rival pretensions were a new spark of war between the papacy and the empire. But at length it was necessary to yield to the Holy See a portion of the heritage of Matilda.‡

Gregory, following in the footsteps of Alexander II., succeeded in inducing Alphonso VI. to introduce the Roman rite into Spain, which had hitherto followed only the Gothic rite, so called because introduced in Spain by the Gothic kings. Yet the latter rite was maintained in six parishes of Toledo, from respect to its antiquity.

Henry continued to persecute Gregory, whom he several times besieged in Rome. The pope was delivered by the aid of Robert Guiscard; but

* *Script. rer. Ital.*, tome iii., p. 367.

† Feller, iv., p. 370.

‡ *Memoria della Gran Contezza*, &c., da Gian-Domenico Mansi, della Congregazione della Madre di Dio: Lucca, 1756, 4to. Many other works treat on this extensive subject.

Henry soon returned, and the pope was obliged to retire to Salerno. Worn out with grief, fatigue, and infirmities, he died there on the 25th of May, 1085, uttering these words: "We have loved justice and hated iniquity, and for this we die in exile." He had governed, as an intrepid defender of ecclesiastical liberty, twelve years, one month, and four days.

On account of the tribulations that pursued this holy pontiff, the Bollandists say (vol. vi., June, p. 197) that he died *martyr and confessor*. He was interred beneath the dome of Salerno, where Archbishop Marsigli Colonna, in 1573, found the body of the pontiff miraculously preserved, and still arrayed in the pontifical vestments. In 1578, that archbishop placed on the tomb an epitaph, which may be found in Father Jacob's *Biblioth. Pontific.* Benedict XIII., in 1728, ordered the office of this saint to be celebrated in the whole Church. This office was prohibited in France in 1729, and in Flanders in 1730; but they admit the Roman Martyrology, in which the name of Gregory VII. was placed on the 25th of May, 1584, by order of Gregory XIII.

A few reflections may be made on this remarkable reign.

M. Jager truly observes, that, in his Ep. ix., 21, Gregory expressed the one idea which engrossed his genius during his entire life. "We desire but one thing, that the impious repent and return to their Creator. We have but one desire, that the Church, oppressed and overturned everywhere, resume her ancient splendor and solidity. We have but one object, that God be glorified in us; and we with our brethren, even with those who persecute us, so that we all may merit to arrive at eternal life. Regain courage, then, conceive a lively hope, fix your gaze upon the standard of the eternal King, where he says to us: *In patience possess your souls.*" (Luke ii.) Voigt pronounces the following judgment upon Gregory: "When in the bosom of prosperity a man shows himself great, noble, and elevated, the world honors, venerates, and admires him; and if his prosperity continues to the end of his career and to his death, his name is transmitted to posterity.

"Even should his work not be completed, even should death surprise him in the midst of his struggle, we look upon his career as complete, because our imagination supplies all that remained for him to do. But when a man, thrown amidst tumult and disorder, and exposed to the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune, resists firmly, and, strong in conscience and animated by faith and convictions, remains calm and unruffled, suffers with resignation, and supports himself upon the anchor that God has placed in his heart, when all the world has risen against him, such a man becomes the marvel of his age.

"Even the enemies of Gregory," says Voigt in conclusion, "are obliged to confess that the ruling thought of the pontiff (the independence of the Church) was indispensable for the propagation of religion and the refer-

mation of society, and that to that end it was necessary to break the fetters which bound the Church to the State, to the great detriment of religion. It was necessary for the Church to be an entirety, a unit, in itself and by itself, a divine institution, whose influence, salutary to all men, could be arrested by no prince of the world. The Church is God's society, of which no mortal can claim the goods or the privileges, and of which no prince can, without crime, usurp the jurisdiction. As there is but one God and one Faith, so there is but one Church with one Head.* The letters of Gregory are full of this thought; and in the conviction that he was called to realize that thought, he labored with all his might.†

"Is he to be reproached for having nurtured that noble idea? Can the idea itself be deemed strange and exaggerated? Either assertion would be unjust and not very sensible.

"The Genius of Despotism died with the Asiatic empire. The stirring republics of Athens and of Rome had disappeared. Every thing around Gregory tended towards a monarchy; every thing moulded itself in that direction. Each endeavored at first to be something for himself, in order to become something for all. The dukes surrounded the emperors, and the princes the dukes; then came the vassals and the feudatories, who ranged themselves around their respective lords. Why, then, should the Church, essentially monarchical, not have labored to the same end? Why reproach the popes with having had the spirit of their epoch, and obeying the general impulse?

"For Gregory not to have had the idea which animated him, it would have been necessary for him to pass through the school of our modern civilization. Now that was not the case. He lived in a gross age, an age of iron, which had nothing in common with our age. So the acts of that age cannot be judged according to our principles and our manners. Before all, we must represent to ourselves the age and the circumstances in which Gregory lived, the situation and the constitution of the Church, its connection with the State, and its disorders. We must seriously inquire into the morals and habits of the clerical body, its spirit, its tendency, its rudeness, its degeneracy, its forgetfulness of all duty and of all discipline, and its ignorance side by side with its pride. A clear idea must be formed of the situation of Germany, and the character of Henry be fully comprehended; then, and not till then, can we judge Gregory. By following that course, by considering his ideas, his acts, and his wishes, relatively to his century, we arrive, if free from prejudice, at a judgment very different from that formed by

* Jager sagaciously remarks that that expression is significant in the mouth of a Protestant.

† No history is more certain or reliable than that which is founded upon the letters of him whose life we write. *Baronius, ad annum 1043, xxvii.*

men who persist in prescribing to the pontiff, for his rule of thought and act, the views and the ideas of their own age.

“To attain the end that he proposed to himself, Gregory could not act otherwise than he did; for, in fact, to be pope one must act as pope; he had to act differently from the multitude, differently from his predecessors, if he could raise himself above all, and be a really great man.”

“If Gregory had chosen means little adapted to realize his plan; if he had not studied the circumstances, or kept account of his epoch; if he had committed serious faults in execution, his prudence and judgment, and not his heart, might be accused. But it is precisely his ability that is censured, without admitting the goodness of his heart. The genius of Gregory embraced, and could not but embrace, the whole Christian world, because the independence of the Church was a general idea. His action was necessarily energetic, because he acted *in his age*. His faith and his conviction could not but be as they were, for the course of events had given them birth.”

We will add, he was assailed with fragments of rock, and he replied with mountains, and Pelion heaped on Ossa. Does not such language in a Protestant predict the progress which will henceforth be made? Does not such language in a Protestant foreshadow the progress which truth is yet to make, as well as betoken a return to the sound principles of Catholicity?

We will now cite some of the reflections found in the learned work of Gosselin. Fenelon, he says, first among Catholic writers brought forward the opinion which explains, by the international law of the middle ages, the conduct of the pope and of councils in deposing temporal princes.* “We assert even that Fenelon’s firm tone in discussing the subject is the real mainspring of the researches made of late years to establish this important point.”

Of the maxims of the times of Gregory VII., Gosselin remarks, most profoundly, that he did not push them any further than his predecessors; the force of circumstances obliged him to give them a more rigorous application.

“After citing a number of facts, he adds: “From this it results that the power exercised over sovereigns by popes and councils in the middle ages, cannot be regarded as a criminal usurpation of ecclesiastical power over the rights of sovereigns. It is certain, in fact, that the popes and councils who have exercised this power have only followed and applied maxims universally admitted, not only by the people, but by the most enlightened and virtuous men.”†

* Gosselin, *Power of the Pope in the Middle Ages*.

† *Ib.* He refers to Bossuet, Fleury, Pfeffel, &c.

We cannot impress too deeply on our mind the sound and solid arguments of Gosselin. His work is a monument of clear logic, polished discussion, one of the best answers to the wild attacks of many modern political writers, to whom the middle ages are a bugbear.

De Maistre's work on "the Pope," comes as a reserve to give the last blow. It is the thundering legion of Marcus Aurelius. We have just seen the views of the conciliatory Voigt and circumspect Gosselin. The illustrious Piedmontese lays down this general rule: "The popes having never ceased, during eighteen centuries, deciding questions of every kind with a prudence and justice truly miraculous—in this, that their decisions invariably show themselves exempt from the moral character and passions of the oracle, who is a man—a few equivocal facts cannot be admitted against the popes, without violating every law of probability, which nevertheless rules the world."

De Maistre fears no difficulty. He accepts and meets the most malicious definitions of his adversaries, just as they present them. "Popes sometimes contended with sovereigns, never with sovereignty. The very act by which they absolved subjects from the oath of allegiance, declared sovereignty inviolable. The popes taught nations that no human power could reach the sovereign, whose authority was suspended only by a divine power; so that their anathemas, instead of derogating from the rigor of Catholic maxims as to the inviolability of sovereigns, served, on the contrary, but to give them a new sanction in the eyes of the people.

"In the eleventh century the popes were universally acknowledged as delegates of God, the source of sovereignty. The greatest princes sought, on consecration, a sanction, and so to speak, confirmation of their right. The first of these sovereigns in those ancient ideas, the German emperor, was to be consecrated by the pope in person. He was deemed to hold his august character from him, and be truly emperor only by the imposition of his hand."

"Papal excommunication worked no detriment to sovereignty in the minds of the people.* On the contrary, by repressing it on some points, by rendering it less fierce and crushing, by alarming it for its own unseen good, they rendered it more venerable. They banished from its brow the old mark of the beast, to substitute that of regeneration. They made it sacred, to make it inviolable. A new and great proof amid a thousand, that the pontifical power has ever been conservative.

"Now, it is for princes to reflect: the power which hampered their predecessors a thousand years ago, but which sanctified the sovereign character,

* *The Pope*, i., p. 233.

became an object of fear. They fell into the well-laid snare : they have been dragged down to the ground ; they are mere men."

De Maistre is right. When kings are no longer needed, they are arraigned for a battle lost, or even a battle won ; they are expelled, and this great act of chastisement is attributed to the people, who act as sovereign, and who, under other aspects and under other forms, excommunicate those whom they wish to replace by others. "Hear Voltaire," says De Maistre—"Voltaire, whose native good sense makes us regret that passion so often obscured it : 'From all the history of the period, it follows that society among the Western nations had few certain rules ; that the States had few laws, and the Church sought to repair the want.'"

De Maistre continues : "Among all the pontiffs called to this great work, Saint Gregory VII. rises majestically. Gregory did not presume on himself, when he assumed, with an inherent consciousness of power, the mission of instituting European sovereignty, then young and unchecked in its passions. The pope wrote these remarkable words : "We are mindful, with the Divine assistance, to furnish the emperors, kings, and other sovereigns, those spiritual arms which they need to quell in their hearts the furious tempests of pride." As if to say, "I teach them that a king is not a tyrant." And who, but for Gregory, would have taught them ?

Maimbourg, in his *History of the Roman Decline*,* complains that the imperious and inflexible temper of Gregory VII. prevented his tempering zeal with the noble moderation which characterized his five predecessors.

"Unfortunately, the noble moderation of these predecessors corrected no evil, and they were always disregarded. Violence was never arrested by moderation ; power is balanced only by contrary efforts. The emperors indulged in violence towards the popes, which is never mentioned, and a few acts of popes are exaggerated, presented as great crimes, and loudly denounced. But human affairs do not go otherwise. No constitution, no political amalgamation is ever formed except by elements which clash at first, then blend and grow calm.

"In a word, the Church, humanly speaking, was all but lost. It had no form, no polity, soon no name, had not the popes by their extraordinary intervention substituted themselves in the place of corrupt or benighted authorities, and governed more directly, so as to restore order.

"European monarchy would have been lost,† had not detestable princes

* *Histoire de la Décadence Romaine*, lib. iii., an. 1073.

† It has inherited the fruit of this superhuman courage ; and yet some who even now govern by the help of the ramparts which that courage reared, curse the heroic and unshaken will which repressed the licentiousness, brutal power, the usurped ecclesiastical power, and the power of assassination with impunity, which the emperors claimed to exercise. Their good pleasure

met a terrible obstacle ; and to speak only of Gregory VII., every equitable man will doubtless admit the impartial judgment of the historian of the revolutions of Germany : ‘The mere exposition of facts,’ says he, ‘shows that this pope’s conduct was that which any firm and enlightened man would have followed under similar circumstances.’*

“The sacking of Milan, one of the most horrible events of history, would alone suffice, in Voltaire’s judgment, to justify all that the popes did.†

“All nations agree in placing in the first rank of great men those who delivered their country from a foreign yoke : heroes in success, martyrs if they fall, their names go down the vista of ages. Modern stupidity would except popes from this general apotheosis, and deprive them of the undying glory they deserve, as temporal princes who labored unceasingly to free their native land. That some French writers should fail to do justice to Saint Gregory VII., is conceivable. Having over their eyes the prejudices of Protestants, philosophers, Jansenists, and parliamentarians, what could they see through the quadruple bandage?”‡

A book called *Dictatus Papæ* is ascribed to Saint Gregory VII. Voigt quotes the twenty sentences with which it opens, and adds : “There is in the principles nothing that Gregory did not maintain, or at least tacitly sanction. We need not seek the author. That pope, had he written them himself, would have put them in better order.” The Abbé Jager, the French translator of Voigt, makes a remark full of truth and erudition : “Had the capitularies of Charlemagne been better known, these principles would have excited less astonishment, for the former are the source of the latter. It must be remembered that Charlemagne, a kind of outside bishop, addressed even to bishops exhortations full of power and truth to fill all hearts with love for the Holy See, and the veneration due to the universal bishop.

We have nine books of Saint Gregory’s letters, written between 1073 and 1082. These letters are inserted in all the collections of the council ; several are given also in the *Bibliotheca Floriacensis* of Dubois, in the collections of Martene, d’Achery, and Ughelli. This pope was in life and after his death assailed by noted calumnies. One of the calumniators of this pope was Cardinal Benno, who wrote a history of the pope full of venom. It was printed at Hanau in 1611. At the time when Benno composed this bad book, Saint Anselm, bishop of Lucca, defended Gregory.§ The life of this pope was written forty years after his death by Paul Benried, canon-regular,

would have known no limit, and catastrophe would have engulfed faith in Christ, all civilization and true happiness of the people, that constant aim of all apostolic solicitude. It is better for the people to be happy than to be masters.

* Denina, *Revolutions d’Allemagne*, vol. ii., p. 49.

† *Essai sur l’Histoire Générale*, ii., ch. 61, p. 156.

‡ *The Pope*, i., p. 304.

§ See this defence in *Canisius*, vol. vi.

bishop of Augsburg, and printed at Ingolstadt in 1610, and at Augsburg the same year, with notes by Father Gretser.

Bellarmino refutes modern calumniators.* Gretser, in an apology for Gregory VII., cites the opinion of fifty panegyrists. Gotto and Enghien subsequently gave their laudatory opinion. Another life of Gregory appeared at Frankfort in 1581. Muratori gives the history as written by Pandulphus of Alatri and Nicolas de Rosellis. There is also a life by Justus Christopher Ditmar (Frankfort, 1710, 8vo). In 1837, Vidaillan published a life of Gregory VII. (2 vols., 8vo). This author speaks of the differences between Gregory VII. and the *Emperor* Henry IV., strangely giving the latter the title of emperor, when his numerous authorities always style him only king. The only coronation to which he could pretend was that given by the antipope Guibert (Vidaillan, ii., p. 466), and that given only in 1084, when Gregory, the legitimate pope, overwhelmed by his troubles, was on his death-bed. Vidaillan, though unfavorable to Gregory, makes a quotation from Bayle which is worth transcribing. Speaking of those who compare Gregory to great conquerors, Bayle says: "I use this comparison the more boldly, as I am convinced that the Church's conquest was a work demanding no less courage and address than that of an empire. The authority attained by the popes deserves greater admiration than the vast monarchy of ancient Rome; so that we may say Providence destined that city to be, in two different modes, the source and mainspring of the most exalted qualities necessary to found a mighty State. . . . If ancient Rome, proud only of conquest and military valor, subdued so many nations, this is glorious in the eyes of the world; but when we reflect, our surprise ceases. Far different is our astonishment to see new Rome acquire an authority under which the greatest monarchs are forced to bow; for we say there is scarce an emperor who opposed the popes, whom his resistance did not in the end cost dearly. Even now the disputes of the most powerful princes with the court of Rome almost always end in their confusion.† Examples are so recent that we need not give them. According to the world, this conquest is a more glorious work than those of the Alexanders and Cæsars; and thus Gregory VII., who was its principal promoter, must rank among the most eminently endowed of great conquerors."

The point of view of this Protestant writer is not that adopted by us. Gregory VII. sought no glory, no conquest; he sought to civilize kings, that their example, descending to their people, might draw with it days of public peace, order, and felicity. Henry IV. aimed to be emperor and

* *On the Roman Pontiffs*, book iv., ch. xii.

† Bayle wrote this, of course, long before the world witnessed a singular corroboration of it in the great moral victory of Pius VII. over Napoleon. See life of Pius VII., *postea*. The admission of the English historian Alison is well known.

pope. He was neither. The resistance to his pretensions gave life, in European manners, to better days. The title of Conqueror, as given to Cæsar and Alexander, ill becomes Gregory VII. But if it is forced upon us, we admit that he conquered the empire of evil by the empire of good ; that for a time he subdued the wicked, traitors, intruders : that he besieged receptacles of vice ; and then, in fine, he conquered in set battle cupidity, murder, cruel war, and the whole age of abominations,—where crime, become rhetorical, stalked with bold brow till forced to bow to the heavy hand of a man of genius, whom the nations called to their aid, and who, deserving their honor, was entitled to something better than insults from history.

A few words may be said of the antipope Guibert Correggia, born at Parma, and calling himself Clement III. Appointed archbishop of Ravenna by Alexander II., then chancellor of Henry IV., he was an eloquent and learned man. Some authors represent him as of low birth, others make him a descendant of the counts of Augsburg. The question is unimportant. His family followed the fortunes of the Ghibelines till 1247, when it embraced the side of the Guelphs. A general of this house obtained a pedestrian statue in marble, at Venice, for his eminent services to the State.

Clement, repeatedly excommunicated by Gregory VII., maintained, for twenty years, the schism which lasted for fifty, under five successive pontiffs, till the time of Calixtus II. He died a sudden death, in 1100. His bones, interred at Ravenna, were carried to a distance from that city six years after, by order of Pascal II. This pope wished to expose the story got up by impostors, that rays of light, signs of his sanctity, had been seen over Clement's grave.

After the death of Gregory VII., the Holy See was vacant a year. Like Sylvester II., this pope uttered the mighty word *Crusade*. If Europe profited by these wars, as it undoubtedly did, credit is due first to the genius of Sylvester II., then to the political forecast of Gregory VII. The latter pope had previously ordered a five years' fast, on Wednesday and Friday, to draw down God's help on the Church of Jerusalem.*

Platina is often hostile to the popes. His judgment on Hildebrand is this: "He was a man certainly agreeable to God, prudent, just, clement, protector of the poor, of widows and orphans, the sole and stoutest, boldest defender of the Roman Church against the malignity of heretics and the power of wicked princes, who endeavored to lay violent hands on ecclesiastical things."

We have long spoken of excommunications. It is time to say what it was and what it became. It had been in use among the Greeks, Romans, and

See the manuscript of Peter the Chanter, monk of the abbey of Longpont, who flourished in 1187

Gauls. Cæsar describes in exact terms the interdiction pronounced by the Druids. In the primitive Church, the bishop denounced to the faithful the name of the excommunicated, forbidding all intercourse with him. About the ninth century, excommunication was invested with ceremonies fitted to inspire terror. Twelve priests held each a lighted taper, which they cast on the ground and trampled out, when the bishop had pronounced the formula of excommunication. Anathema meant at first *consecrated, unveiled, an offering set aside, a thing separated, devoted*: then it came to mean *separated exclusively*. Anathema cut one off from the body, and even from the intercourse of the faithful. What excommunication forbade, has been condensed in this line:

Os, orare, vale, communico, mensa negatur.

That is to say, conversation, prayer, salutation, communion, the table.

Let us remember the circumspection of the Roman court when, outraged most unduly in 1809, it pronounced an excommunication, in which the culprit could easily recognize himself, although he was not named.

Rome defends the high morality of our holy religion, and that high morality comprehends all the virtues of patience, generosity, and prudence that men can attain here below.

160. VICTOR III.—A. D. 1086.



VICTOR III., whose original name was Desiderius, belonged to the family *Epiphania*, counts of Marsi, and was the son of the prince of the city of Benevento. Born in that city, he there received the most finished education attainable at that time. While still young, he embraced the rule of Saint Benedict, in the monastery of Cava. He was created successively cardinal-deacon of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, by Leon IX., and then cardinal-priest of Saint Cecilia, by Nicholas II., on the 26th of March, 1059. On the following day he was named abbot of Monte Cassino. He was the thirty-seventh abbot from Saint Benedict. He filled this office when he was, against his will, elected pope on Whitsunday, May 24, 1086. The cardinals conducted him, almost by force, into the deaconry of Saint Lucy, because for nearly a year after the death of Gregory VII. they could not persuade Desiderius to accept the pontificate. Previous to his death, that great pontiff frequently and earnestly recommended Desiderius as his successor, assuring the cardinals

that they would never have to repent making such a choice ; and the opinion of the great Hildebrand was the most powerful recommendation. The election being made, the cardinals gave the pope of their choice the name of Victor III.

Four days later, Victor left Rome. At Terracina, the pious and humble monk suddenly put off the pontifical habit, and fled to Monte Cassino ; and it was necessary to pursue him, force him to resume the sacred vestments, and take him back to Rome, where he was kept under guard and consecrated. After promising to resign himself to the will of God, he requested to see Monte Cassino again for a few days, which he passed in prayer, and declared that, notwithstanding his new grandeur, he would remain abbot of that monastery. As supreme head of the Church, he could retain that title, and during his life no other abbot was elected.

The Saracens made preparations in Africa to come and attack Rome. Victor solicited aid from the princes of Italy, and having obtained it, himself sent an army into Africa, attacked the Saracens, and gained a complete victory over them.

In a council celebrated at Benevento, Victor excommunicated the anti-pope, Clement III., who had been enthroned in 1084, in the time of Gregory VII., and he kept up the schism with a culpable perseverance. Always indefatigable in his duty, the pope forbade, on pain of excommunication, to give to laymen, or receive from them, the investiture of any ecclesiastical dignity. He also forbade the faithful to receive the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist at the hands of heretics or simoniacs. At length attacked, while celebrating the council, by a new disease, the pope retired from Benevento to his abbey of Monte Cassino, where, ready to die, he pointed out to the favor of the cardinals those whom he deemed worthy to succeed him.

From his elevation, Victor governed one year, three months, and twenty-four days ; and from his pontifical consecration, four months and seven days. He died at Monte Cassino, of a dysentery, caused, it is said, by poison administered by order of King Henry, that malignant enemy of Gregory VII.* Victor was at first interred at Monte Cassino. He was a man distinguished for the sanctity of his life and the glory of his virtues.†

Victor left books of dialogues upon the miracles of Saint Benedict, and of other monks of Monte Cassino.

The Holy See remained vacant five months and twenty-five days.

Under this reign the relics of Saint Nicholas, bishop of Myra, in Lycia, were brought to Bari. They had been carried away by merchants of that city (Fleury iv., lib. lxiii., p. 304). Saint Nicholas flourished under Constantine the Great, and assisted at the first general council of Nice.

* Trithemius, Ptolemy of Lucca, and Muratori.

† Novaes, ii., p. 288.

161. URBAN II.—A. D. 1088.



OTTO or Oddo, born at Chatillon-sur-Marne, in France, a Benedictine, and friend of Gregory VII., was next elected Pope under the name of Urban II. He became canon and then archdeacon of Rheims; and it is known that he was also a disciple of Saint Bruno,* founder of the Carthusians. Created cardinal-bishop of Ostia by Gregory VII., he was sent by that pontiff as legate to King Henry IV., who caused him to be arrested, and treated in the most atrocious manner. He was elected pope at Terracina, but refused the honor, as he himself relates in one of his letters to Epiphanius of Salzburg. Nevertheless, he was consecrated on the 12th of March, 1088. In the council celebrated at Rome in 1089, he confirmed the excommunication which his predecessors had pronounced upon the antipope Guibert, styled Clement III.

Scarcely was the council at an end, when the pope, who was very anxious for a perfect union between the Greek and Latin Churches, went into Sicily to establish a lasting concord, and to solicit the influence of the Count Roger. The count accepted the mediation, and went to meet the pope at Butera. This negotiation resulted in absolving the Emperor Alexis from a special excommunication that he had incurred.

Urban celebrated twelve councils, some in France, and others in Italy. He strove for the radical destruction of the heresy of Berengarius, condemned by Leo IX. in 1050. That archdeacon of Angers, treasurer of Saint Martin of Tours, renewed, with a thousand more dangerous developments, the errors of John Scotus Erigena. That heresy, unfortunately, still reckoned many abettors. Berengarius depreciated the Fathers, because he found them opposed to his doctrine, and because they clearly and unanimously established what it took his fancy to deny.†

Urban had other enemies to combat—the distributors of investitures, the antipope Clement III., the simoniacs, who boasted of their power, and the Nicolaites. The Church was keenly aggrieved at this time. In all Germany there were but four bishops—those of Wurtzburg, Passau, Worms, and Constance—who preserved the Catholic communion. The nature of the misfortune under which Rome had groaned in the age of iron and lead, had

* See the account of Saint Bruno, in Fleury, iv., lib. lxiii., p. 215.

† Feller, i., p. 446.

partially disappeared; schism and heresy were obstinately propagated anew. Rome, then, was still condemned to battle against evil and false men; but her trials assumed another name.

Urban, in 1088, declared the archbishop of Toledo primate of all Spain. From the bishopric of Cambray, which was erected into an archiepiscopal See by Paul IV., in 1562, he detached, in 1094, the bishopric of Arras.

Urban having passed from Sicily into Apulia to visit the relics of Saint Nicholas, at Bari, was in that city in October, and confirmed the union of the archbishopric of Canosa with the see of Bari.

In the council of Amalfi, the pope invested Roger with the duchies of Apulia and Calabria. It was at this time that the celebrated Countess Matilda, widow of the late Count Godfry, espoused the duke of Bavaria.

Saint Bruno, the former master of the pope, was then invited to assist in the councils of State.

From the council of Benevento, in 1091 to 1093, Urban had not resided at Rome, on account of the fury of the schism. But its violence becoming less perilous, the pope returned to the city, where, by a sort of capitulation, he obtained possession of the Lateran palace, and the castle of Saint Angelo, which had been held by the faction of the antipope.

In 1095, Urban celebrated a council at Placentia. It was held under tents, as there was no church large enough to contain about four thousand clergy and a great number of laity, who were attached to the service, or who came as pious spectators of the proceedings of the council, when permission was granted them to approach it.

From Placentia, Urban passed into France. In the council of Claremont he excommunicated King Philip I., because, while his wife Bertha was still living, by whom he had three sons, he treated as his wife Bertalda, wife of Fulk, count of Angers, who was still living.

In the same council, Urban, moved by the eloquence and tears of Peter the Hermit, of the diocese of Amiens, decreed the first crusade to recover the lands usurped by the Saracens.

The name of Crusade was given to this expedition, because the soldiers, who already formed an army of three hundred thousand men, in order to show the strength of their will, wore a red cross embroidered on the right shoulder.

To animate the faithful to join the expedition, in which a great number of towns and castles were taken, and which had for its immense results the occupation of the holy city of Jerusalem, Urban granted a plenary indulgence to all Crusaders.* The council of Clermont was concluded in ten days. On the 30th of November, Urban set out for Limoges, where he

* Novæ, ii., p. 295.

convoked another council in which he deposed from the See a bishop accused of many offences.* Thence he went to Tours, where he held another council. At Tours he gave to Fulk, count of Anjou, the golden rose, which he had carried in his own hand in a procession on the fourth Sunday of Lent. This was the first time that the golden rose was given by a pope. This present was afterwards sent to pious persons of high birth, or to those who had gained great battles to the advantage of the Church, and under other various circumstances, of which we shall have occasion to speak.

From Tours he went to Saintes and Toulouse. This French pope felt great joy in thus traversing his native country. In a council at Nismes, King Philip I. was reconciled to the Church.

At Milan, in 1096, the pope canonized Saint Erlembad, a nobleman of that city, who was martyred in 1076 by the simoniacs and the concubinarians. The pope returned to Rome in 1097, and he was received with applause by the whole city. In the following year he went to Bari, where, accompanied by Saint Anselm, bishop of Canterbury, he celebrated, in the month of September, a council at which one hundred and ninety-five bishops were present. There was another council at Rome, by which the pope terminated the glorious career of his apostolic labors.

Urban governed during eleven years, four months, and eighteen days, and died on the 29th of July, 1099. He lived long enough to learn the first success of the Crusaders, who captured Antioch on the 3d of June, 1098. Jerusalem, too, was taken while he still lived, *i. e.* on the 15th of July, just thirteen days before his death.

He was interred at Saint Peter's. His name is found in various martyrologies, with the title of Blessed.

The Holy See remained vacant fifteen days.

* Here is a new proof of Luther's error. See reign of Alexander II.



162. PASCAL II.—A. D. 1099.



PASCAL II., originally named Renier, son of Crescentinus and Alfatra, was born at Bieda, near Viterbo. He was a canon-regular, and then a monk of the order of Cluny. Gregory VII. named him cardinal-priest of Saint Clement

Cardinal Renier was elected pope against his will, in the church of Saint Clement, on the 13th of August, 1099, and consecrated and crowned on the 14th. Judging that he would be elected to the pontificate, he fled from Rome, but being soon recognized, he was taken back, in spite of himself, to the sacred councils, where he was received with cries of—*Saint Peter wishes you as his successor.*

We cannot but pause awhile here upon the grand victory of the Crusaders—the capture of Jerusalem from the infidels. The idea of the Crusades had been especially encouraged by Gregory VII. Long previously, Gregory III. had excited Charles Martel to drive the Saracens from France. The great man, in following his council, laid the foundation of that power which was to be wielded by his son Pepin, and his grandson Charlemagne. Gregory VII. thought that if it had been deemed useful to unite all the efforts of the sword to vanquish Abderahman, the invader of France, it would be still more politic and more opportune to attack the infidels in their own provinces. The pilgrims who returned to those countries reported the sufferings of the few Christians who had not quitted Palestine. The Holy Sepulchre was profaned. An ontery arose in France. At first an armed pilgrimage was spoken of, but eventually the “pilgrims” became an immense army, with terrible preparations for war.

Michaud's History of the Crusades gives in detail all the phases of that first enterprise. These immense emigrations have often been spoken of in anger and passion.

“If we consider the Crusades under a political point of view, we must perceive that either the Saracens would return to France and Italy, or the Western nations must go to Asia and attack the Saracens. Enterprises are blamed long after the time of their execution, because those who blame them were ignorant of their causes: because they would now be ill times, we are apt to imagine that they were equally so when they took place. But the road to Poitiers and to Tours was well known to the Saracens; they

had covered France with blood and carnage, they had pillaged the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. From the Crusades, everywhere resulted the enfranchisement of many districts, the introduction into the West, and especially into Italy, which became another East, of institutions, customs, and precious commodities, previously unknown.

“To the Crusades we also owe the assurance that, for a long time at least, the Mahometans will not come to destroy our civilization; and if, since the Crusades, they actually did attack us by the way of Vienna, the great sword of Sobieski, in 1682, repulsed them, and impressed them with a wholesome terror of our arms, which was renewed in their minds by Prince Eugene of Savoy, in the battle of Peterwardin, in 1716. Still later, they met our serried squadrons in Egypt.”*

But whither would the Crusaders of the close of the eleventh century direct their efforts? They well knew; they were unanimous in wish and in object; they were determined upon delivering Jerusalem and restoring the Holy Sepulchre.

It is a glorious and immense name, Jerusalem, a name never to be too much celebrated in a history of the sovereign pontiffs. We shall speak, then, of Jerusalem; we shall speak of Godfrey de Bouillon, duke of Lorraine. He had valiantly served Henry IV., king of Germany, whose excesses so much afflicted the Church, and he subsequently was to serve a better cause. Urban II. desired Godfrey to be one of the principal commanders of the army that was to march upon Palestine.

The mere remembrance of Jerusalem awakens within us the loftiest and the holiest feelings. Jerusalem was the first Church of the Apostles; and moreover, it was in the religion of our Lord that Mahomet sought his inspirations, thus adding the base alloy to the pure gold. At length truth approached, to give fierce battle to imposture.

The capital of Palestine, Jerusalem, is situated at 31° 47' N. and 33° E., at the culminating point of the mountains of Judea, upon the ancient limits of Benjamin and Judah. The mountain on which stands the city of David, sloping towards the north, is surrounded on the east, south, and west by deep ravines. The city cannot be seen from afar. The principal building of ancient Jerusalem was the Temple, founded by Solomon upon Mount Moriah, rebuilt by Zorobabel, and magnificently restored by Herod. It may not be useless to recall, in succession, some of the principal events that occurred in that city.†

“Under Amasias, king of Judah, it was sacked by Joas, king of Israel. Under Ezechias it was in vain besieged by the Assyrians; but, a hundred

* Artaud's *Italie*, p. 75.

† I here give an extract from a notice I published on Jerusalem: Paris, 1846.

and thirty years afterwards, the Chaldeans under Nabuchadonosor completely destroyed it. Rebuilt, as well as the Temple, by permission of Cyrus, the fall of the empire of the Persians plunged the city into new misfortunes.

"Jerusalem surrendered to Alexander, who treated it with great generosity.*

"After the death of Alexander, Jerusalem was taken by the king of Egypt, Ptolemy, son of Lagus. Antiochus Epiphanes, king of the Syrians, sacked it one hundred and seventy years before the Christian era, and profaned the Temple by placing in it the statue of the Olympian Jove. After a period of peace under the Maccabean princes, Pompey victoriously entered Jerusalem in the year 63 B. C., and some time afterwards the Temple was pillaged by Crassus.

"Herod adorned Jerusalem with magnificent buildings; but Judea soon became a Roman province. A revolt of the Jews brought on that war which terminated in the surrender of the capital.

"Conquered by Titus, in the year 71 of the Christian era, the city was entirely destroyed; a few towers and houses that Titus spared, were pulled down by the Emperor Ælius Adrian. In consequence of a new revolt of the Jews, in the year 136, Adrian determined to destroy even the very name of Jerusalem. He built in its stead a new city, which he called Ælia Capitolina, in honor of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and which the Jews were forbidden to enter under pain of death.

"When Christianity ascended the throne of the Cæsars, Jerusalem received, instead of pagan temples, a host of Christian monuments, in places known as having been the scenes of the life and death of Jesus Christ.

"In 615, the city was conquered by Chosroes, king of Persia. The Emperor Heraclius retook it in 627; but, shortly afterwards, the Arab hordes under the Caliph Omar entered its walls. It fell, successively, into the power of the Persian sultan, of the Egyptian Fatimites, and of the Seldjoudes.

"Thus Jerusalem had seen upon her hills David, Solomon, Joas, Nabuchadonosor, Alexander, Ptolemy son of Lagus, Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey, Crassus, Titus, Adrian, Constantine, Chosroes, Heraclius, the Caliph Omar. That city was now to be invested by the army of Godfrey de Bouillon."

* According to the historian Josephus, Alexander went to Jerusalem and caused sacrifices to be offered in the Temple, where the high-priest Jaddus, before whom he prostrated himself, showed him the prophecy of Daniel, which reserved to the Macedonian the conquest of Persia. But this journey is vouched for only by the Jewish historian, always ready to seize on aught to reflect credit upon his nation. Quintus Curtius does not mention this journey to Jerusalem: but the second book of the History of Alexander, where, if at all, the journey would be mentioned, is lost.

The Christians before whom was borne the spear which had pierced the side of Jesus Christ, the holy spear found during the siege that led to the capture of the city of Antioch, gallantly advanced to the assault. We cannot disguise the fact, that the resistance of the Mussulmans seemed destined to exhaust the courage of the men of the West. The siege lasted five weeks. The city was taken by assault. "The massacre was horrible; every thing was swimming in blood, so that the very conquerors, wearied with carnage, stood aghast at the spectacle." Michaud, on the authority of a Christian writer, who was an eyewitness, says: "Beneath the porch and in the court of the mosque of Omar, the blood rose to the knees and even to the bridles of the horses." Godfrey, whose piety was equal to his valor, was doubtless one of those whose indignation rose at such unsparing fury.

After the city fell, he thought only of fulfilling his devotion. Laying aside his armor, he clothed himself in woollen, and went barefooted around the city, to the Holy Sepulchre. The patriarch of Jerusalem was not there to receive him; for, according to the Eastern custom, he was collecting alms for the repairs of the churches, and was at that time in the isle of Cyprus. Scarcely was Godfrey before the Holy Sepulchre, when a rumor spread through the whole army that the general had shed tears on beholding such obstinate pillage. Sublime recall! more potent than clarion and trumpet, in bringing a Christian army back to its duty! The massacre suddenly ceased, and that night and the next, every soldier, in turn, knelt in the holy places.

A week after Godfrey's victory, the crusading nobles elected him king of the city and country. The prince refused the insignia of royalty, saying that "it was not fitting to wear a crown of gold in a city where Christ had been crowned with thorns. He refused even the title of king, and contented himself with that of *Duke* and *Advocate* of the Holy Sepulchre." Unfortunately, Godfrey held his authority only one year; but he had time to make laws so wise that for eighty years they governed what, notwithstanding the modesty of the conqueror, was called the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The reign of Pascal II. was prosperous up to the year 1101. But from that time the unfortunate pontiff knew nothing but pains and torments, which rendered his life only one continual martyrdom.

The king of Germany, Henry IV., crowned as emperor by an intruder, raised up against Pascal three antipopes; but he suffered all with an apostolical courage.

Henry IV. being dead, it was to be expected that his son would continue to be an enemy to the Church. There seemed no end to the question of investitures. Pascal retired to France to implore the protection of King Philip, who was restored to the Catholic communion. That pope assem-

bled several successive councils, where decrees were made concerning investitures and simoniacs.

We notice here what was said at the conferences of Chalons. The archbishop of Treves spoke in the name of Henry IV., defending the right which he attributed to an emperor of giving investiture by the crozier and ring. When the archbishop had expressed this opinion, the bishop of Placentia replied, in the name of the pope: "The Church, redeemed by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, must no more be enslaved; and she would be the slave of princes could she not choose a prelate without consulting the emperor. It is a crime against God for a prince to give the investiture by the ring, the cross, and the pastoral staff; and the prelates discredit their anointing, if they submit their hands, consecrated by the body and blood of our Lord, to the hands of laymen reeking with blood."*

In 1108, the Holy Father quitted France to return to Rome. At a council at Benevento, the decrees relating to the investitures were renewed.

Henry V., successor to King Henry IV., repaired to Rome for the purpose, as he said, of being crowned emperor. But Pascal refused, unless the prince first disclaimed the pretension which had been condemned by Gregory VII.—that, namely, of the right of an emperor to confer ecclesiastical benefices. Pascal also demanded that previous to the coronation, the prince should confirm the donations made to the Holy See.

Henry, in a burst of passion, ordered the arrest of the pope, as well as of several cardinals, bishops, and nobles, attached to the Holy See, and they were closely and harshly confined. Then no German bishop repaired to the king, excepting Conrad, archbishop of Salzburg.

After fifty-five days of cruel detention, that is to say, from the 12th of February to the 9th of April, 1111, the pope, who resolved to suffer even unto death, felt grieved at the misery of his companions, rather than for his own. He therefore permitted Henry, without violence and without simony, to give investiture to the bishops and abbots of his kingdom with the ring and the crozier, provided that the election was free, and possession given without simony. Pascal has been sharply reproached. Baronius replies: "There is no heresy in making the reserved concession to which Pascal consented. But to maintain that that is of right, and to declare that laymen ought to give investiture—which Pascal never did—would be heresy; in such wise a false dogma would be introduced into the Church, repugnant to recognized customs, to the sacred institutions of the Fathers, and to the opinion of many pious writers who have defended Pascal." Henry, satisfied with what Pascal had yielded, which only constituted him an agent of the Holy See, returned to Rome with the Holy Father, and was crowned emperor.

* Fleury, iv., p. 405.

Pascal, however, regretting this concession, desired to abdicate the pontificate, but was unable to effect his purpose.

In 1116, in a council assembled at Saint John Lateran, Pascal renewed the decree of Gregory VII. against all seculars who conferred, and against all ecclesiastics who accepted, the investitures. Henry repaired to Rome. The pope retired to Albano, and thence to Monte Cassino, that useful refuge of the Benedictine pontiffs. He then set out for Benevento, where he hoped to be in greater safety. The Normans, then faithful feudatories of the Holy See, offered an asylum.

At that moment, there were renewed complaints against the pope, who, it was said, should rather have suffered death than yield such a privilege to a secular power. Other theologians, attentively reading the rigorous conditions which the pope had imposed, maintained his cause with great warmth. Pascal was his own severe judge. He repented of his compliance, he condemned it, and he subjected himself to an austere penance. The Holy Father, whose history we are writing, approved the order of Fontenrault, founded by Robert of Arbrissel, who had given it the rule of Saint Benedict. Pascal also established a bishop at Bethlehem, the presence of the victorious Crusaders affording him an opportunity to do so.

In 1115, he made Bourges an archbishopric. The See had been founded in the third century, and had for its first bishop Saint Ursinus, who had eighteen saints as successors.

In 1117, Pascal again left Rome, fearing that it would not protect him from the snares of the Emperor Henry. From Benevento he went to Anagni, where he fell ill, but he recovered and returned to Rome. After celebrating the Christmas holidays, he again fell ill, and died on the night of the 21st of January, 1118. He was interred in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran.

Pascal governed the Church eighteen years, five months, and eight or eleven days.

The Holy See remained vacant three days.

Under his reign there were three antipopes—Albert, Theodoric, and Maingualfe.

Albert, cardinal-deacon, was named to replace Clement III.; but on the very day of his election, that intruder was arrested and confined in the monastery of Aversa. Theodoric, after a hundred and five days of pretended pontificate, was sent to the monastery of the Trinity de la Cava.

Maingualfe, abbot of Farfa in 1102, took the name of Sylvester IV.; but he was compelled to fly from Rome, fell into frightful misery, and died in exile, in apparent sentiments of penitence.

For the history of Saint Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and his disputes with the king of England concerning the investitures, Fleury may be

consulted.* Saint Anselm courageously maintained the pontifical doctrine. Fleury also gives a list of the works, both dogmatic and moral, of that celebrated English saint. The life of the archbishop was written by the monk Edmar, his disciple, and his inseparable companion.

Towards the end of the reign of Pascal, men already began to talk of the necessity of a general council to remedy the evils of the Church. It would be the ninth œcumenical council. Already there had been that of Nice, the first of Constantinople, that of Ephesus, that of Chalcedon; the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, which had been celebrated at Constantinople, as well as the second general council. This time, the Roman policy, with foresight and reliance upon its own strength, desired that the contemplated œcumenical council should be celebrated in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran, at Rome.

163. GELASIUS II.—A. D. 1118.



GELASIUS II., previously called John Gaetani, belonged to the noble family of Gaeta. He was a Benedictine. While still very young, he was made cardinal-deacon by Urban II., and soon afterwards vice-chancellor, to "re-establish," says Pandolpho d'Alatri, the "ancient elegance of style which was almost lost," as documents of that time evince. Fifty-one cardinals who assembled for the election, recognized him as pope, notwithstanding his warm resistance. An extraordinary event impressed all minds. It is maintained that this resistance of the vice-chancellor was supported by Henry V., his enemy; and Gelasius hoped that, with the aid of a prince who was anxious to have a pope of his own selection, he, Gelasius, would be enabled to avoid the pontificate.

Scarcely was the election known, when Cencio Frangipani, a partisan of the emperor, and a very powerful personage at Rome, sought to have another pope created: that was the wish, also, of Gelasius. But the latter was not yet aware to what an extent his election had kindled the fury of the emperor and his partisans. Frangipani, at the head of several conspirators, forced his way to the presence of the pope, seized him by the throat, beat him to the ground, trampled on him, and threw him into prison. Fortunately, the prefect of Rome and Pietro Leo arrived in time to prevent other

* Fleury, iv., lib. lv., p. 381.

excesses, and succeeded in liberating Gelasius. We have seen no less frightful terrors under Gregory VII. The twelfth century cannot reproach the tenth.

The friends of the pope, on consultation, deemed it prudent to induce him to go to Gaeta, as the emperor was expected in Rome.

In the former city Gelasius was consecrated, as it was impossible to be consecrated in Saint John Lateran.

Henry was determined to place in the pontifical chair the antipope Gregory VIII. Gelasius, in a council held at Capua, excommunicated both of them. However, the pope, on the faith of his friends, deemed that he might return to Rome. One day, as he was celebrating Mass in Saint Praxedes, the imperial satellites endeavored to surprise him: he was obliged to conceal himself near Saint Paul's without the walls, leaving, as vicar in Rome, Cardinal Peter, bishop of Porto.

Gelasius, more and more persecuted by Henry, resolved to retire to France to solicit King Louis VI. to aid him against the emperor. Amidst so many hardships and poignant sorrows, the pope fell sick at Macon; he had himself conveyed to Cluny, and died there, amidst his brethren, on the 29th of January, 1119, and was interred in the monastery.

Gelasius governed one year and five days.

Feller here makes a very sound remark: * "One cannot help remarking that modern historians, in speaking of the disputes between the popes and emperors, do not dwell upon the wrongs done by the latter, although the popes never committed such violences as those which Henry committed upon the pious and modest Gelasius."

The Holy See was vacant four days.

The antipope, who so violently disturbed the pontificate of Gelasius, was a Frenchman, named Maurice Bourdin, a Benedictine monk, archdeacon of Toledo, bishop of Coimbra, in Portugal, and afterwards archbishop of Braga, in the same kingdom. He was excommunicated in the Council of Capua; then in the Council of Rheims, in 1119, by Calixtus II. He died in 1124, at the castle of Fumone, near Alatri.

Baluze, who wrote his life, endeavored to defend him against some of the accusations brought against him.

* Feller, iii., p. 250. But M. de Maistre anticipated Feller, in making this observation.



164. CALIXTUS II.—A. D. 1119.



CALIXTUS II., originally named Guido, a Benedictine monk, and then archbishop of Vienne, near Lyons, in 1083, was the fifth son of William *Tête Hardie*, surnamed *the Great*, count of Burgundy, brother of Guilla, wife of Hubert II., the progenitor of the royal house of Savoy, uncle of Adelaide, wife of Louis VI., king of France; and, to sum up all in a few words, the royal and the imperial blood flowed in his veins. He was elected pontiff notwithstanding his resistance (this modesty is a sort of hereditary virtue among many Benedictines) by six cardinals, who were at Cluny on the 1st of February, 1119, and crowned him at Vienne, on the 9th of the same month. All admired the zeal of the German cardinal, Conon of Urach, who, to avoid the pontificate for himself, favored the views of all the friends of Guido. The nomination of the latter had been strongly recommended by the dying Gelasius, who declared him qualified to regulate the affairs of the Holy See.

Suddenly ambassadors arrived from Rome, declaring the election at Cluny canonical. The confirmation by the Roman cardinals was thus expressed: "We confirm the election of the Cardinal Guido, although the election should have been made by all the sons of the Roman Church, priests, and deacons, and also, if possible, in Rome; or in the neighborhood, in case of the cardinals being prevented from making it according to the Roman custom."*

In a council at Toulouse, Calixtus condemned the head of the Petrobusians, who stirred up quarrels of words, and difficulties beyond number, upon baptism, the Eucharist, the Church, and the cross.

In 1119 there was also another council at Rheims, where simoniacs, priests having concubines, and all those who exacted exorbitant fees for baptism and burial, were condemned. There, too, the emperor and the antipope Bourdin were excommunicated; investitures were condemned, and the marriage of priests was expressly forbidden. Calixtus having proceeded to Rome, was received with great honors, and took possession of Saint John Lateran, on the 2d of June, 1120. From Rome he went to Benevento to animate the Normans to besiege Sutri, whither the antipope

* Novaes, iii., p. 11.

Bourdin had retired. Shortly afterwards, the Normans captured Bourdin, and that obstinate antipope was no longer dangerous.

Before Calixtus left Rome, he made a promotion of cardinals. I have not yet registered the various promotions, because the writers, up to this time, differ as to dates, and also because those cardinals are but of little note. Their family names, their labors, and their part as counsellors of the Holy See are unknown. We could but give an unimportant list of unimportant names, to which, generally, nothing could be added.

From this time, owing to the custom of giving and recognizing family names, there is less obscurity as to such facts, and we shall sometimes cite the names of the principal cardinals, when mentioning promotions. Among the new cardinals created by Calixtus, were some who had previously been attached to antipopes, but who had perceived their error; and the clemency of the pontiff had not only pardoned them, but marked their return to the right way by august favors. That sentiment of kindness will always prevail in the history of the popes. They never forget that they are the ministers of a God of mercy.

Every thing seemed to tend towards a new state of things, another abyss of perturbation; but God touched the hearts of the chiefs of both parties, and at length the controversy concerning investitures was terminated at Worms. That devouring moral war had lasted nearly fifty years, from the pontificate of Gregory VII. It was agreed between the pope's legates and the imperial ambassadors, that the emperor might give the investiture of the regalia only, by the sceptre, and that the investiture by the cross and ring should be reserved for the pope. The emperor restored the domains that had been confiscated from the Church since the commencement of the dispute, and the two contracting parties promised sincere and lasting peace.

All these acts were ratified in the Council of Lateran, the ninth general and first western council, at which more than nine hundred bishops were present. It was agreed and well understood that the elections of the bishops and abbots of Germany might be made without simony before the emperor, and that the elected should receive from him the *regalia*, that is to say, the fiefs and other like benefits granted by the princes to the Church. The excommunications were more strictly and persistently than ever renewed against the Nicolaites, the simoniacs, and the antipope Bourdin. The expeditions into Palestine were also considered; and finally, the pope canonized Conrad, bishop of Constance.

New cardinals were named in the month of December.

In 1123, Calixtus went to Benevento to decide the case of the Archbishop Rofred, accused of simony, but he justified himself in presence of the pope. It is always with joy and happiness that a pope restores honor and the communion to an ecclesiastic who has been falsely accused.

Calixtus established in favor of the canons of Saint John Lateran the cardinal titles of *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*, and *S. Maria Nuova*. It was thus during some time; the pontiffs gave these titles only to two of the canons elected by their brethren.

This pope governed five years, ten months, and twelve days. He died on the 13th of December, 1124, and was interred in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran.

The Holy See remained vacant seven days. The death of Calixtus filled the whole Christian world with mourning.* In less than six years he had pacified the Church and the empire, repaired the faults or the weaknesses of his predecessors, and re-established the authority of the Holy See, and all the splendor of the hierarchy, after finding means of bringing abundance into Rome. He not only restored many ancient monuments, but also added many aqueducts for the convenience of different quarters of the city, rebuilt part of the church of Saint Paul, and gave it magnificent vestments.

Many letters, sermons, and bulls of Pope Calixtus II. are included in the *Miscellanea* of Baluze, the *Spicilegium* of d'Achery, Labbe's *Collection of the Councils*, the *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*, the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (Lyons edition), *L'Italia Sacra* of Ughelli, the *Bullarium Cassinense* of Margarini, *la Marca Hispanica*, and Mabillon's *De Re Diplomatica*. To him are also attributed a Life of Charlemagne, and a treatise *De Obitu et Vita Sanctorum*.

Under this pontificate, Abelard was condemned by a council held at Soissons. That monk was called into the presence of the council, and obliged to throw into the flames his book upon the Trinity. Some accuse him of having taught that there are three Gods; others, on the contrary, accuse him of not having sufficiently distinguished the persons of the Trinity.†

Under the reign of Calixtus, Suger was elected abbot of Saint Denis: being only deacon, he was ordained priest on the spot. He was forty years old when elected, and governed that celebrated abbey during thirty years.

* Feller, ii., p. 21.

† Fleury, iv., p. 469.



165. HONORIUS II.—A. D. 1124.



HONORIUS II., originally named Lambert di Fagnano, archdeacon of the cathedral of Bologna, his native place, canon-regular of Saint John Lateran, and then cardinal of Saint Praxedes—made cardinal-bishop by Pascal II., and legate from Calixtus II. to the court of King Henry V., with whom he terminated the controversy about the investitures—was elected pope on the 21st of December, 1124, and crowned on the 28th. Another pope was elected, when Leo Frangipani wished Lambert chosen in preference. The choice was not unwise, but the seditious attempt to bestow the tiara, renewed a custom which might produce new disturbances.

Lambert, with instinctive modesty, shrank from a dignity thus irregularly conferred, and at the end of a week he laid down the pontificate; but the cardinals, in view of his noble modesty, ratified his election. Previous to the intervention of Frangipani the cardinals had elected Theobald, a Roman, who took the name of Celestine II. Theobald, learning the intentions of Frangipani, and fearing a schism, refused the election. Thus, within a week, two cardinals gave admirable examples of self-abnegation. Theobald persisted in his refusal, and Lambert was obliged to yield to the united solicitations of those who had and those who had not the right to elect.

During the Ember Days, in December, 1125, Honorius II. made a first promotion of cardinals. The Emperor Henry V. having died without male issue, Honorius II. confirmed the election, as king of the Romans, of Lothaire, duke of Saxony, who had been named at Mentz, on the 29th of August; and the pope excommunicated Frederick and Conrad, nephews of Henry, who had taken up arms to dispute the kingdom with Lothaire. He at the same time deposed Anselm from the archbishopric of Milan, for crowning Conrad, at Monza, with the crown of the kingdom of Italy.

During the Ember Days, in December, 1126, Honorius made his second promotion of cardinals. Among these nominations, the choice was sometimes made from the nobility; at others, from the second, and even the third class of society.

Honorius II. interposed in the quarrel between the bishop of Paris and his clergy, on account of the reform that the prelate wished to intro-

duce. Louis VI. had allowed himself to be prejudiced against the bishop, who, rendered anxious by the menacing dangers, had laid the king's domains under interdict. Honorius first provisionally annulled the bishop's acts, as likely to produce great disturbance in the State; but Saint Bernard warmly sided with the bishop, who was supported by the pope, and who at length triumphed. In concert with the patriarch Stephen, the pope gave the white cloak to the templars, whose order had just been established.

In 1127, Honorius excommunicated Roger, count of Sicily, because, after the death of William II., duke of Apulia, the count, without the consent of the Holy See, had taken possession of that State, thus uniting Naples to Sicily. But, in the following year, Roger having sent to the pope an act of submission and some presents, the pope accepted the submission, returned the presents, and admitted the prince to communion. He then created him duke of Apulia, after having received his oath to remain a true vassal and feudatory of the Roman Church.

Benevento having taken steps which might lead to a revolt, Honorius repaired to that city, and by his resolute and generous character restored peace, distributing with a firm hand chastisement and reward, where they were merited.

He governed the Church five years, one month, and twenty-five days, and died at Rome, in the monastery of Saint Andrew, now called Saint Gregory, on the 14th of February, 1130, and was interred in the church of Saint John Lateran.

There was no vacancy in the Holy See.

166. INNOCENT II.—A. D. 1130.



REGORY PAPARESCHI, who took the name of Innocent II., was a Roman of the Trastevere, or quarter beyond the Tiber, and belonged to the noble family Guidoni, now known as the Mattei. He was at first a canon-regular of Saint John Lateran, and had been created cardinal-deacon of Saint Angelo by Urban II.

He was elected pope on the 15th of February, 1130, by sixteen cardinals. The rest were in favor of the antipope Anacletus, of whom we shall speak hereafter. Papareschi refused to comply with the desires of the cardinals; but they compelled him, on pain of ex-

communication, to accept the pontificate of which he was so worthy, by his noble and firm conduct, his locks hoary with study, his extraordinary learning, his affability and eloquence. He was ordained priest on the 22d of February, the day dedicated to the Chair of Saint Peter, and consecrated pope on the 23d, in the church of *Santa Maria Nuova*.

Unable to resist the party of Peter Leo, antipope under the name of Anacletus, he passed into France, where he was received with great honor by the king, Louis VI., surnamed the Fat, in whose reign five pontiffs obtained shelter in that faithful country, which Baronius, on another occasion, calls *the haven of the tempest-tost bark of Saint Peter*. These five popes were—Urban II., Pascal II., Gelasius II., Calixtus II., and Innocent II.

The pope first went to Pisa, where he passed a part of the year 1130; he continued his journey by Geneva, and landed in Provence. In the monastery of Cluny he was received with the honors due to his rank. Thence he set out for Clermont, where he held a council. It was in that city that he made his first promotion of cardinals. From Clermont, Pope Innocent II. repaired to Orleans, where he was received by King Louis, who gave him the sincerest and most touching marks of attachment. He visited successively Rouen and Chartres, and then went to Liege. In the midst of the council that was assembled in this last named city he excommunicated Anacletus,* and promised the imperial crown to King Lothaire, if he would engage to defend the Church and maintain her rights. Lothaire at that moment proposed to the pope to re-establish the right of investiture, which Henry V. had renounced; but the Holy Father courageously resisted. Saint Bernard also opposed the renewal firmly, and persuaded the king to abandon such a request.

On his return to France, the pope visited the two celebrated abbeys of Clairvaux and Saint Denis. At Clairvaux he was received with peculiar affection by the monks, carrying a rudely polished wooden cross, and chanting. The bishops wept, as did the pope himself, and all admired the gravity of that community, observing that, even in so public an occasion of joy, they all had their eyes cast down towards the ground, without turning to either side in curiosity; so that, while every one looked upon them, they saw nobody. Their church had naught to show but naked walls, and the monks had nothing enviable but their virtues.†

At Saint Denis the pope was received by the Abbot Suger who, in procession at the head of his chapter, met him and gave him every mark of

* Anacletus was not without ability; to conciliate France and obtain its recognition, he wrote to King Louis VII.: "It is with justice that we bear this testimony to the Gallican Church, that it has never been infected by any error or schism." France accepted the praise which was deserved; but rejected him who gave it, because he was an intruder.

† Mabillon, *Chr. Bern.*

reverence. There Innocent II. gave a magnificent largesse, named the presbytery.*

Then the pope held a council at Rheims, where, with the customary formalities, he condemned the antipope Anacletus, and canonized Saint Godard, born in Bavaria, in 960, who became Benedictine monk in 990, and abbot in 998.

In the midst of the same councils the pope crowned, as king of France, Louis VII., son of Louis VI.

Fleury† (see, also, Chr. Maurin, p. 378) relates a touching scene that occurred at this council. King Louis VI. had lost his eldest son Philip, recently crowned, and he desired the pope to crown his other son, Louis. On Saturday, the 24th of October, 1131, King Louis the Fat ascended the platform where the pope sat, kissed his feet, then took a seat near him, and spoke of the death of his son in few words, which drew tears from all present. The pope then addressed the king in a speech of consolation, exhorting him to raise his thoughts to the King of kings, and submit to the judgment of God. "He has," said the pope, "taken your eldest son in his innocence to reign with him in heaven, leaving you several others to succeed you in your kingdom. It is for you to console us, strangers driven from our own land, as you have done by receiving us with so much honor, and bestowing so many favors on us, for which you will receive an eternal reward."

Early the next day, the pope, issuing from the archiepiscopal palace with his court and the fathers of the council, went to Saint Remy, where the king tarried with the prince, his son, and was received by the monks of that abbey in procession. Thence the pope conducted the young prince Louis, then about ten years of age, to the metropolitan church of Our Lady. The pope was arrayed in his most solemn vestments, and wore his tiara. He and the prince were followed by a crowd of priests and nobles. At the door of the church they were met by the king, who awaited them, attended by many nobles and prelates. They entered the church, and presented the young prince at the altar; and the pope, receiving the sacred ampulla, anointed him with the oil with which Saint Remigius had anointed Clovis at his baptism, and which that archbishop had received from the hand of an angel. The populace, in their acclamations, applauded the pope, Louis the Fat, and his son, the new king.

From Rheims the pope proceeded to Italy, accompanied by Saint Bernard.

Lothaire II. was crowned emperor in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran, on the 4th of June. Unfortunately, the Vatican was occupied by the antipope Anacletus. On that occasion, the pope yielded to the emperor the

* Bury: 12mo., Pavia, 1726.

† Fleury, lib. lxxviii., p. 508.

gift made by the Countess Matilda. That gift comprised the greater part of the duchies of Mantua, Parma, Reggio, and Modena, and the whole of Garfagnana.* In return, the emperor was to pay the pope and his successors a hundred pounds of silver. Further, it was stipulated that this gift, in its entirety, granted to the emperor for his life, should revert to the Holy See at the death of that prince.

When the emperor had left Rome, the schismatics forced the pope to depart for Pisa, where he had the happiness of restoring peace between the people of Genoa and Pisa. He remained at Pisa till the death of Anacletus. But that did not terminate the schism, because those who were concerned in it, supported by Roger, duke of Sicily, pretended to elect as pope the Cardinal of the Holy Apostles, Gregorio Conti, under the name Victor IV. But he, after three months, at the entreaty of Saint Bernard, submitted, and thus terminating a schism which had lasted eight years, restored peace to the Church. On the 22d of April, 1134, Innocent canonized Saint Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, monk of Cluny.

In France every thing went on in accordance with the wishes of Innocent II. A portion of that success was due to Saint Bernard, a friend as generous as he was disinterested. It was in vain that he was offered the See of Genoa, about to be erected into an archbishopric, and afterwards the bishopric of Chalons. Saint Bernard desired no other glory than that of remaining a Benedictine monk.

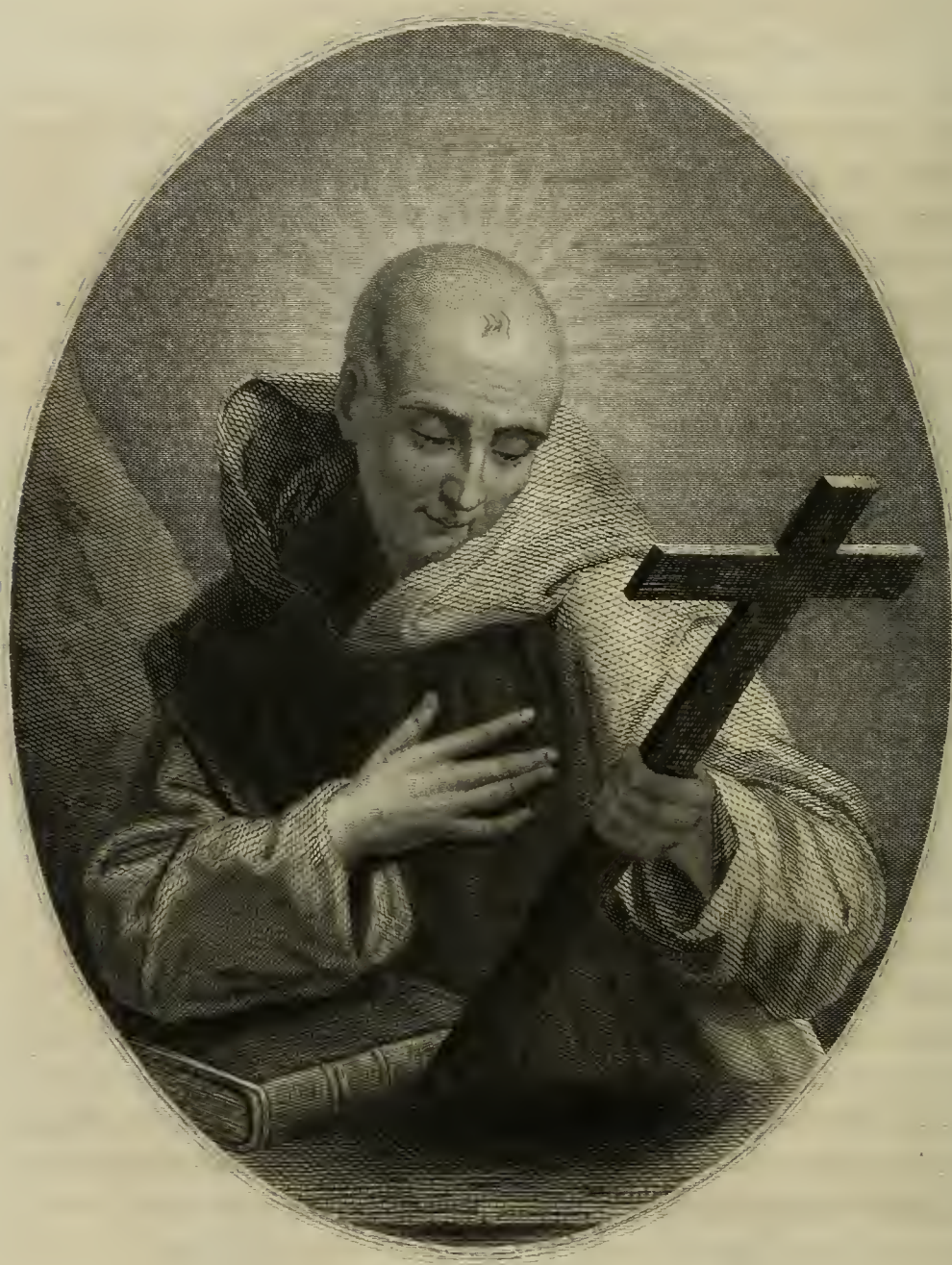
In 1139, after the death of the antipope Victor, Innocent assembled the second council of Lateran, the tenth general council. It was attended by nearly a thousand bishops, who framed thirty canonical decisions. In the same spirit of constancy and courage, the Nicolaites, the simoniacs, and all who accepted investitures at the hands of laymen, were excommunicated. The same sentence was pronounced against the Arnaldists, the sectaries of Arnald of Brescia. He denied the possibility of the salvation of clergy who possessed, of bishops who received *regalia*, as well as of monks who had lands, because all that belongs to the laity.

That heresy has passed from hand to hand down to modern sectarians; "in such wise," says Baronius, speaking of political heretics, "that Arnald is deemed their patriarch and their prince."

After the council, Innocent, forced unwillingly into a war against Roger, duke of Sicily, was made prisoner by that prince's son, not far from Monte Cassino. But Innocent soon recovered his liberty, as the result of a treaty, in which Roger obtained from the pope the title of king of Sicily, on condition of a tribute, which was not, this time, a palfrey.

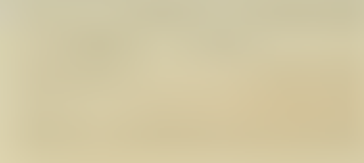
In 1140, Innocent condemned the errors of Peter Abelard, censured in

* Novaes, iii., p. 25.



Eng^d by R. Dudensing

ST. BERNARD.



previous councils. The pope was actively seconded by the eloquence and the activity of Saint Bernard.

In 1141, a difference arose between the pope and King Louis VII. After the death of Alberic, archbishop of Bourges, the pope named, as Alberic's successor, Peter de la Châtre. Louis the Young, irritated that the pope had made that nomination without the royal consent, swore that it should not have effect, and prevented the newly elected bishop from entering the city. Peter complained to the pope, who laid under interdict all the lands from which the archbishop was excluded.

But Peter de Champagne, who possessed great fiefs in Berri, took Peter de la Châtre under his protection, in concert with Rome, and caused him to be recognized in the churches of his domains. Louis the Young then determined to carry the war into Champagne, and it was on that occasion that the town of Vitry was burned, and a great part of the inhabitants perished in it. Again it was Saint Bernard who interposed, with his potent eloquence, to appease the strife. It was beautiful to find that Frenchman always mindful of his country, when she stood in need of his support, and at the same time honoring the Holy See, when at variance with France; it was grand to see him always successful in his negotiations, and rendering himself worthy of admiration in the eyes of all Christendom.

Abelard died in 1142, after asking pardon for all his errors. Innocent allowed the too celebrated professor to be reconciled to the Church.

This Holy Father governed the Church thirteen years, seven months, and ten days, and died on the 24th of September, 1143.

He was interred at Saint John Lateran, and after seven years his remains were removed to the church of *Santa Maria in Trastevere*, which he had in part rebuilt, and which was finished by his brother Peter, bishop of Albano.

The Holy See remained vacant three days, till the consecration of Celestine II.

Towards the close of the pontificate of Innocent II., died the Greek emperor, John Comnenus. His successor was Manuel, the younger, but more able of his two surviving sons.



167. CELESTINE II. — A. D. 1143.



CELESTINE II., previously named Guido, born at the castle of Santa-Felicità, near the Tiber, was a descendant of an illustrious family of Città di Castello. He was elected pope, and consecrated on the 26th of September, 1143. That election was undisturbed, a circumstance which had not occurred since that of Alexander II., elected in 1061—that is to say, eighty-two years earlier.

Scarcely was Celestine on the throne, when Louis VII. sent him an embassy of obedience, asking for the pax and for absolution from the ecclesiastical censures pronounced by Celestine's predecessor, Innocent II.

The Holy Father received the ambassadors kindly, and in the presence of a crowd of nobles made, with his hand, the sign of benediction in the direction of France, and released that country from the sentence of interdict.

With this pope commence the famous prophecies upon the sovereign pontiffs, attributed to Saint Malachi, archbishop of Armagh, in Ireland, who died in 1148. The first who published them was Albert Wion, a Benedictine. Many editions have appeared, each seeming to value these sibylline books as so many leaves fallen down from heaven. But Father Menestrier, of the Society of Jesus, unmasked the imposture in 1689, in such wise that no one would now be so senseless as to take them for aught but what they really are. If, since the time of their first appearance, these predictions have been defended by credulity or mistaken piety, both of which ignored the rules of sound criticism, they were also assailed by a strong party who made every effort to check or destroy them. Thus by degrees they were either forgotten, or remembered only to be disdained as they deserve.

Arnold Wion, who lived in 1595, that is to say, four hundred and fifty years after Saint Malachi, affirmed that he was the first to publish them, but does not tell whence he received them. No writer contemporary with Saint Malachi makes mention of them. Saint Bernard himself, that great and celebrated friend of the archbishop, whose life he carefully wrote, does not speak of those verses, although he mentions other and less important prophecies of the Saint.

The prophecies include eight antipopes: Victor IV., Pascal III., Calixtus III., Nicholas V., Clement VII., Benedict XIII., Clement VIII., and Felix V.

These are placed among the true popes ; the antipopes, designated as such, being Nicholas V. and Clement VIII.

There is great confusion in the arrangement of the names. All this cannot be called prophecy ; God does not reveal falsehood.* In fact, many eminently illustrious persons, such as Baronius, Spondanus, Bzovius, and Rainaldi, give no heed to such dreams.

They were probably invented in 1590, at the time of the conclave that elected Gregory XIV., and fabricated by the partisans of the Cardinal Simoncelli of Orvieto, whom they point out by the prophecy *De Antiquitate Urbis*. It is easy to prophesy of the past. Now in speaking of Celestine II., the one hundred and sixty-seventh pope, and continuing to Pope Gregory XIV., the prophecies apply very well to the pontiffs who reigned during that period ; subsequently, when they had to divine the future, they apply only by a forced interpretation, and do violence to both facts and common sense.

Novaes gives these prophecies at full length, and adds a more or less forced application to each pope, down to Pius VI. inclusive. After the successor of Pius VI., the prophecy bears these words—*Aquila Rapax*. The friends of that imposture have protested ; they would see in them only an allusion to the order for carrying off Pius VII., given by the representation of the Eagle, or by his ministers. The prophecies are as applicable for the later pontiffs.† However, let us see the one hundred and twelfth prophecy, which is also the last.

“At the time of the last persecution against the Holy Roman Church, the pontifical throne will be occupied by Peter, a Roman, second of that name. He will feed his flock amidst tribulations. When they shall come to an end, the seven hilled city will be destroyed, and the terrible Judge will judge his people. Amen.” Many Protestants seeing in this fable reasons for attacking the Holy See, and fancying, especially from the last prophecy, that they are justified in believing in the destruction of Rome, have given credit to this absurd dream. No reasonable man now, Catholic or Protestant, believes in them, or ventures to confess his belief.

We have only to add the last particulars of the reign of Celestine II.

He governed the Church five months and thirteen days. He died on the 9th of March, 1144, and was interred in the church of Saint John Lateran. The Holy See remained vacant three days.

* Novaes, iii., p. 41.

† That for Pius IX. is *Cruz de Cruce*, which the believers in the prophecy will doubtless explain, “His Cross comes from the Cross” (of Savoy).—*Trans.*

168. LUCIUS II.—A. D. 1144.



LUCIUS II., whose name was Gerard Caccianamici, was a Bolognese. He became canon of Saint John Lateran, where he followed the rule of Saint Augustine. Honorius II. made him cardinal-priest of *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*, and Innocent II. named him vice-chancellor and librarian of the Holy Church. Gerard was elected pope on the 12th of March, 1144, and consecrated on the same day.

From Alphonso, who called himself king of Portugal, but to whom the Holy See only gave the title of count,* the pope received the homage of that prince's States, that acknowledged themselves feudatories of the Roman Church, and engaged to pay a tribute of four ounces of gold.

In 1145, Lucius summoned from France some monks of Cluny, and gave them the monastery of Saint Sabas, founded by Saint Gregory the Great, which needed the observance of the rule of Saint Benedict.

The Romans, partisans of Arnald of Brescia, having revolted against the pontificate, as they had already done in the time of Innocent II., affected to revive the ancient senatorial dignity, as well as the old order of Roman knights, and they determined to establish at the capital a patrician whom they would obey as a prince. They conferred that charge upon Jordan, son of Pietro Leo, a man very powerful among them; and they assigned to him all the revenues of the Church, saying that the pope had enough from his tithes and oblations. The pope endeavored to put down those rebels, and expel them from the capitol. They resisted, and during the attack, the pope was struck by a stone. He died of the wound, on the 25th of April, 1145, after having governed the Church eleven months and fourteen days, and was interred at Saint John Lateran.

The Holy See remained vacant one day.

* The title of king was subsequently given to him by Alexander III.; but the prince, in the time of Lucius II., received it from his vassals.



169. EUGENE III. — A. D. 1145.



UGENE III., originally named Bernard of Montemago, a castle five miles from the city of Pisa, where he was canon, was a descendant of the illustrious family of the Paganelli. He belonged to the order of Cluny; and Saint Bernard, whose pupil he was, named him abbot of the monastery of Saint Vincent and Saint Anastasius at the Three Fountains.

Although he was not a cardinal, he was elected pope in the church of Saint Cesarius, where the sacred electors assembled, according to several writers, on the 27th of December. The nomination was in derogation of the decree which made only cardinals eligible to the tiara.

Eugene immediately promised to approve the institution of the military order of Saint John of Jerusalem, commonly called Knights of Malta, which was founded about the year 1119, at Jerusalem, by some Neapolitans. They erected a hospital there for their countrymen; all obeyed the blessed Gerard, a native of Martigues, in Provence, who gave to the knights the rule of Saint Augustine. As they were at once hospitalers and knights, they, by a fourth vow, undertook to relieve pilgrims.

After his election, Eugene, fearing the malignity of the Arnaldists, who urged the re-establishment of their pretended senate, and the deposition of the new pope if he did not consent, retired to the abbey of Farfa,* where he was consecrated on the 4th of March. Thence he went to Viterbo, to make his first promotion of cardinals. Some months later, he was enabled to return to Rome, where the Arnaldists promised to do away with their senate, and submitted to the senators who were deputed by the pontifical authority.

The Arnaldists, after some new tumults, broke their promise. Eugene set out for France, where he was pompously received by Louis VII., who promised to assist the Holy Land.

At Paris, in 1147, the pontiff celebrated Easter, and assembled a council to consider the affair of Gilbert de la Poree, bishop of Poitiers, who distinguished the divine essence from the person of God himself, and professed other errors against the mystery of the Incarnation. Gilbert, combated

* Fleury, speaking of Athenulphus, calls him abbot of Farse, in Italy. It should be Farfa. The names in Fleury are full of faults, which are not corrected even in recent editions.

by Saint Bernard, pretended that he had never advanced such principles. The decision was referred to the Council of Rheims, which met in the following year, and by which the erroneous opinions of Gilbert were condemned.

Eugene then celebrated a council at Treves, which examined the writings of Saint Hildegarde, a celebrated nun of that time. Her simple and candid replies to her interrogators, and the testimony of Saint Bernard, forbade Eugene to doubt her having been peculiarly favored by Heaven. He therefore allowed her to write her revelations, exhorting her at the same time to do so with pious prudence, and especially warning her to preserve by humility the grace that she had received.

In another council at Rheims, there was a conversion which gladdened every Catholic heart in France. Gilbert, in person, abjured his errors, was admitted to the kiss of peace, and returned to govern his church.

Eugene then went to the monastery of Clairvaux, where he appeared as sovereign pontiff, but lived like a simple monk. Under the vestments of his rank he constantly wore the hair-cloth. Embroidered banners were carried before him, and his bed was covered with purple and rich stuffs, but beneath it was spread only a straw bed and woollen blankets. In addressing the community, he could not restrain his tears. He exhorted and consoled the former companions of his earliest religious labors with a brotherly affection. What conduct could give a better idea of the excellence of the principles inculcated at Clairvaux, of the excellence of those principles which excited in an Italian, born far from there, remembrances so touching? What situation better calculated to draw closer the ties connecting Italy to France? When French and Italians see little of each other, prejudices will arise to the detriment of harmony. When they see each other more closely, esteem and mutual good offices will follow, and they give other nations an example of truly Catholic affection.

Let us hear no more of the foibles of this pope or that; we forget the errors, we think not of the exaggerated accusations, and we thank God that he permits, from time to time on earth, that order of divine virtue which certain popes present; virtues which other princes, other men, do not nor can know; virtues which gladden the heart, overcome by the misery undergone by so many popes destined to sorrow, and whose sad annals we have sketched, to teach distinctly that grandeur should not be imprudently sought in the ecclesiastical state any more than in any other. Let us, at the same time, remember how many popes refused the tiara, or accepted it only through obedience.

It is known, but we cannot too often repeat it, that the duties of a Roman pontiff are immense. He must not allow himself to love and bless only where he thinks good, he must ask himself whether elsewhere, even where in-

grates predominate, there may not be need of him, of his advice, of his protection, and of his clemency.

Spain had been agitated by some domestic embarrassments. Eugene remembered that in that country he had a devoted son, Raymond, archbishop of Toledo. He wrote him a letter confirming the primacy which had previously been given by Lucius II. to the Church of Toledo, and to the letter he added the gift of the Golden Rose.

On the subject of the Golden Rose there has been a host of contradictory conjectures. According to Father Calmet, author of the *Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de la Lorraine* (lib. xix., No. 101, p. 140), Saint Leo IX., in 1050, instituted the benediction of the Golden Rose. This occurred at the period when that pontiff subjected to the Holy See the monastery of the Holy Cross, in Alsatia, which was founded by his ancestors, and had become his own by inheritance; and when, wishing to commemorate that junction or that exemption, he imposed on that monastery the annual tribute of a Golden Rose, weighing two ounces. According to the bull, that rose was to be placed in the hand of the pope reigning at the time, and subsequently carried by him in the usual ceremony of the fourth Sunday in Lent. The consistorial advocate, Charles Cartari, does not admit that supposition in his *Treatise on the Golden Rose, and on the Rites observed in its Benediction* (Rome, 1681 and 1687, 4to). He represents the institution as being so ancient that modern critics cannot agree with him.

Novaes (iii., p. 214), on the reign of Innocent IV., affirms that that pontiff sent the Golden Rose, in 1248, to the canons of Saint Juste, at Lyons, because he had lodged with them nearly seven years; that in the year 1249 he gave it to Raymond, count of Toulouse, who had visited the Holy Father in the same city of Lyons, and that he was the first pontiff who gave that benediction. Novaes, combating that fact, affirms that the institution did not take place until towards 1400, probably under Boniface IX. Without admitting what Dom Calmet says about it, he believes that Saint Leo, also, blessed golden roses. We may reconcile Novaes and Dom Calmet, by saying that the idea of a golden rose *received* may have given rise to the idea of a *golden rose given*. There is no difficulty, however, as to the day of the benediction: all agree that it is the fourth Sunday in Lent.

For some time it took place in the church of "Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," till the removal of the popes to Avignon. On their return, the ceremony continued to be performed in the hall of the *Paramenti*, in the pontifical palace, and then it was taken in procession, after it had been impregnated with balm and musk.*

* See Gretzer, tome v., part 2; *De Benedictionibus*, lib. ii., cap. 44, p. 270. See, also, Edmond Martène, *De Ant. Eccles. Discipl.*, c. xix., paragr. 17. Benedict XIV. may also be consulted in

Eugene, after gaining advantages over the Arnaldists, at length returned to Rome, towards the close of 1149.

In 1157, while the pope, on account of new disturbances, was obliged to live in the Roman Campagna, he received the two archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, called upon to give an account of their conduct on several occasions. Those prelates, knowing to what extremities the pope was reduced by the invading doctrines of the Arnaldists, who would not allow that the priest should live by the altar, brought with them a large sum of money, collected from the faithful in Germany, and thought themselves happy in being able to offer it to the pope. He refused to receive it. Close examination was made into the case of the bishops, whom it was not found necessary to treat with severity. On the contrary, Arnould, archbishop of Cologne, received special graces and privileges, which were preserved up to the commencement of the present century by the incumbent of that diocese, but which disappeared in the universal confusion suffered by Germany and other countries as well as France.

In 1152, Eugene canonized the Emperor Henry I., who had been king of Germany under the name of Henry II. The Holy Father rewarded the religious feeling of Ireland, which still shines no less brightly, by instituting four archbishoprics—those of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam.

At the solicitation of Gratian, the Benedictine monk, who is celebrated for his collection of the Decrees of the Popes and the Councils, Eugene instituted in the academies the grades of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor, with various privileges.

Novaes while reporting this fact seems to deny it, and to think that the institution of those grades was earlier.

The nearer Eugene approached the end of his days, the more noble and pious were his actions. The ingratitude of the Romans did not diminish his favors; he embellished Rome, rebuilt Saint Mary Major, and added a portico corresponding to the majesty of that temple, which he also adorned with rich mosaics.

He did not forget his family—that is to say, the Cistercian order. That was his glorious nepotism. He confirmed the statutes of the order, and granted it all the privileges it could reasonably desire, which it had on so many accounts merited. The pope loved Clairvaux, and he was also loved there. It was to Eugene III. that Saint Bernard addressed his books on *Consideration*. Eugene always looked upon Saint Bernard as his master, and held his opinions in the highest estimation. Men of distorted views

his Bullarium, tome iii., p. 340. There is also, upon this subject, an anonymous dissertation composed in 1758. See, also, the work of the Jesuit Father Baldassari, entitled, *La Rosa d'ore che si benedice nella quarta Domenica di quaresima*; Venice, 1759. See, also, a Latin letter by Pietro Busanelli, Theatin, which went through two editions in 1759.

have misrepresented this advice, to exaggerate the evils that Bernard re-proved. We cannot but admire both the personal wisdom of the pontiff and that of the government, whose advice and lessons, even when sometimes harshly given, were gratefully received and made profitable.

In the person of Eugene were found zeal, piety, wisdom, disinterestedness, and application to the government of the Church, to the advancement of religion, and to the extirpation of errors; admirable virtues, the union of which forms the ideal of a great pope. He sought out the learned, and appreciated them. He rewarded men of letters, and caused a spirit of emulation among them. He suggested the translation of the works of Saint John of Damascus, on orthodox faith.

He recovered Terracina, and built at Rome a palace near the Vatican. Subsequently, that palace was demolished, to make room for the vast structure which now serves as the abode of the pope. Eugene governed eight years, four months, and ten days. He died at Tivoli, on the 8th of July, 1153, and was interred at the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant only one day.

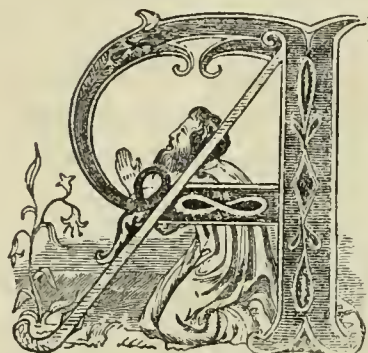
Saint Bernard, so well known, and so highly esteemed at Rome, often wrote to Eugene. In one of his letters, he says to him, "Excuse me, if I am troublesome, but I have a good excuse. It is said that I am pope, and not you. Those who have business, rush upon me from all quarters; and in that multitude of friends, there are some to whom I cannot conscientiously refuse my services."

Saint Bernard wrote to the Crusaders on the subject of the Jews. "I warn you not to believe all you hear, and to regulate your zeal by knowledge. The Jews should not be persecuted, nor killed, nor even banished. They are as living letters, representing to us the Passion of our Lord. It is for that that they are dispersed throughout all parts of the world, in order that, suffering the just penalty of so great a crime, they should bear testimony to our redemption. And they will be converted in the end, after the multitude of the Gentiles shall have entered into the Church." When Bernard spoke thus, the second Crusade had commenced, and King Louis had set out for Jerusalem.

Under this reign died Saint Malachi, archbishop of Armagh. Saint Bernard wrote his life at the request of the Abbot Congan, and of the whole of the community of Cistercians that he governed in Ireland.

In January, 1152, died the Abbot Suger. His funeral was attended by six bishops, several abbots, and King Louis the Young, who wept bitterly.

170. ANASTASIUS IV.—A. D. 1153.



ANASTASIUS IV., originally Conrad of Suburra, son of Benedict, a noble Roman, was a canon-regular, and prior of the monastery of Saint Anastasius, then cardinal-bishop of Saint Sabina, of the creation of Honorius II. He was elected pope on the 9th, and consecrated on the 12th of July, 1153. He was still vigorous, though aged, and was very learned in both civil and canon law, and endowed with extreme prudence.

The commencement of the reign of Anastasius was distinguished by an event which plunged the whole Church into deep grief.

Saint Bernard, called to Metz to restore peace between the nobles and the people, had the happiness to appease the anger of all. The difficulties were great: the two parties insulted each other when they met. Bernard proposed that delegates of the two parties should meet on an island on the Moselle and sign a treaty. And he had the consolation of seeing the antagonists perfectly reconciled.

This was the last act in the saint's life. On his return to Clairvaux, he fell sick. He explains the nature of his disease in a letter to Arnold, abbot of Bonneval (Letter 310). "My only pleasure is abstaining from nourishments. My legs and feet are swollen like those of a dropsical person. Nevertheless, to tell all to such a friend as you, the spirit is easy, though the flesh is infirm. Pray our Lord to save me without delay on my leaving this world; and in that last moment, when I shall find myself without merit, give me your prayers that temptation may not reach me. I write this myself, even in my present state, in order that, recognizing the hand, you may also recognize the heart."

He died on the 20th of August, 1153. His body, clothed in the sacerdotal vestments, was borne into the chapel of the Blessed Virgin. The nobility and the people of the whole neighborhood assembled, and the whole valley resounded with their grief. Saint Bernard died in his seventy-third year—forty years after his profession as a Cistercian, and thirty-eight after he became abbot of Clairvaux. He founded or added to his order seventy-seven monasteries;* thirty-five in France, eleven in Spain, six in the Low

* Fleury, iv., lib. lxix., p. 606.

Countries, five in England, as many in Ireland, as many in Savoy, four in Italy, two in Germany, two in Sweden, one in Hungary, and one in Denmark. But, including the foundations made by abbeys dependent upon Clairvaux, the number would amount to more than one hundred and sixty. The Church honors the memory of Saint Bernard on the anniversary of his death. The doctrine, zeal, and piety that distinguish his writings, rank him among the most admirable Fathers of the Church.*

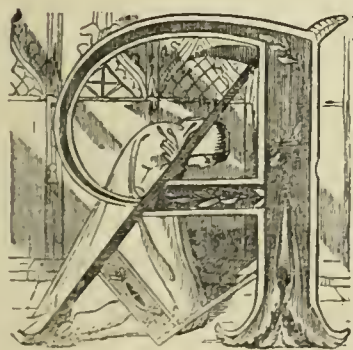
In the year 1154, Anastasius IV. granted to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem the possession in full of all that had been or should thereafter be given to them for the support of pilgrims.

He granted to the abbot of Corvei, in Saxony, for his life, the use of the ring.

This pope built a new palace near Saint Mary of the Rotunda. He governed one year, four months, and twenty-three days. He died on the 2d of December, and was interred in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran.

The Holy See was not vacant a day.

171. ADRIAN IV.—A. D. 1154.



ADRIAN IV. was the only native of England who became pope. He was originally named Nicholas Breakspear; he was of poor and low birth, and first saw the light at Langley, near Saint Albans, Hertfordshire. He went to France to study, and was at first a servant to the regular canons of the monastery of Saint Rufus, near Avignon. From that obscure position, he succeeded in being received into the order. When one is naturally intellectual, the intellect is drawn from the works of wise men, increases the innate capacity to become the head of others, which explains the sudden fortunes of talent and genius.

As a monk at Saint Rufus, Adrian, by studious vigils, continued to improve in the most difficult literature and science, in which his progress was

* The edition of the works of Saint Bernard that should be consulted by the learned, is that of Dom Mabillon, 1690, 2 vols. folio; reprinted in 1719, 2 vols. folio. Saint Bernard, though born in the century of the scholastics, has neither the method nor the dryness of many of them. Protestants have done him more justice than many Catholics of our century. He composed the beautiful and touching canticle, Ave, Maris Stella. We have his life by Le Maistre and by Villefont; the latter is best. See the sublime prayer to the Virgin, that Dante puts into the mouth of Saint Bernard (*Paradiso, Canto 33*).

as rapid as it was brilliant. His regular conduct, his application to study, and that nobleness of language that is derived from the reading of the great writers, rendered him agreeable to his brethren, and on the death of the abbot, he became their superior. Envy, however, soon gave rise to quarrels; new monks, who had not taken part in his election, accused him to the pope. Eugene II. merely said, as he dismissed them, "Go choose a superior with whom you will be able or rather willing to live in peace; this one shall not long be a burden to you." And, in fact, the pope summoned Breakspear to him, and created him cardinal-bishop of Albano.

He then sent him as his legate to Denmark and Norway.

The worthy ambassador of the Holy See had the honor of confirming in the faith the still rude Scandinavians. On his return, he won the esteem of the Romans, and, finally, was unanimously elected pope on the 3d, and consecrated on the 5th of December, 1154.

On hearing of the election of one of his subjects, Henry, the new king of England, wrote a letter of congratulation to the pope, in which the king felicitated his country on having produced a tree so happily transplanted; he conjured His Holiness to fill the Church with worthy ministers, and to procure succor for the Holy Land, and for the empire of Constantinople.

Nevertheless, the Romans soon revolted under the orders of the obstinate Arnald of Brescia, who had succeeded in getting back to Rome. The revolt was encouraged by William, king of Sicily, and Frederic Barbarossa I., the successor to Conrad III. A cardinal, on his way to the pope, was attacked and wounded. The Arnaldists, faithful to their old system, excited new disturbances in their desire to establish a new Roman senate, and the pope was obliged to lay the city of Rome under interdict, a punishment which never till then had been inflicted upon that august city, even in the worst times for religion. The celebration of the holy offices were suspended until the 23d of March, 1155; but at length the senators, urged by the clergy and Roman people, repaired to the pope and declared that Arnald of Brescia and his followers should be driven from the city, if they would not be obedient to His Holiness.

In fact, Arnald had to take to flight; but he was arrested, and perished miserably by order of the prefect of Rome.

Meanwhile, Frederic Barbarossa was on his way to Rome, where he had determined to become emperor. The pope, knowing that Barbarossa came with an army more like an enemy than like a prince deferential to the Holy See, sent three cardinals to Viterbo to submit the treaty and conditions which he was to sign before entering Rome.

At San Quirico, Frederic solemnly swore to defend and preserve the rights of the Roman pontiffs; and then he continued his journey towards Rome. Adrian met him at Sutri; but the king having refused to hold the bridle of

the pontiff's horse, the pope refused the kiss of peace. After some discussion, Frederic yielded all that was demanded of him, and complied with the received custom of his predecessors. What a step from the poor servitor born at Langley, to an humble condition in life, to that pontiff who exacted that a king should kiss his feet and pay him all the honors previously paid to sovereign pontiffs! This act of reverence, which consisted in holding the bridle of the pope's horse, had been paid by King Pepin to Stephen II., in 753; by Louis II. to Nicholas I.; and thrice to Adrian II., in 857, by Conrad, king of the Romans; also to Urban II., at the interview of Cremona, in 1095; by William, duke of Calabria, to Calixtus II., at Troia, near Naples, in 1120; by Lothaire, emperor, to Innocent II., in 1131.

The same homage was subsequently paid by the Emperor Frederic in 1162; by Louis VII., king of France, in 1163; by Henry III., king of England, in 1177; by those three monarchs to Alexander III.; by Otho IV., emperor, to Innocent III., when that prince was crowned in 1209; and by Charles II., king of Naples, and Andrew, king of Hungary, to Celestine V. This homage was also paid by Philip the Fair, to Clement V., in 1305; by John, duke of Normandy, and future heir of the kingdom of France, to Clement VI., in 1342; by Charles IV., emperor, to Urban V., in 1368; by Charles III., king of Sicily, to Urban VI., in 1383; by Sigismund, king of the Romans, to Martin V., in 1418, and then to Eugene IV., in 1433; by Frederic III., king of the Romans, to Nicholas V., in 1452; and, finally, by the Emperor Charles V. to Clement VII., in 1530.

In 1155, Adrian excommunicated William, son of Roger, king of Italy, who had commenced hostilities, and refused to recognize former treaties.

Adrian was the first pontiff who resided with all the *Curia*, or pontifical court at Orvieto; he surrounded with walls and towers the town of Radicofani, which now belongs to Tuscany. This pope, the worthy successor of so many illustrious popes, governed the Church four years, eight months, and twenty-nine days.

This was a prince of exemplary life, of sublime intelligence, and great firmness of soul; he never yielded to anger, and he was ready to pardon. He was so free from nepotism that he left his own mother, though he was by no means ashamed of her, to be relieved by the church of Canterbury. He died in the city of Anagni, on the 1st of September, 1159, and was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant five days.

As previously mentioned, this was the one only English pontiff; but how wise, noble, generous, and worthy of all admiration he was! Will God so ordain events as to place again among the high dignities of Rome a subject of that great and powerful nation, which needs another glory amidst the immensities of its power? Our bishops of France have ordered us to pray for England's return to the one only true faith. That return, should the

will of God effect it, will perhaps bring us (who knows the contrary?) a compatriot of Adrian IV., to be first created cardinal, and then raised to the tiara by the sacred college.

Let us add that we should prudently make our conditions; an English pope should live altogether in Rome.

172. ALEXANDER III.—A. D. 1159.



ALEXANDER III., originally named Laurentinus Bandinelli, of the Paperoni family of Sienna, canon-regular at Pisa and at Saint John Lateran, and professor of Holy Scripture in the University of Bologna, was created cardinal-deacon in 1145, by Eugene, and then named by the same pope cardinal-priest of Saint Mark, and vice-chancellor of the holy Roman Church; and, finally,

he was made legate from Adrian IV. to William, king of Sicily, and then to the Emperor Frederic I. He was elected pope after three days' deliberation. He refused the tiara, but was compelled to accept it, and he was crowned in the estate of Ninfa, near Veletri, on the 20th of September, 1159.

As soon as Alexander was raised to the Chair of Saint Peter, seeing the threatened schism, he addressed an encyclical letter to bishops of the principal churches, to inform them of his election. A few days afterwards, he wrote another letter, stating the manner in which Cardinal Octavian had endeavored to seize the pontifical authority. One of those letters was addressed to Gerard, bishop, another to the canons, and a third to the doctors and professors of Bologna; and Tiraboschi remarks, on this subject, that the university of that city was the first to be thus honored with a letter from a sovereign pontiff.

Saint Bernard had foretold the pontificate of Alexander, and at the same time announced the tribulations and the embarrassments that would attend upon his labors.

Henry II., king of England, Frederic I., emperor, and four antipopes, were those who most tried the patience of this pontiff. But, whether obliged to fly, or live in exile, or whether he was falsely excommunicated by the antipopes, his courage and his heroic constancy never failed him.

Alexander remained at Ninfa to avoid the disturbances which were excited in Rome by the partisans of Octavian. Thence he was enabled to

return to the capital in 1161; some time after, he canonized Saint Edward, king of England, who died on the 4th of January, 1066; then, leaving a vicar-general, he went to Terracina to embark in a galley for France.

In 1162, the Holy Father arrived at Genoa on the galleys which belonged to William, king of Sicily. There, in spite of the prohibition of Frederic, who was about to dishonor himself by the destruction of the city of Milan, the clergy and the people gave the pontiff an honorable reception. In the month of April he arrived at Montpelier, where he held a council, which excommunicated the antipope Octavian, who had assumed the name of Victor IV. Early in 1163, the pope arrived at Paris. King Louis the Young met him two leagues from the city, kissed his feet, and received from the pope the *Golden Rose*.*

From Paris he went to Tours, where he celebrated a council, in which he received with great honors Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. In this council the errors of the Albigenses were again condemned. The same year, at the solicitation of Charles, king of Sweden, and of the Goths, he canonized Saint Helena, a Swedish widow, who fell a martyr as she returned from the Holy Sepulchre.

In 1164, Alexander approved the military order of Calatrava, founded in 1158 by divers Spaniards, who defended that territory against the Saracens. These Spaniards, under the command of Diego Velasquez de la Bureba, a Cistercian novice, vanquished the infidels. Then he and the blessed Raymond of Fiterio, his abbot, founded at Calatrava, which was granted to them in fief by King Sancho III., that order which remained subject to the Cistercian rule, adapted, however, to the pursuit of arms, because they had to be always ready to meet the Saracens. The order had many vicissitudes.

Cardinal Julius was Alexander's vicar at Rome, and these Romans, who always ill-treated the pontiffs when they resided in the city, and bitterly regretted them when they left it, now grown wiser, sent an ambassador to the pope to entreat him to return to Rome. Escorted by an army of King William, Alexander returned to Rome in 1165, and was received with honors still more pompous than those which had been paid to his predecessors. At the same moment, the antipope Pascal III., named by Frederic to replace the antipope Victor IV., canonized Charlemagne. The Church has not approved, but only tolerated this canonization, and that is sufficient, says Lambertini, to warrant the belief that he has been beatified *equivalently*. (See Novaes, iii., p. 116.) However, Charlemagne receives the title of saint in the churches of France, Germany, and Flanders, but his name has never been introduced into the Roman martyrology. (Novaes, *ibid.*)

In 1166, Frederic advanced to besiege Rome. To this period belong the

* See note, p. 343.

sufferings of Saint Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. Persecuted by King Henry II. (of England), the prelate fled to Pontigny, a dependency of the Cistercian abbey. Henry II. wished the archbishop to be driven from that asylum, and he wrote threatening letters to the chapter general. "You," he says, "have received Thomas mine enemy into one of your houses; I forbid you to keep him any longer, if you would not lose all that you possess in my territory, on either side of the sea."

When the chapter adjourned, the Cistercian abbot went to Pontigny, accompanied by the bishop of Parma, formerly a monk of the order, and by some abbots.* They declared to the archbishop, in the name of the chapter, the order that they had received from the king, and added: "My Lord Archbishop, the chapter does not, therefore, expel you, but it begs you prudently to consider what it is best for you to do." The prelate having reflected, replied: "I should be grieved, indeed, should an order, which has so charitably received me, suffer on my account; therefore, wherever else I go, I shall promptly avoid your houses; but I hope that He who feeds the fowls of the air, will care for me and for the companions of my exile." He sent intelligence of this to Louis, king of France, whom it much astonished, and who communicated it to those who were around him. Then he exclaimed: "Religion, Religion! where art thou? Behold these men whom we fancy dead to the world, yet fearing the threats of the world, and, for the sake of the worldly goods which they pretend to despise for the sake of God, abandon the work of God, and drive away those who suffer for his cause!" Then, turning to the prelate's messengers, he said: "Salute your master in my name, and tell him boldly that, though he be abandoned by all the world, and by those who pretend to be dead to the world, I will not abandon him, and whatever the king of England, my vassal, may do or threaten against the archbishop, I will constantly protect him, because he suffers for justice. Tell him, then, to let me know in what part of my dominions he prefers to remain, and he shall find it ready to receive him."

Saint Bernard no longer existed (the documents were prepared for his canonization), but his courage and determination, his eloquence and his strength, lived again in the heart and in the mouth of a king of France, in the 12th century. The demand of Henry II. very much resembles that which the English government made for the expulsion of Charles Edward, the pretender, after the battle of Culloden. Unfortunately, in the latter case, France had not a government to reply in the spirit of Louis VII. Subsequently, the same Louis VII. further addressed the envoys of Henry II., of England, in the following beautiful words:

"Tell your master that if he will not abandon the customs which he

* Fleury, iv., lib. lxxi., p. 677.

claims to have been handed down to him by his ancestors, although they are said to be contrary to the laws of God, still less will I give up the ancient right of France. For France has ever been accustomed to protect the unfortunate and the afflicted, and chiefly to receive those who suffer exile in the cause of justice. I have received the archbishop of Canterbury from the hands of the pope, whom alone I recognize as my suzerain here on earth, and, therefore, I will not abandon this archbishop for emperor, for king, or for any power in the world."

We shall see that those admirable words of our monarch did not at all move the king of England. Men of great station who have not great souls, are always surrounded by sycophants, ready to act upon their slightest hint. Henry having previously exclaimed, "Will none of my friends and servants rid me of this Thomas?" was answered by four dastards, who assassinated the archbishop.

The emperor was again excommunicated in a council held in 1167; but the imperial arms being on the point of triumphing, the pope travelled to Gaeta, in the garb of a pilgrim, and there resumed the pontifical habits, in which to proceed to Benevento.

In that city, on the 15th of March, 1168, he received the ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Manuel, who promised to reunite the Greek to the Latin churches, and to deliver it from the persecution of the emperor Frederic. Manuel attached a condition to that promise; he asked in exchange the investiture of the empire of the West.

The Holy Father thanked Manuel for his offers of kindness and for his wishes for the greater glory of religion. As to the demand for the empire of the West, the pontiff replied that God had raised him to a high position of authority, in which he should show himself the friend of peace and not the fomenter of discord.

In the same year, 1168, the pope, at the request of Waldemar, king of Denmark, canonized that monarch's father, Saint Canute, king of that realm, martyred, in 1132, by Magnus, son of King Nicholas.* Lambertini dates that canonization in 1164.

To the same or the next year is attributed the foundation of the city of Alexandria; it was built by the partisans of Alexander, and in his honor, in a spot called Rovereta. The pope's enemies thought fit to add to that name the words *della Paglia*, in derision, and the city, which has now become one of the greatest fortresses in the world, preserves the name of Alexandria of Straw.

On his return to Rome, Alexander confirmed King Henry II., of England,

* See Bollandus, at the 7th of January, and Isaac Pontacus, Historian of the kingdom of Denmark, b. 6, p. 252; Amsterdam, 1631.

in possession of the kingdom of Ireland, which he had conquered. The pope soon repented of his kindness; he learned the assassination of Thomas à Becket. The king sued for pardon, but Alexander would not grant it, although the king protested that the crime had been committed without his order.

In 1173, the pope canonized Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and the acts of canonization were accompanied by testimonies of admiration at the virtue of so courageous a martyr. In 1174 took place the canonization of the great Saint Bernard, first abbot of Clairvaux. He died on the 20th of August, 1153. The order of the Carthusians was approved by Alexander in 1176.

Frederic, weary of useless wars and of the plotting which he had so dishonorably resorted to in his endeavors to destroy the legitimate authority of Alexander, sent ambassadors to solicit peace.

The Holy Father could not trust to the word of Frederic; but as the common father of Christendom, he could not discourage the real or apparent penitence of the emperor. He went to Venice on one of the galleys of King William of Sicily, whom he still found a faithful friend and a devout Catholic. There he concluded the long-desired peace between the Church and the empire, to which Frederic was more than ever forced by a check which his arms had met with in a war against the Venetians. The Doge Zani, among other privileges, obtained that of having a drawn sword carried before him on great holidays. The pope presented him with the Golden Rose that he had blessed on the fourth Sunday in Lent, and he also gave him a ring with which he and his successors should espouse the Adriatic on Ascension day, in sign of sovereignty acquired over that sea. On the 24th of July, the emperor asked absolution, and received it in front of the doors of Saint Mark. He knelt before the Holy Father, who, in tears, hastily raised him to his feet, gave him the kiss of peace, and blessed him. On the following day, the emperor received Communion from the hands of the Holy Father, and they publicly exchanged marks of friendship. The ceremony of holding the stirrup when the pope mounted his horse, was renewed in all its vigor.

It is an indecent calumny, that when the emperor kissed the feet of the pope, the latter struck him on the head, and said: "*Thou shalt tread upon the asp and the basilisk, and thou shalt trample upon the lion and the dragon;*" and that the angry emperor retorted: "*Not to thee was that said, but to Peter;*" and that, finally, the pope rejoined—"Both to me and to Peter." These are absurd falsehoods. A pontiff like Alexander, almost always a fugitive, wandering from State to State, could not think of being guilty of so ill-advised an insult. In such ceremonies, every thing is prearranged on both sides. Frederic, constrained into peace by disasters which weakened his

power and might even endanger his life, and Alexander thinking of nothing but the good of the Church, had both settled beforehand the homage, its form, and even the slightest words that were to be spoken; the rest is the invention of the enemies of religion. The fable, however, is well made up. The words attributed to the pope have a character of pride and of false forgiveness that our enemies delight to believe; the reply of the emperor appears a Catholic confession which repels all idea of respect for Alexander. The repartee of the pope is also a fine touch of the romantic, which must rejoice all who dread the glory of religion. The whole mass of accusations is further refuted by Alexander's own letters, written at the very time, and in Venice itself.*

During his stay in Venice, Alexander sent a legate to a king who lived between Persia and Armenia, called, it was said, Prester John. Modern critics affirm that he was at once king and Christian priest, but that he professed Nestorianism.†

In 1177, the pope approved the military order of Alcantara, instituted against the Saracens in 1156, by Don Soero Fernandez, under the Cistercian rule.

In 1178, Alexander returned to Rome. In 1179, he celebrated the third Lateran and eleventh general council, consisting of more than three hundred bishops; there it was resolved that no pontiff should be recognized unless elected by the votes of two-thirds of the cardinals, exclusive of the voice of the one elected. This law is still in force.

Among other regulations, that council decided that no one under thirty years of age should be elected bishop; and that bishops should not be sumptuous in apparel, be present at any banquet, or go hunting.

The Albigenses were again condemned; and soon divided themselves into *Catari*, *Patarini*, and *Publicani*. They followed the heresy of the Manicheans, rejected the Old Testament, prayers for the dead, the real presence, and the authority of the Church, and maintained many other errors.

To reward the services rendered by Alphonso I., of Portugal, Alexander granted to him, in 1179, the title of king, which he had taken in the time of Lucius III., but which no pontiff had confirmed.

Alexander was the first pope who reserved to himself the canonization of saints, a regulation profoundly wise and necessary,‡ not only to invest

* See Baronius, Labbe, and Martène. To their testimony I add another fact, which it seems to me no one has yet considered. In the true language of the popes, that has long been in use, they use the first person plural; they say *Nos, we*, not *Ego, I*. The inventor forgot that to speak correctly Alexander must have said, *Et nobis et Petro*. But inventors cannot think of every thing. They are ignorant people, for the most part, who make up such fables; they talk about Italy without ever being outside of Magdeburg. Fleury says nothing about these wretched inventions.

† Otho of Frisingen, lib vii., cap. 23.

‡ Feller, i., p. 111.

canonization with respect and insure its general reception; but, above all, to remedy the abuses and levity with which most of those who imagined they had the right, had proceeded to a judgment of so great importance. Many of his predecessors had already endeavored to remedy this disorder; but their efforts had not been completely successful. The canonization of Saint Gaultier, abbot of Pontoise, by the archbishop of Rouen, in 1153, is almost the last example that history furnishes of saints not canonized by Roman pontiffs.

Alexander possessed a courage equal to his misfortunes, and a modesty which his triumphs never altered. He died at Civita Castellana, and, on the 30th of August, 1181, was interred at Saint John Lateran.

He had governed the Church twenty-one years, eleven months, and twenty-three days.*

The antipopes that troubled his reign were Victor IV., who died impenitent at Lucca, in 1164; Pascal, who died impenitent at Rome, in 1167; Calixtus III., who repented, and died at Benevento, in 1178; and, finally, Innocent, who did reluctant penance in the monastery of La Cava.

* The life of Alexander III. was written by Cornelius Frangipani, and by John Francis Leredano; Venice, 1637, 4to; and 1662, 12mo. This last life was translated into German, and printed at Leipsic in 1732, 8vo. A Spaniard, Antonio Velasquez, published the *Vida de Alexandre III., Papa*; Madrid, 1656, 8vo. Pandolpho d'Alatro, Bernard di Guido, and Nicholas de Rosellis, also wrote the life of Alexander III. These three works are in *Muratori, Script. rer. Ital.*

The following is the judgment which Voltaire pronounces on Alexander III., in the summary of his *General History. Œuvres Complètes*, douze vols., 8vo; Paris, 1817; tome x., pp. 998.

"The man perhaps who, in those rude times that we call the Middle Ages, deserved best from the human race, was Pope Alexander III. It was he who, in a council in the 12th century, abolished slavery, as far as he could. It was he who, in Venice, triumphed by his wisdom over the violence of the Emperor Barbarossa, and obliged Henry II., of England, to ask pardon of God and man for the murder of Thomas à Becket. He revived the rights of the people, and repressed the crimes of kings. We have remarked that, before that time, all Europe, excepting a small number of cities, was divided into two classes of men: the lords of lands, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, and *slaves*. The men of law who assisted the knights, the bailiffs, the stewards of the fiefs, in their judgments, were really only serfs by birth. If men have regained their rights, it is chiefly to Pope Alexander III. that they are indebted for it; it is to him that so many cities owe their splendor." This opinion of Voltaire on the great Alexander III. has not been cited frequently enough.



173. LUCIUS III.—A. D. 1181.



LUCIUS III., who was originally named Ubaldo Alucingoli, belonged to an illustrious family of Lucca. In 1140, Innocent II. named him cardinal-priest of Saint Praxedes; and in 1158, Adrian IV. created him cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Veletri.

Dean of the sacred college, and a man of matured years and prudence, not very learned, but well skilled in public affairs, he had filled successfully missions to France, Sicily, and the Emperor Frederic.

Ubaldo was elected pope at Veletri, on the 1st of September, 1181, and crowned on the 6th of that month. He was unable to remain long at Rome, because he feared the insults with which he was threatened by some Roman nobles, who saw in him a man not likely to submit to exactions insupportable to a Roman pontiff.

In 1182, he freed William, king of Scotland, from an excommunication pronounced against him by the archbishop of York.

At the beginning of 1183, the Sicilian bishopric of Montreal was raised into a metropolis.

This pope,* in a council held at Verona, in the year 1184, at which the Emperor Frederic was present, published a constitution, in which the two powers concurred in the endeavor to extirpate heresy. That constitution required bishops to inquire by themselves or by commissioners, as to the conduct of persons suspected of heresy, which, indeed, was a duty inherent in the office of bishops. It also shows that after the Church had employed spiritual means against culprits, they were given over to the secular arm, to which it belonged to inflict temporal punishment.†

While Lucius was busied in laboring for the better administration of the Christian republic, and urging the kings of France and England to send aid to the Crusaders, he fell sick, and died on the 25th of November, 1195, after governing the Church four years, two months, and twenty-three days. He was interred in the Cathedral of Verona.‡

* Feller, iv., p. 224.

† This Constitution is in vol. x., Labbe's Councils.

‡ John Francis Tinto gives the epitaph placed on the tomb of Lucius:

*Luci, Lucca tibi dedit ortum, pontificatum
Ostia, Papatum Roma, Verona mori.
Immo, Verona dedit verum tibi vivere, Roma
Exilium, curas Ostia, Lucca mori.*

There was no vacancy in the Holy See.

We have lost sight of the kingdom of Jerusalem. It was weakened more and more, both internally by the dissensions of the nobles, and externally by their misconduct towards the Saracens. King Baldwin IV. was seized with leprosy; he became suspicious of Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and Raymond, count of Tripoli, believing that they wished to dethrone him. He, therefore, resolved to betroth his sister Sibylla, widow of the marquis of Montferrat; and instead of giving her to one of the powerful lords of the country, married her in haste to a young French knight, Guy de Lusignan, son of Hugh, count de la Merche.

This marriage took place during Easter-week, according to custom. On the other hand, Arnold de Chatillon, chief of the Templars, was lord of Kerek, a strong city in Syria, named by the ancients the Rock of the Desert, because it is the entrance to the desert of Arabia, and is on a high mountain. Arnold often made sorties from that place, and without any regard to truces made with Saladin, carried off caravans of merchants, whom he put in irons, after he had pillaged their merchandise. He even determined to carry into effect a design which he had formed many years before, to march to the very gates of Mecca, and he commenced preparations for that expedition.

Some months later, a vessel, with fifteen hundred Christians on board, was shipwrecked near Damietta. Saladin ordered all of them who were saved to be put in irons, and their merchandise to be confiscated; and then he sent to the king of Jerusalem a demand for all the Mussulmans who had been captured by Arnold de Chatillon, and the Templars of Kerek. He also demanded satisfaction for the hostile acts committed by the Christians in violation of existing treaties. In default of satisfaction, Saladin declared war against the king of Jerusalem, and threatened to treat the Christians as the Templars had treated their prisoners. King Baldwin contemptuously dismissed the envoys of Saladin, through fear of displeasing the Templars, who professed to obey no one but the reigning pope, Lucius III., and the superiors of their own order. The Templars would on no account give up the booty they had taken from the caravans. So they constrained Baldwin to declare war against the advice of all the nobles; for he had not more than two or three thousand infantry and seven hundred cavalry, while Saladin was at the head of twenty thousand men of all arms. This imprudence was to lead to terrible catastrophes.

That epitaph has all the precision and something of the mystery of the monumental style; but when, with a little attention and true Christian philosophy, we see that the author by birth means death and by death life, the verses are piquant, and describe quite well the career of Lucius III.

174. URBAN III.—A. D. 1185.



UBERT CRIVELLI, a Milanese, and canon-regular, whom Alexander III. had named cardinal-priest of Saint Lawrence *in Damaso*, was elected pope at Verona on the 25th of November, and took the name of Urban III. He was crowned on the 1st of December; but he could not go to Rome, as the troubles in that city were not yet ended. A good understanding had existed between Lucius III. and the Emperor Frederic. But the latter did not preserve the same feeling towards Urban, and he violently seized upon the patrimony left by the Countess Matilda to Saint Gregory VII. The same emperor converted to the use of his own treasury the property of deceased bishops, and he usurped, under pretext of reforms, the income of nunneries. For an instant, he moderated his attacks. He hoped to have his son Henry crowned as emperor, but Urban refused. Under similar circumstances, Alexander III. had demanded that Frédéric should give the authority to his son. But Urban said that it was not a time in which it would be fitting to have two emperors on the throne at once. The pope, however, gave permission to Henry II., king of England, to have such one of his sons he as chose crowned king of Ireland. The cardinal legate, Octavian Conti, being empowered, crowned Prince John, to whom the pontiff sent a beautiful crown of peacock's feathers, mounted in gold.

The Holy Father having set out for Venice to infuse order into the army which was going to the aid of the Crusaders, heard, at Ferrara, the news of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Sultan of Egypt, eighty-eight years after the taking of that city by the Christians. The pope was so grieved at the news, that he fell sick, and died on the 19th of October, 1187. He had governed the Church one year, ten months, and twenty-five days. He was interred in the cathedral of Ferrara, the inhabitants of that city paying him magnificent funeral honors during seven days.

There was no vacancy in the Holy See.

It is painful to give an account of the misfortune with which the Christians were now afflicted. On the 19th of September, 1187, Saladin laid siege to Jerusalem. Baldwin IV. had died, leaving the throne to Baldwin V., his nephew. That youth, son of Sibylla, sister of Baldwin IV., by William

Longsword, died suddenly in 1186, and Sibylla succeeded in giving the throne to her second husband, Guy de Lusignan.*

The incapacity and the indolence of the new king, the quarrels of parties, and the licentiousness that prevailed in Palestine, of which the Patriarch Heraclius set the example, prognosticated the approaching ruin of the kingdom of Jerusalem.†

M. Michaud, in the second volume of his *History of Crusades*, gives a frightful picture of the morals of that time, and exclaims that, by the permission of Christ, Saladin was to become the rod of God's anger. At that juncture, another caravan was plundered near Kerek. Saladin demanded satisfaction for this new outrage. He had defeated Guy de Lusignan in a pitched battle. The cities of Palestine surrendered to ransom their king; it was clear that the great glory of the Western arms had reached its end. The wreck of Guy's army, the children of the dead warriors, and a great number of Christian families from the devastated provinces had taken shelter in Jerusalem. A hundred thousand people were in the holy city; but only a small portion of them were warriors capable of defending the city. The multitude only augmented the difficulty, and rendered resistance almost impossible. Saladin summoned the inhabitants to give up the city to him, promising that if they did so they should be aided with money and with fertile lands in Syria. Those offers being rejected, the Sultan swore that he would raze the towers and ramparts of Jerusalem, and avenge upon the Christians the Mussulman blood that had been shed by the soldiers of Godfrey de Bouillon. The besieged chose for their leader Balian d'Ibelin, an old warrior. Saladin, after encamping for a few days on the west of the city, directed his attacks against the north, as all former besiegers of Jerusalem had done;—Joash, king of Israel; the generals of Nebuchodonosor; Alexander the Great; Ptolemy, son of Lagus; Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey, Crassus, Titus, Chosroes, Omar, and Godfrey de Bouillon.

Twelve days were passed in continual combats. At first the Christians fought with great courage, and made vigorous resistance; but soon perceiving that their efforts were useless against the imposing forces of the enemy, they were seized with despair. The soldiers no longer dared to remain on the ramparts by night, for the walls threatened to crumble under the shock of Saladin's machines; and instead of standing to their arms, they hastened to the churches to invoke the protection of Heaven. The Latins, learning that the Greek and Eastern Christians had formed a plot for putting an end to the war by giving up Jerusalem to the Mussulmans,

* M. Michaud characterizes Guy de Lusignan in these few words: "He was a knight without renown and without personal glory."

† *Palestine*, p. 624; Paris, Didot

hastened to offer capitulation to Saladin. Queen Sibylla was incapable of perceiving the importance of the deposit that was intrusted to her. Courage and faith had gained the Holy Sepulchre for the Christians; indecision and irreligion were to yield it up to our enemies.

Saladin consulted the Mussulman doctors upon the demand for a capitulation. They replied that the prince might accept it without violation of the oath he had made. The warriors obtained permission to go to Tyre or Tripoli.* The other inhabitants were to be considered as slaves, but with permission to purchase their liberty. The ransom was fixed at ten pieces of gold for each man, five for each woman, and two for each child. This capitulation, to which different authors assign different dates, took place, in fact, according to all the Arabian authors, on the 2d of October, 1187.

A delay of forty days was granted to the Christians to make preparations for their departure, while the Mussulmans took possession of Jerusalem.

"At length," says Michaud, "the fatal day arrived on which the Christians were to depart from Jerusalem. All the gates of the city were closed except that of David. Saladin, elevated on a throne that gleamed with gold, saw a despairing population file past him; the patriarch, followed by the clergy, first appeared, carrying the sacred vessels, the ornaments of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and treasures of which, says an Arabian author, God alone knew the value. The queen of Jerusalem came next, attended by the principal barons and knights. Saladin respected her grief, and spoke most kindly to her. After the queen, came a great number of women, carrying their children in their arms, and giving utterance to the most piercing cries. Many of them approached the throne of Saladin: 'Behold at your feet,' said they, 'the wives, the mothers, and the daughters of your prisoners; we are quitting forever our country which they gloriously defended; they aided us to support life, in losing them we have lost our last hope. If you deign to restore them to us, they will solace our misery, and we shall no longer be without support in the world.' Saladin was touched by their prayers, and promised to mitigate the miseries of so many unfortunate families. He restored children to their mothers, and to wives their husbands, who were among the captives. Many Christians had abandoned their furniture and their most precious effects, to bear away on their shoulders aged and infirm relatives or friends. Saladin was melted by the spectacle, and rewarded with his alms the piety and virtue of his enemies. Taking pity upon all kinds of misfortunes, he permitted the Hospitallers to remain in the city to take care of the pilgrims and those whom serious sickness prevented from leaving Jerusalem."

Of a hundred thousand Christians inhabiting the city, only fourteen thou-

* Michaud, as previously quoted.

sand remained in slavery, and of those, four or five thousand were young children. The noble and pious Balean employed the treasures, that had been intended for the expenses of the siege in delivering a portion of the inhabitants. Saladin broke the bonds of a great number of paupers and orphans, and his brother, Malek-Adel, paid the ransom of two thousand prisoners.

Such was the real end of the kingdom founded by Godfrey, which had lasted eighty-eight years. Subsequently, the royalty of Jerusalem was nothing more than an empty title; for the temporary domination of the Emperor Frederic II. was a mere chimera, without any serious character.

According to Fleury,* Saladin caused all the bells of all the churches to be broken up. As for the patriarchal church, which had been the great mosque, built on the site of Solomon's Temple, all the marks of Christianity being removed from it, it was re-established, as under Omar, for the Mahometan worship.

All the other churches were also changed into mosques, excepting that of the Holy Sepulchre, which the Syrian Christians ransomed. These Syrians were schismatics. There may, then, be circumstances under which even a schismatic, though still remaining in his error, may render an important service to the Holy See. Some Moslem, seeing the pecuniary sacrifices made by these Syrians to save the Holy Sepulchre, urged Saladin to destroy the church and all the other holy places, saying, says Fleury, "that to leave these holy places was to favor the idolatry of the Christians, and the wrong they do the Messiah by honoring the marks of his Passion. For these Moslem believe that Jesus was not crucified, but Judas in his stead. They added that by depriving Christians of this object of their devotion, they would remove all pretext for crusades; but the ablest Moslem doctors thought differently. They told Saladin not to be more scrupulous than the Caliph Omar, who preserved the church; that if the holy places were ruined, Jerusalem would lose the source of its wealth by the stopping of pilgrimages. Finally, that the blow would be felt as deeply by the oriental Christians as by those of the West, and might excite them to revolt and join the latter through the common interest of religion. Saladin yielded, and permitted Christians to visit the holy places as before, provided they came unarmed and paid certain duties.

We may here express a regret that must fill the hearts of a Catholic historian and of the readers who follow the course of these annals. What riches, what treasures of greatness, piety, courage, fortitude, disinterestedness, and true Catholicity did not God send to the Holy Land! Godfrey, Eustace, Baldwin, his brothers, sons of the pious Duchess Ida, advanced to

* Fleury, iv., lib. lxxiv., p. 78.

free the Holy Sepulchre. Scarce a century expires, and the descendants of these heroes, and those bound to this noble blood by ties of kindred, are debased almost to impious beings, trembling before the foeman's sword, scarcely daring to wield a weapon, and sunk in all the vile empty feelings which spring from avarice. The man who bore the title of king of holy Jerusalem, is content to be indemnified by the vain possession of the island of Cyprus, travestied into a kingdom.

Sibylla has no longer in her veins the blood of Ida, her glorious ancestor, though Melisenda, eldest daughter of Baldwin II. All that was noble, beneficent, just in Catholicity, in 1098, is sent to Palestine to found a French State. All that the burning climate could bring forth of vile and effeminate, failed later to defend the kingdom. Could no elements remain pure to defend the tomb of Christ? But God wished a momentary glory for his servants, and then their chastisement. He even orders, and it is the hardest punishment of our vices, that heroism should pass from the Christian to the Moslem camp. The victorious Saladin humbles the vanquished by a clemency which his law forbids. All is not then corrupted in that climate, whose influence we have endeavored to urge in excuse of our brethren. God raises up amidst the intoxicating delights of that climate a lofty, generous, and magnanimous character; and that character (how deplorable is the abandonment in which God for a moment left us!) that character is not that of a Christian. Let us ever be submissive to the decrees of Providence, whether for our reward or for our punishment!



175. GREGORY VIII.—A. D. 1187.



GREGORY VIII. was originally named Albert de Morra; other authors give him the name of Spinaccio. He was born at Benevento, and embraced the rule of the Cistercians. Before the year 1155, Adrian IV. named him cardinal-deacon of Saint Adrian, and in 1158, cardinal-priest of Saint Lawrence in *Lucina*. He was the last cardinal who bore the title of *chancellor*, for when Gregory VIII. was pope, that charge was given to Moses, canon of Lateran, with the specification that he should only take the title of vice-chancellor. Subsequently, when cardinals were promoted to that office, they received the title only of *vice-chancellor*, and such is the custom at this day.

In the year 1187, cardinal Albert de Morra was elected pope, on the 21st of October, and consecrated on the 25th. In the first moments after the death of Urban III., the sacred college had saluted as pontiff cardinal Henry, monk of Clairvaux, but he persistently refused that honor, and did all in his power to insure the election of Albert de Morra, who took the name of Gregory VIII. One of the first cares of the new pope was to seek means for the reconquest of Jerusalem. He ordered a general fast throughout Christendom, as a mark of grief. The edict ordered abstinence from meat, not only on Fridays, but also on Wednesdays and Saturdays. His Holiness, the cardinals, and the whole court, included Mondays with the above named three days, as strict fasts. Gregory VIII., learning that there were some disputes between the republics of Pisa and Genoa, went to the former city to encourage its government to commence arming against the Saracens. The same request was addressed to the authorities of Genoa. At the same time a letter from the pope, published at Ferrara, called upon the Christians to unite in sending aid to Saint Jean d'Acre. Fleury (iv., lib. lxxiv., 780), says: "Inasmuch as commissions legally expire at the death of those granting them, Pope Gregory, fearing that those who at great cost had obtained letters from Pope Urban, to have their business decided on the spot, should be obliged to obtain new ones, he addressed, two days after his coronation, a circular to all the bishops of the Church to give effect to all commissions of his predecessor to that effect, dated three months before his decease."

Gregory being attacked by fever at Pisa, died there on the 17th of De-

ember, 1187, and was interred in the cathedral (*the Duomo*).^{*} This pope was learned, and very zealous in affairs of religion. He governed the Church one month and twenty-eight days. The Holy See was vacant only one day.

176. CLEMENT III. — A. D. 1187.



CLEMENT III., Paulinus Scolari, a Roman, and canon of Saint Mary Major, was made cardinal-priest of Palestrina by Alexander III. On the 19th of December, 1187, he was elected pontiff at Pisa, and he was crowned on the 20th. For fifty years dissensions had existed between the popes and the Roman people. The Romans had almost deprived the popes of authority in Rome, and transferred it to the senators and to a patrician. The pontiffs, from Innocent II., had frequently been obliged to leave Rome. Innocent II. and Celestine II. died of grief, caused by this discord. Lucius II. was sacrilegiously wounded; Eugene III., Alexander III., and Lucius III., in whose time perversity was most violent, were driven from Rome; and Urban III. and Gregory VIII. had been summoned to leave that city. The Roman people was not so inimical to its fellow-citizen, Clement III.

It was agreed that senators should be elected as usual, but that a prefect should be elected instead of a patrician.

By the articles of treaty: 1. The city of Rome should be under the power of the sovereign pontiff; 2. The title and dignity of patrician were to be abolished, and a prefect elected; 3. The senators to be elected annually, under the authority of the pontiff, to whom they will swear peace and fidelity, and, when necessary, will defend the Roman Church; 4. The Roman people will restore the Vatican Basilica, and the fiefs of Saint Peter, occupied in time of war; 5. The public tributes to be at the disposal of the pope, who will grant two-thirds of them for the needs of the people; 6. The senate and the Roman people to defend the majesty, honor, and power of the Roman Church and the sovereign pontiff; 7. The pope, at the accus-

^{*} This marble tomb was destroyed in a fire which ravaged that cathedral in 1600. By the care of Camille Campilio, sacristan, in 1658, the tomb was replaced by a representation of it painted on canvass; and subsequently a sumptuous monument was erected.—*Papebroke, Propyleum*, part ii., p. 30.)

tomed time, to give to the senators, judges, advocates, and ministers of the senators the presents called *presbyteries*; 8. The pope annually to contribute a certain sum towards the re-establishment of the walls of the city; 9. Finally, the pope permits the destruction of the city of Tusculum, and will lend assistance to the Roman people to accomplish that enterprise; 10. Then the soil and the population of the above-mentioned Tusculum shall remain under the power of the Roman Church.

The people, having thus submitted to the authority of the pope, Clement, on the 13th of March, 1188, made his entrance into Rome, surrounded by his cardinals, and was received with great demonstrations of joy. He immediately rebuilt the cloister of Saint Lawrence without the walls, and repaired the Lateran Palace, which he adorned with pictures. Here, we may remark, was a commencement of the revival of the arts, which took place in 1188, towards the close of the twelfth century.

Clement III. was the first pope who added the year of his pontificate to dates.*

Among the cardinals created by Clement we must name the blessed Guy de Paré, a Frenchman, bishop of Palestrina, and legate in France and in Germany. At Cologne, Guy introduced the custom of warning the faithful, by the ringing of a bell, of the moment of the elevation of the Host and the chalice in the Mass, and also to make known the passing of the holy viaticum to the sick.

Clement III. governed three years, three months, and three days. He died on the 29th of March, 1191, and was interred at Saint John Lateran, in front of the old choir of the canons.

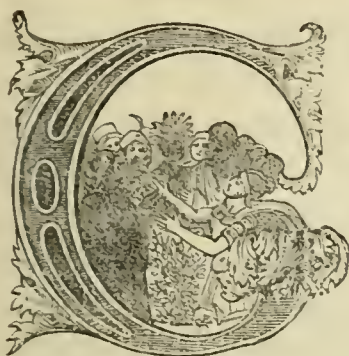
There was no vacancy in the Holy See.

Under this reign Philip Augustus, king of France, and Richard I., king of England, set out for Syria. Philip arrived first near Saint Jean d'Acre, and his presence increased the courage of the Christians, who vigorously besieged that city. Richard reached the camp later, having been driven by a storm to the isle of Cyprus. The Emperor Frederic, who also was a crusader, got as far as the frontiers of Armenia, but while bathing in a little river, called the Iron River, he was drowned. Henry, eldest son of Frederic, who had remained in Germany, was proclaimed king of that country, under the title of Henry VI. Philip, Richard, and Frederic had shown deference to Clement III., and obeyed him; and Henry appeared inclined to follow that good example.†

* Feller II., 280.

† We have mentioned the presents distributed to the people, and called *presbyteries*. See our remarks under Valentine and Innocent II.

177. CELESTINE III.—A. D. 1191.



CELESTINE III., Hyacinth, of the illustrious Orsini family, was made cardinal-deacon of Saint Mary in Cosmedin, by Honorius II. He was elected pope on the 30th of March, 1191, ordained priest on the 13th of April, and consecrated pope on the 14th of the same month. He was eighty-five years old, but vigorous and full of health.

On the 15th of April he crowned as emperor Henry VI., son of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa.

When the English, under their king, Richard, and the French, under their king, Philip Augustus, united their forces before Saint Jean d'Acre (the ancient Ptolemais), they took that city. The besieged obtained a capitulation by promising, in the name of Saladin, the sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, the delivery of the true cross, discovered by Saint Helena, and lost in the battle of Tiberias, where Saladin was victor, and also the liberation of a certain number of Christian prisoners. Philip Augustus then returned to Europe, and Richard remained alone to see to carry out the capitulation. Saladin delayed complying with the conditions, which he had not signed, and Richard, after waiting more than a month, gave way to an impulse of pride and cruel vexation, and put to death a great number of the Mussulman prisoners.* Saladin, roused to indignation, moved on Arsouf to attack Richard, but victory declared for the king of England. Hugo III., duke of Burgundy, commanded the French in the name of Philip Augustus, and honorably seconded the valor of the English monarch.

After fortifying Joppa (the modern Jaffa), the two armies resumed their march to reconquer Jerusalem. Had the allies been cordially united, Richard could have seized the city, but discord between the French and English prevented him from acting with celerity and energy, and it is said that intelligence of some political trouble in England caused that prince to desire to bring the war to an end by negotiation. He conceived the singular idea of a marriage between Malek Adel, brother of the Sultan, and the widow of William of Sicily. He proposed that they should govern the kingdom of Jerusalem, reigning together, a Mussulman king and a Christian queen, over a mixed population of Mussulmans and Christians. Sala-

* *Palestine*, p. 630; 1844.

din seemed disposed to agree to the proposal. Richard forgot that his massacre of the prisoners had enraged the whole country, and that it was impossible that the Gospel and the Koran, *Truth and Falsehood*, could sit together upon the same throne. The proposal was rejected by both Christian bishops and Mussulman doctors.

In June, the Christian army marched upon the holy city. The recommendations of Pope Celestine III. were constantly arriving to inflame the zeal of Richard; but the nearer the army approached the city, the greater were the irresolution and depression of Richard. He said that his army was not sufficiently strong to keep up regular communications with the coast, that the expedition against Jerusalem presented great perils, and that he could not risk his honor and that of Christendom. The question was submitted to a council, consisting of twenty members, chosen from among the Knights Templars, the Knights of Saint John, the barons of France, and the barons of Palestine. While the council deliberated, Richard passed his time in plundering a rich caravan that was on its way from Egypt to Jerusalem. After several days' deliberation, the knights and barons decided that the army should leave the Judean mountains and return to the seacoast. The conduct of Richard, that great captain, who had not the excuse of being *enervated by the perfumes of the East*, will always remain a problem in history; for all the reasons alleged in justification of the retreat must have been known to Richard when he gave the order to march upon Jerusalem.* The chances in war are always favorable to him who has gained the last victory. His soldiers march with heads erect, and confidence emboldens more than the hope of vengeance, which is usually weakened by the memory of a recent check.

"If it is easy," says Michaud, "to describe the passions when they burst forth in the camp, it is not so when they are confined to the councils of princes, and are mingled with a thousand interests. There they easily escape the glance of history, and almost always hide from posterity the most shameful secrets."†

The negotiations which had been commenced with Saladin, were prolonged by him, as he sought time to recall his emirs. Having collected sufficient forces, he surprised and took Joppa, where the Mussulmans commenced the most horrible cruelties,—fatal reprisals for the slaughter committed by Richard at Saint Jean d'Acre. Saladin was on the point of occupying the citadel, when Richard, weak enough to be an imprudent negotiator, but too great a warrior to endure an enemy in his front, appeared

* According to Aboul Faradj, an Arabian writer (*Chron. Syr.*, p. 421), Saladin had destroyed the aqueducts and obstructed the springs which should have furnished the besiegers with water.

† Vol. ii., p. 501.

before the port, and having disembarked, repulsed the Mussulmans and attacked the place. This victory, however, wrought no change in the situation of the Christians in Palestine. Richard was in haste to return to Europe, and Saladin perceiving that the Mussulmans were no less weary of the war, consented to a truce for three years and eight months. It was agreed that the Christians should keep all the coast from Joppa to Tyre; that the citadel of Ascalon, which was occupied by the Mussulmans, should be demolished; and that Jerusalem should be open to Christian pilgrims. Richard gave the imaginary royalty of Jerusalem to Henry, count of Champagne, third husband of Isabella, daughter of Amaury and sister of Sibylla, and recompensed Guy of Lusignan by securing for him the isle of Cyprus.

Towards the end of the year 1192, Richard set out for Europe. Thus ended the third crusade, which resulted merely in the conquest of Saint Jean d'Acre and the demolition of the fortifications of Ascalon.

The first crusade gave Jerusalem to Godfrey de Bouillon in 1099; the second crusade (preached by Saint Bernard), to confirm the possession of Palestine and increase the Christian influence in the East, was undertaken on the 31st of March, 1146. Louis VII., king of France, and the Emperor Conrad III., first betrayed by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, and then ill-received at Jerusalem itself, retired from that city in confusion. How the third crusade ended, we have just seen.

The departure of Richard filled the Christian inhabitants of the Holy Land with despair. Great dangers and a long imprisonment in a German dungeon awaited the hero of the last crusade, that hero whose renown filled the world, and whose name was for a long time the terror of the East.

Previous to following Richard in his misfortunes, which, perhaps, he would have avoided had he more nobly defended the standard of the cross, and drawn from the Holy Sepulchre inspiration for nobler enterprises for the glory of religion, which Celestine III. incessantly represented as not sufficiently regarded by the English monarch, we must give some account of an incident which created great admiration in both East and West, and which shows that a little more constancy would doubtless have been rewarded with the most glorious success. Saladin, the rival of Richard in military glory, but perhaps distinguished by more real qualities, died at Damascus, on the 3d of March, 1193, scarcely fifty-six years of age. He had reigned about twenty-four years in Egypt and nineteen in Syria.* The profound grief of his people was the funeral eulogy most worthy of that prince. It is related

* Saladin had acquired an immense renown in France and in England. The *Saladin tithe* was the name of the impost to provide for the expenses of the third crusade. See Fleury, iv., lib. lxxiv., p. 781.

that before his death he caused alms to be distributed equally among Christians and Mussulmans. He then ordered that his winding-sheet should be carried into the public places, and that a herald should proclaim aloud: "Behold all that Saladin, the conqueror of the East, can bear with him of all his conquests."* Platina says on this subject: "Spectacle worthy of a great prince, who lacked only Christianity to constitute him a perfect character."†

Before we speak of the fourth crusade, advised by Celestine III., let us give some attention to what befell Richard on his way back to his kingdom.

He returned from the Holy Land with a small body of adherents. While traversing Austria, Leopold, duke of that country, arrested and delivered him into the hands of the Emperor Henry VI. That prince, not having been in Palestine, could have no complaint to make of the haughtiness of Richard, whose indomitable pride was deplored by the whole army.‡ Philip Augustus may have foreseen that the English king intended to wrest the throne of Jerusalem from a French family. Henry VI. could not openly make that complaint, and he pretended that he kept the English king a prisoner until he should pay a considerable sum, which he did not owe, and which no reasonable person could demand. Celestine III. thought it his duty to remonstrate with Henry, and on his refusal to do justice, excommunicated him.

The place where Richard was confined is still to be seen in Austria; it belongs at present to the Lichtenstein family, and is called Darnstein.§

* Michaud, *History of the Crusades*, tome 2, end of book 8.

† Dante, inspired by the traditions of the time, has placed Saladin in the privileged abode of those who have merited it by an illustrious life; that abode, however, making part of the first circle of Hell, where they are separated from the other souls. The poet, after seeing Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan, and then Hector, Lucretia, and Cæsar, adds: "Further on was Saladin, by himself."—*Hell*, Canto 6.

‡ We have a beautiful passage upon the pride of princes, in the *Duties of the Great*, by Monseigneur the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé. Paris, 1667; 12mo, p. 99.

"It is that pride which arrogates the dependence of every thing upon the proud man's self, and would, were it possible, take from God his sovereign power over all beings; which demands the sacrifice of all creatures, and which is so fine, so delicate, so imperceptible in a great man, that it is the soul of all his actions, though he knows it not. He connects every thing with himself, and believes that all creatures are put to their most legitimate use, when they are destroyed to his honor and glory; establishing, so to speak, a worship of which he deems himself worthy, and demanding, from those who submit, a respect amounting to religion. It was that pride which ruined human nature in our first parents, as it had ruined the first of the angels, that desire of entire independence; and it is the same which still exerts upon the minds of the great a tyrannical empire, and daily uses their own great qualities to effect their ruin."

§ I visited it in 1818, with a letter from the Princess Jane Lichtenstein, who ordered the concierge to show us the new building, and the actual dungeon in which, according to tradition, Richard was confined. We were shown a wooden cage, some three or four yards high, and the same wide; the bars were far enough apart to allow an arm to pass between. It did not seem possible that that cage had actually been the prison of King Richard. His person could be secured without the employment of so iniquitous and also useless a means. A well-

Henry soon after died at Messina, and the pope ordered Christian burial to be withheld, unless with the consent of the king of England, whose liberty the pope had procured ; and also unless payment was made to Richard of the money extorted by the imperial agents. But, in his will, Henry, filled with repentance, had ordered his son Frederic not only to repay the sum improperly taken from Richard, but also to restore to the Holy See all the rights that the kings of Sicily had usurped from the popes ; and he added that, in the event of his dying without heirs, the throne of Sicily was to revert to the Holy See.

Pope Celestine, desiring firmly to establish internal peace, gave up the city of Tusculum to the Romans, as we mentioned above. Unfortunately, the Romans, animated by an old animosity, that knew neither bounds nor mercy, drove away the whole population of that city, as though they had the right to curse it. Those unfortunate people, deprived of their goods, descended into the plains and built huts of *frasche* (branches of trees, with the leaves on). Such was the origin of the celebrated suburb of Frascati, which at present contains so many magnificent and royal villas.

That same year, Celestine canonized Saint Peter, bishop of Tarentaise, formerly a monk of the Cistercian order, who was born in the diocese of Vienne, in Dauphiny, in 1102, and died in 1175.

Celestine had confirmed, in 1192, the Teutonic military order, so called because it had been instituted at Saint Jean d'Acre, by a society of German officers from Bremen and Lubeck, for the purpose of aiding and relieving the sick and wounded of the army under the command of Frederic, duke of Suabia. Those knights having been called upon by Duke Conrad to aid him against the idolaters in Prussia, he bestowed upon them all the country they conquered from the idolatrous enemy. In the course of time, they thus became possessed of the whole of Prussia, whither the Grand Master, after the taking of Saint Jean d'Acre by the Saracens, transported the chief residence of the order, which he established at Marienburg. Soon after, the neighboring princes deprived the knights of their lands and castles. The marquis of Brandenburg took the rest, when, being grand master, he embraced, as did a few of the knights, the Lutheran religion. Those who courageously persisted in the Catholic faith, transferred the chief house of the order to Marienthal, in Franconia. These knights, in the exercise of their functions, wore a white cloak with a black cross.

The fourth crusade, ordered by Celestine, attracted to Palestine a great

fastened and well-guarded room would have prevented the escape of that prince. However, the situation of that castle-crowned rock, near the Danube, and surrounded by woods, was well chosen to fill the mind of the prince with thoughts of anguish and despair. How different his position then, from that height of his glory when he so brilliantly triumphed over the valiant Saladin !

number of Germans, but not living on good terms with the Templars and the other Christians forming the garrison of Saint Jean d'Acre, they retired to Jaffa, whence, becoming discontented with their chiefs, they returned to Europe. "Thus," says Fleury, "another great crusade was fruitless."

After the canonization of Saint Ubaldo, canon-regular of Saint John Lateran, the pope pronounced that of Saint John Gualbert, a Florentine, who died on the 18th of July, 1075, aged eighty-eight years; he was the founder of the congregation of the monks of Vallumbrosa, under the rule of Saint Benedict.

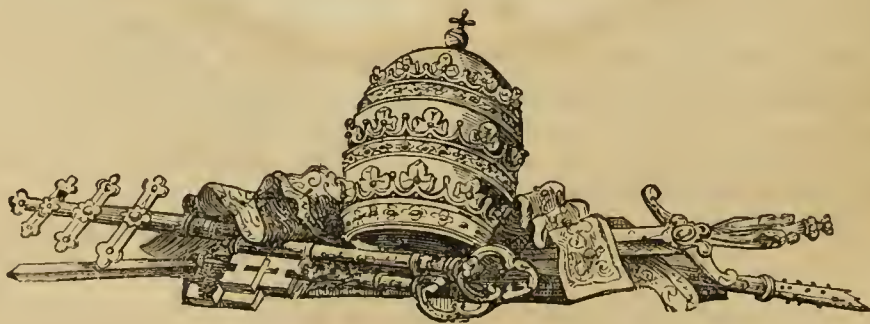
Celestine issued an important decree on ecclesiastical discipline. He ordered that children presented to a monastery by their parents should, if they chose, be allowed to leave on reaching adult age; which regulation was confirmed by the Council of Trent. Custom previously required that the parents could not revoke the promise given by them, and that the children thus given up could not leave the monastery.

There are seventeen letters extant, written by this pope. He died on the 8th of January, 1198, and was interred at Saint John Lateran, near Saint Mary del Riposo.

This pope governed six years, nine months, and nine days. At the point of death, he desired to abdicate, and he conjured the cardinals to place in the pontifical Chair of Saint Peter, John of Saint Paul, of the Colonna family; but they would not consent, saying that it was an unheard of thing for a pope to depose himself. This fact is related by Roger, a contemporary of Celestine III., quoted by Baronius.*

There was no vacancy in the Holy See.

* The noble ecclesiastical work of the immortal cardinal, at first a member of the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, finishes with the year 1198. Volumes would be required to contain all the praises deserved by that work.





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178. INNOCENT III.—A. D. 1198.



INNOCENT III., born in the city of Anagni, son of Frasinond, count of Segni, uncle of Pope Gregory IX., and related to Alexander IV., belonged to the Conti family, and was named John Lothaire. He was a canon of Saint Peter's, and was named cardinal-deacon of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, by Clement III. He was unanimously elected, notwithstanding a discourse in which he endeavored to dissuade the electors from their purpose of imposing upon him so

terrible a burden. His words had well-nigh persuaded them to give the tiara to the Cardinal John of Salerno. That prince of the Church had already obtained ten votes, but he made the utmost efforts to transfer them to Cardinal Conti, who, nevertheless, was only thirty-eight years old.*

On the 8th of January, 1198, the day on which Celestine III. was buried, Innocent III. was elected. He was ordained priest on the 21st of February, and consecrated on the 22d, at Saint Peter's;† whence, after his coronation, he went to take the *possezzo* at Saint John Lateran.

In his Constitution *Ineffabilis*, or what would now be called the *Accession-Encyclical*, Innocent III. made known to Christendom that he had been legitimately elected; spoke of his slight qualification for the tiara, and entreated the faithful to aid him with their prayers.

Previous to his consecration, the pope granted to the archbishop of Milan to promote in sacred orders those who should already have received an order from the pope. This shows that, subsequent to this date, one who had been ordained by a pope could only be promoted to a higher order by permission of the Holy See. There was an example of that in 1802, under Pius VII. That pope promoted to the priesthood an ecclesiastic who had received the other orders from Clement XIII.; and this was done only to maintain that ancient prerogative of the sovereign pontiff.

* We find much important information on the History of Innocent III. and his Century, by F. Hurter, President of the Consistory of Schaffhausen, translated by the Abbés Jager and Vial, 2 vols., 8vo, 1840. There was a previous translation by M. de Saint Cheron, 3 vols., 8vo, with which Hurter expressed himself equally satisfied.

† An extraordinary error has slipped into page 105, vol. i., of Jager's translation of the work of Hurter. Mention is made of a *palladium* fastened on the back, the breast, and the side of the papal attire, with spangles of gold. For *palladium* read *pallium*. I have collated the original, to ascertain what was the expression used by Hurter; he speaks only of *pallium*. See vol. i., Hamburgh edition, 1841.

The first acts of the new pope were attentively watched in Europe. "He brought to the administration," says Sismondi, "a profound knowledge of the interests of his country and of the Holy See, and the courage and ambition of a still youthful patrician, and, finally, a reputation for sanctity and learning, due to a well ordered life and esteemed writings. He had written a treatise *De Contemptu mundi, seu de Miseria hōmenis*—*Contempt of the World, or, On the Misery of Man*—as well as some dissertations on points of discipline."

We shall see the hopes excited by the election of so great a personage, confirmed by his lofty views and by vigor and firmness of soul which, perhaps, when too violently attacked in troublous times, were goaded beyond strict limit, yet, in the end, always regained their normal state, with all the dignity of a great character.*

In the revolutions of Germany and Southern Italy†—in France, disturbed by the illegitimate marriage of its sovereign—in the whole extent of the Catholic world, where the zeal for the crusaders had produced a new fermentation—this pope found ample opportunities to manifest all the qualities and all the talents that Providence had lavished upon him.‡

In Germany, Frederic II., of the house Suabia, the successor of Henry VI., was a child only two years of age, and his mother, Constance, recognized Innocent III. as the guardian of that child, and the administrator of his kingdom.

Already, mere infant as he was, Frederic was proclaimed king of the Romans before the death of his father; but the imperial crown was claimed by Philip, duke of Suabia, the child's own uncle, who was the eldest of the brothers of Henry VI., and by Otho, then duke of Aquitaine, son of Henry the Lion, who had been duke of Bavaria and of Saxony.

The most powerful princes in Europe took part in the dispute. Philip Augustus, in France, declared for Duke Philip; and Richard *Cœur de Lion*, in England, declared for Otho. The former competitor represented the Weibling (Ghibeline) house; the latter represented the Welf (Guelf) house.§

* Novacs, iii., p. 143.

† Italy, p. 89.

‡ I will cite a passage from Mr. Jager's Introduction: "The history of the popes in the Middle Ages has been long disfigured by heaping error on error; but truth at least pierces the veil that hides it, and shines forth with its inherent lustre. Gregory VII., Innocent III., find defenders, and what is most surprising, among the disciples of Luther and Calvin, in countries which had hurled the most horrible anathemas upon them. This reparation was due to the Holy See; it is a kind of separation which will be followed, we hope, by repentance; for as soon as the learned writers of Germany examine the doctrines of Catholicity with the care they bestow on the history of the popes, they will renounce prejudice and follow the example of a Schlegel, a Stolberg, a Haller." Mr. Jager was not deceived. Hurter returned to the bosom of the Church.

§ There were in Germany two powerful houses, one designated as the Salique or *Weiblingen*, from *Weibling*, a castle in the diocese of Augsburg, amid the Hertfeld mountains, from which this house probably came. The partisans of this house, which gave several emperors, were

Italy, thus divided, prepared to concur in those fatal contests, and to expend her blood and treasure in the quarrels of Germany.

Yet Innocent III. was also to raise his voice in this terrible strife, and that without losing sight of his position at Rome. Under Celestine III., the authority of the *senate* had been recognized by the popes, and the constitution of a body thus named, was regulated by the charter already mentioned. But this *senate* had not yet taken its proper form. It consisted of only one *senator*, a foreigner and a soldier, who was supposed to have no duty but that of endeavoring to repress the ambition of the nobles of the land, but who frequently went much further than they.

Innocent, a skilful statesman, was not long in perceiving that the Romans had become jealous of a foreigner's exercising a kind of legislative, and, as it were, sovereign authority. Then he remarked that, according to an old custom, the people had demanded a distribution of money on the accession of the pope. The confirmation of this privilege was indirectly granted by the treaty mentioned in the life of Clement III.

One of the ministers of the pope endeavored to avail himself for the papal interest of those two important circumstances. The people that elects to an office, often assume the right to harass, punish, and depose; but it has greater respect for an authority in whose election it has had no share, and shows its respect by accepting liberality.

Innocent III., in a single day, cast the money to the populace, dismissed the senator elected by the people, and appointed a new one from among the partisans of the pontificate. He compelled the prefect of the city, who was also an officer of the emperor, that is to say of a prince then non-existent, to pay him *liege homage* (he who paid *liege homage* was bound to the lord by a closer tie than that of simple vassal), and to receive from the pope's hand a new appointment. Finally, he expelled from the cities and the patrimony of Saint Peter the judges and the *podestàs* (a kind of inferior governors) who had been named by the people. He then, also, strengthened his power in the cities and towns of Ancona, Fermo, Osimo, Camerino, Sinigaglia, Pesaro, Rieto, Spoleto, Assisi, Fuligno, Todi, and Citta di Castello. So much for temporal affairs; but the spiritual affairs were of far higher importance.

called *Weibling*. The other house, originally from Alsdorf, at this time possessed Bavaria, and had several successive princes of the name of *Welf*. The *Weibling* had frequently been in opposition to the popes, while the *Welf* had repeatedly taken up their defence.

Unhappy Italy! As though insufficiently tormented by her own passions, she must also espouse those of the neighboring country! It was necessary to distinguish friends from foes; the German names could not be easily pronounced by the Italians, so each party changed them to such as suited the national pronunciation. The partisans of the popes, in Italy, called their friends the *Welfs* by the name of *Guelfi*, or *Guelfs*, while the opposite party, *Weiblings*, were called *Ghibelins*, *Ghibellini*.

The king of France, Philip Augustus, was called upon to discard Agnes de Meranie, daughter of the duke of Aquitaine, married after he repudiated his lawful wife, Ingelburga, daughter of the king of Denmark, whom he did not recall until 1212, subsequent to the interdict laid on his kingdom by Innocent. He annulled the incestuous marriage contracted by the king of Leon, Alphonso, with his niece, the daughter of the king of Castile. He exhorted Sancho, king of Portugal, to pay the tribute agreed to by his father, who, before Pope Lucius II., had declared Portugal a feudatory of Rome, and had solicited from Alexander III. the title of king. These first labors of Innocent III., these rights which he preserved, or, at need, established, are well weighed by the penetrating Hurter, who in the following passage* expresses his convictions with equal honesty and eloquence :

“If we consider how greatly the papacy surpasses in duration the other European institutions ; how it has seen them rise and disappear ; how amidst that ebb and tide of human vicissitudes she alone has always preserved and defended, without change, the spirit that gave her life ; how can we wonder that so many look up to her as to the rock that is ever beaten by the foaming waves of time, yet even unshaken by them ?” In confirmation of his remark, Hurter adds the following note : “History alone dictates this judgment—not dogmatic polemics, which have no place in this work.” Such reflections explain the policy which the sovereign of Portugal must necessarily embrace, and the confidence which both he and his people felt in the power of the pope. Innocent can act, he knows the ground on which Saint Peter stands. By means of the Cardinal Octavian Conti, his legate in Sicily, Innocent invested the Empress Constance, widow of Henry VI., and her son, Frederic, with the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, the principalities of Capua, Naples, Salerno, and Amalfi, and the province of Marsi, as fiefs of the Holy See,—the empress and her son, on their part, to pay the Roman Church a stipulated tribute, and render *liege homage* when circumstances permitted. Thus the territory of the two Sicilies passed from the Normans to the house of Suabia. The Holy Father approved the institution of the Monks of the Most Holy Trinity, for the redemption of slaves, founded near Meaux, by Saint John of Matha, and Saint Felix of Valois, French nobles. This pontiff also sent a legate to Armenia, to crown King Leo, who, together with his people, had returned to obedience to the Holy See, from which a schism had separated them.

Innocent also turned his eyes to England, to relieve the people. King Richard still reigned there. Hurter, in wise words, confirms the judgment that we have already passed upon that king :

* Vol. i., p. 95, Jager's French translation.

“Richard of England (vol. i., p. 125), to the virtues of an intrepid hero joined all the faults of a brute strength, unameliorated by the moral influences of religion, and to which poetry, though he was its friend and patron, had given none of that seductive prestige that it had communicated to most of the Eastern princes. His continual quarrels with the kings of France kept him less in his insular kingdom than in his provinces on the continent. His wars, his ransom from captivity, and the taxes required immense sums, so that, levied upon his subjects, they became insupportable, less by their actual amount than by the severity with which they were exacted. On his return from Austria he saw all those fair hopes disappear which had flattered him at the commencement of his reign. He received with fierce glances those who applied to him in personal matters. He spared neither the clergy, who in aid of the royal ransom had sacrificed the gold and silver vessels of the churches, nor the nobility and citizens, whose zeal had vied with that of the clergy, and he became a stranger to all justice whenever his treasury was empty. Accordingly, his extortions, his domineering spirit, his pride, and his frequent bursts of anger that amounted to brutality, extinguished that admiration and love which his courage had kindled in all hearts, and which he might have retained, and even increased, by wiser conduct and sentiments more in accordance with justice.”

Catholic Europe beheld with pain the prince who was surnamed the *Lion-Hearted*, yielding to passions so shameful. Providence denied him a long life ; he died at forty-two years of age, after having distinguished his last moments by one of those generous actions which had been so familiar to him at the commencement of his reign, in 1190.

In turning his looks back upon Rome, Innocent saw no reason to congratulate himself upon an even endurable situation.

Hurter defines this situation with his customary talent, in a style that has some of the coloring of Gibbon :*

“The Romans had inherited all the vices of their ancestors, and added to them all the vices of the new tribes, whose influence had revolutionized Italy. Of the glorious past nothing remained but the memory of a lost greatness ; the solid base on which that greatness rested, and the moral means by which it had been developed, had vanished entirely from their memory. Like all people who fall from the height of glory, the Romans fancied themselves still at the highest period of their greatness as soon as they uttered the names of their ancient heroes, or pretended to renew social forms and political institutions of which not a vestige remained, or decked their brows with laurels that centuries had blasted. So, when, in the time of Pope Lucius II., they obtained the restoration of the senate,

* Vol. i., p. 142, of the translation by M. Jager.

and Roman knights, and the reopening of the capitol, they fancied that they were again in ancient Rome! Surrounded by these phantoms, the Romans so persuaded themselves that they had reconquered their ancient splendor, that they wished to make of that epoch a new era. And when, to complete that illusion, Arnold of Brescia presented himself before that populace with his doctrines of popular liberty and popular enfranchisement from the 'yoke' of the Church and of all belief; when that man, treading in the steps of the demagogues of all times and of all countries, flattered the opinions of the multitude, the Romans exerted themselves to limit the rights of the popes, oppressed by the emperors, though powerless to defend against the emperor those conquests which Rome had made only by the influence of the pontifical power."

Amidst these strifes, Innocent established a firm authority, which restrained all political parties; and with the same effort he brought back men's minds to that veneration which, after all, every Roman loves to testify for every thing which concerns the glory of the faith.

In 1199, this pope canonized Saint Homobono, of Cremona, who died on the 13th of November, 1197; he erected into a metropolitan See the church of Compostella, in Spain, by the Constitution *In Eminenti* of the 14th of July; or rather, as some authors think, he *confirmed* the erection of that metropolitan See, which had been ordained by Calixtus II., in 1120. It is known that this last-named pope instituted seven canons there, who were called cardinals because they wore red vestments. Only these canons were allowed to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice upon the altar of the apostle Saint James. Innocent, in the year 1200, confirmed the order of the Humiliati, founded at Milan by Saint John de Meda, in 1199. The long course of years and the accumulation of wealth produced fatal abuses among these religious, which Pius V. wishing to remedy, ordered their reformation by Saint Charles Borromeo, the protector of the order. Deplorable scenes ensued, and Saint Pius V. was obliged to suppress that order, in the year 1571. In 1200, Pope Innocent III. canonized the Empress Saint Cunegunda, who, with the consent of her husband, the Emperor Henry II., had lived in a holy and perpetual virginity.

The king of Portugal having solicited the confirmation of the military order of Saint Benedict of Avis,* instituted against the Saracens, under the rule of the Cistercians, by Alphonso I., the pope granted that favor. The knights wore a golden cross ornamented with lilies, among which are two birds, in allusion to the Latin word *Avis*. Julius III., in his eighteenth constitution, named the kings of Portugal perpetual grand masters of that order.

* Avis is the name of the city in which the order had its principal convent.

The kings of Europe incessantly paid the tribute of their veneration to Innocent. He created the chief of the Bulgarians *king*, and sent him the royal sceptre and crown. He also named *king*, Primislas, prince of Bohemia, who had borne the title without its having been bestowed upon him by the Holy See. Peter of Aragon, recognized in Aragon as *king*, went to Rome expressly to be crowned in the Vatican Basilica, by the pope in person.

In the same year, 1204, the pontiff canonized Saint Procopius, a Bohemian, Benedictine abbot of Saint John Raphilus, at Prague, who died about the year 1053. The Holy Father also bestowed anxious cares upon the affairs of the Holy Land. He wrote to Cardinal Joffred, who had refused the patriarchal dignity of Jerusalem :

“We propose to you the example of the Son of God made man, who chose Jerusalem as his abode, where he, the master, sacrificed his life for the slave, effaced sins, endured all torments, and devoted himself to all opprobrium ; it is you whom he has chosen to be, in some sort, his successor. You will not refuse a burden that is offered to you by divine Providence ; you should fear neither its pains, nor its anxieties, nor its insults, nor its poverty, nor its griefs, nor its privations ; but you should resign yourself to these evils for Him who bore all for you. And if you are called to a church of which you cannot at this instant take possession, think then of James, brother of our Lord, who was placed at the head of that church while he was still in the hands of those who had crucified Jesus Christ. If many members of that church are prisoners, or if they have fallen beneath the sword of the enemy, those who have escaped call upon you and expect you as their shepherd. Do not dispute as to the place ; you are to direct men, to whom, rather than to the place, belongs the name of Church.* But if you fear for the place, exert yourself to the utmost to hasten the reconquest of the Holy Land. All agree in representing to us the wrong that you do to the Eastern Church in refusing the dignity of patriarch. Oh ! fear not the pain, for you will resist God ! We send the pallium by our legate Peter, that he may invest you with it ; and we authorize you to choose for your successor such Catholic bishop as you shall prefer.”

Innocent was incapable of concealing his real sentiments. He did not approve of what it was proposed to do at Byzantium, and his mind continually reverted to the holy thought of Palestine. He wrote to the same Cardinal Joffred : “It is difficult (Ep. vi., p. 130) to remain firm amidst the agitated sea that is called the world, and amidst a host of enemies, visible and invisible : *you are not of this world* ; seek not that which concerns it,

* What magnificence of expression ! what sublime tenderness in these precepts of the supreme pontiff !

but that which concerns Christ. Seek not your own glory, but that of Him crucified. Ought you to wonder that, bearing the cross, you feel its weight? Do not the sufferings of this life conduct to glory in the next? If you are afflicted by the knowledge that the Saracens inhabit the land which beheld the passion and the resurrection of our Lord, and that they pollute His Temple, then remember the complaints of the Psalmist: *Lord, the heathen have attacked thy heritage, they have profaned thy holy Temple and made Jerusalem a heap of stones.*

“If you complain that, like the sons of Ephraim, the princes who have taken the cross, turn back in the day of battle, and seem to have forgotten their design, remember the reproaches of the prophet—*I have fed and reared my sons and they have turned away from me.* It is thus that you will change mourning into joy, sorrow into pleasure; thus you will become worthy to drink the chalice which the Lord has drunk for us. We who are not only his unworthy representative, but even useless servant, share your grief, and will do all we can to mitigate it. Although the army has turned against Greece, we do not renounce the claims of the Holy Land.”*

Innocent, though displeased with the dissimulating conduct of the Greek emperors, was pained, nevertheless, by the news of the bloody occupation of Constantinople, the capital of the Greek empire; and he shed tears when he learned that, on the 16th of March, the Latins had recognized, as king, Baldwin, count of Flanders.†

To prevent the heretical Albigenses, who were numerous in France, from secretly dogmatizing, Innocent, after excommunicating Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, established in the city the first tribunal to which the name of Inquisition was given, because it made *inquisition* of those who secretly dogmatized.

The first head of that tribunal, which *by degrees retired from France to Spain and Italy*,‡ was Peter de Chateauneuf, a Cistercian monk, and pon-

* To this letter Hurter adds: “Is this the language of a man using the sanctity of his ministry to cloak ambitious views, and bold only because all around him are blinded by error? Yet such is the light in which some book-makers would present to us the popes (especially Innocent III.) and the Middle Ages. We may say of history, as Bacon did of philosophy: *Leviore haustus advocant a Deo; pleniores ad Deum reducant.*”

† The account, in Hurter's work, of the attack on Constantinople, is a fine piece of history which deserves a separate perusal. I regret to see, however, that he attributes the Venetian horses, which we have seen at Paris, to Lysippus. See the note p. 125 of this History. There is another passage which, though certainly very short, has really afflicted me. Speaking of the division of the booty, he says: “Here it was not the holy zeal which had formerly animated Gregory the Great against the idols, but a base and vile cupidity.” The last point is true, and no one contradicts it; but the unjust accusation against Gregory the Great should not be repeated. Gregory the Great did not destroy the Temple at Rome. (See Life of that great pope in this work.) Once more I say, Gregory the Great was not *a puller down of images*; there is no reason to speak of *the holy zeal* which animated him against the idols.

‡ Novaes, iii., p. 155.

tifical legate. Innocent canonized him* the year of his martyrdom, by order of Raymond VI. However, it is not to be believed that, in the wars of the Albigenses, the latter were constantly the victims, and presented their throats to their enemies without ever smiting them.

We cannot pass unnoticed the great Saint Francis of Assisium. In 1208, he wrote his rule, founded upon the most rigid poverty, and presented it to the Holy Father, who, seeing in Francis a protector of the Church, entirely approved those statutes, which he emphatically praised in the Council of Lateran, assembled in 1215.

The first house of those friars was the church of Saint Mary of the Portiuncula, which had been given to them by the Benedictines.

The Franciscan order† so greatly increased there, that in 1219 five thousand Franciscans assembled at Assisium for that chapter general called *of the Mats (della stuore)*, because it was necessary to construct cells of mats to receive the numbers who came to the chapter.

At that time, Sancho I., king of Portugal, disposed, at his own pleasure, of the ecclesiastical benefices, usurped the incomes of them, ill-treated the clerks, and abhorred the monks, regarding it as an ill omen to meet any of them on his road.

Innocent, always full of zeal for the ecclesiastical interests, paternally exhorted King Sancho to desist from the commission of such injustice; and he even went so far as to intrust the archbishop of Compostella with the right to punish the prince, should he not amend his conduct. Sancho wrote a letter of excuse to the Holy Father. Innocent, in reply, declared to him that he deserved to be excommunicated, because he had outrageously deprived his sisters and brothers of what had been left to them by Alphonso, their father. Then the Holy Father authorized two abbots of the monasteries to absolve Sancho, if he would restore, as in fact he did, all that he had usurped.

Frederic, king of Sicily, having been elected emperor in place of Otho, who had unjustly held the Church lands, Innocent received Frederic at Rome with great honors. Then that prince confirmed the donations that

* Lambertini says that Pope Innocent did not formally canonize Peter; that he only approved the documents that established the fact of the martyrdom, hoping to pronounce the canonization at a future time.—*De Canoniz.*, lib. i, cap. xix., n. 9.

† The order of Saint Francis has produced five pontiffs—Nicholas IV., Alexander V., Sixtus IV., Sixtus V., and Clement IV. It can also claim nearly fifty cardinals, an infinite number of patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and two electors of the holy Roman empire. The order glories in having sent to heaven forty-six canonized martyrs, and seventeen canonized with the title of Confessors, besides many others whose office is performed by the permission of the Church. In the chapter general, held at Rome in 1628, eighty of its sons were mentioned whose canonization was in progress. That number increased to a hundred and ten. We may add more than two thousand of both sexes who have shed their blood for Christ, or who, for their sanctity, have merited to be considered as saints.

he had made of the county of Fondi and of other baronies, because Richard dell' Aquila, who had possessed them, had constituted the apostolic chamber his universal heir. All those customs belonged to the times; a man appointed as his heir whoever he deemed worthy to be so.

The affairs of Europe could not distract Innocent from his constant care to strengthen the spirit of fervor that was necessary to call Christians to the succor of the Holy Land. The troubles resulting from the occupation of Constantinople at the same time began to diminish. Hurter sagaciously explains the causes which, on this subject, diminished the anxieties of the Holy Father :

“Constantinople, under the Greek emperors, had long been cut off from Europe. It was known that its inhabitants adored Christ; but the difference of dogmas, the diversity of ceremonies, and the divergence of the religious and political institutions had loosened the ties which had united it to the West. In fact, public life there took a peculiar form. Its legislation was different, and the emperor bore a different relation to his court and nobles from that of sovereigns to the other courts of Europe. Foreign nobles sought in vain among the Greek nobility that chivalric spirit and that respect for woman that was observable among the Latins. The arts, also, presented themselves under a different form. At Byzantium they resembled a full-blown flower, whose leaves fell one by one; while in the West they began to bud, to display their richness and beauty. Minstrelsy, so much admired and cultivated in the West, was neither liked nor cultivated in the East.

“In the state of the sciences there was no greater resemblance. The Western church, enjoying greater liberty, produced more remarkable men than the Eastern did, subjected as the latter was to the caprice of licentious princes. The Catholic nations of Europe, also, had greater analogy with each other, in the relations of common life, than obtained in the East. It was the same as to language. But for the scrupulous honesty of the early crusaders, the imperial crown of Byzantium would long since have passed to a Latin head. The events that succeeded prove how a single fault may produce an innumerable series of unfortunate complications. The armed intervention of the crusaders of 1202, in favor of the dispossessed Greek Prince Alexis, was the first motive that urged them, almost in spite of themselves, to a struggle the success of which surpassed their utmost hopes. But how different was their conduct from that of the crusaders of 1099, who, under the command of Godfrey de Bouillon, had made their way into the holy city! The nature of the ends respectively aimed at by those two expeditions, seemed to have communicated itself to their feelings and their acts. What pious ardor, what devotion to works of benevolence, shone among the liberators of the Holy Sepulchre, if we can for an instant forget

the deplorable consequences of the frightful assault which was so cruelly necessary to the taking of the city! And then, what audacity, what greediness, what barbarism in the oppressors of Byzantium!"

The pope then had no longer to bewail the spirit of independence which led the Greeks to have little respect for the power of Rome. Even the authority of the Latin king, circumscribed by new dangers, and by the defection of some of the crusaders, who, after sharing in the conquest, had retired laden with booty, did not show itself much more disposed to recognize the voice of the Roman pontiff, who vainly exclaimed that it was not at Byzantium that the Church of Christ suffered the greatest evils.

However, it could not escape the perception of so great a man as Innocent III., that Byzantium was one of the roads leading to Jerusalem. But a pope, who so loved duty could not refrain from addressing sharp reproofs to the crusaders. He said:* "You have lightly broken your vow, since, having sworn, in your obedience to the Crucified, that you would deliver the Holy Land from the hands of the infidel, you have attacked, in defiance of threats of excommunication, a Christian country, although you were forbidden to do so unless the inhabitants should oppose your passage, or should refuse you necessities; and even in that case you were not to act except with the advice of the legate. You have wielded the sword, not against the Saracens, but against Christians; you have conquered, not Jerusalem, but Constantinople; you have preferred earthly wealth to the treasures of heaven. But what renders you still more guilty, is the fact that you have spared neither age nor sex; you have publicly abandoned yourselves to prostitution and adultery.† You have given up to the lust of the wicked, not only wives and widows, but also the virgins devoted to the worship of the Lord. It did not suffice you to draw from the imperial treasury, and to seize upon the wealth of both great and small, but you also laid sacrilegious hands upon the wealth and lands of the Church; you carried away the silver plates of the altars, broke open the sacristies, and stole the crosses, the images, and the relics. Accordingly, notwithstanding the exertions directed towards the Greek Church, she begins to refuse obedience to the Holy See, because she has seen amongst the Latins only treachery and the works of darkness, and she flies from them as from dogs."‡

The Emperor Baldwin presented for Constantinopolitan patriarch the

* Ep. viii., 133.

† The details of this other assault had reached Rome, and had inspired the horror of all Christendom. In the castles the minstrels were called upon to recount the magnanimity of Saladin taking Jerusalem, to compare that act of greatness to the sanguinary and greedy conduct of the crusaders at Byzantium.

‡ We give this letter textually, because it shows in what point of view Innocent then considered the events at Constantinople.

sub-deacon Thomas, then at Rome. Innocent at first opposed some difficulties, but ended by approving the election.

On the 5th of March, 1205, Thomas was ordained deacon ; the Saturday after the third week of Lent, he was ordained priest ; and on the following Sunday he was consecrated bishop, in the Church of Saint Peter's, where he received the *pallium*. He then, in the appointed form, took the oath of obedience and fidelity to the Holy See. The act of nomination drawn upon that occasion ran thus: "The favor which the Holy See* heaps upon the Church of Byzantium, in raising it to the patriarchate, shows the extent of the power of the Church ; a power bestowed upon Saint Peter by the Man-God, and by virtue of which the pope, his representative, can make the first last, and the last first. The Byzantine Church, formerly without rank and without See, is raised to the patriarchate by the Roman Church, and, after her, takes the highest rank. Formerly withdrawn from obedience to the Roman Church, the Byzantine Church now returns to it."

New embarrassments afflicted Innocent. There were two pretenders to the empire, Philip, duke of Suabia, and Otho, duke of Aquitaine. The pope had not made it known which he was inclined to favor. Frederic II., of the house of Suabia, the successor of Henry VI., considered Innocent III. as his guardian, and, even before the death of his father, had been declared king of the Romans. The most powerful princes of Europe, ignoring the rights of Frederic, sided with the other rivals. The first served the Ghibeline faction, the second the Guelf faction.

Baldwin of Flanders, emperor of Byzantium, died while a prisoner with the Bulgarians ; his brother Henry was named as his successor.

At this juncture a quarrel resulted in the assassination of Philip by the guards of his rival Otho.

The pope had been opposed to the duke of Suabia, as emperor *elect*, but not recognized by Rome ; but was not therefore opposed to the same prince as Philip of Suabia, against whom the pope had no complaint. The pope, therefore, far from rejoicing at the death of Philip, which so greatly facilitated the elevation of Otho, the secret object of so many years of effort,† was much grieved when he heard of the tragical end of that prince, and in very significant terms he expressed the horror with which he regarded both the murderer and his accomplices. The popes of that period deemed it their right to combat with both spiritual and temporal weapons for a cause which they deemed the Almighty's, and to continue the combat to the annihilation of the adversary, but they never sought victory by odious means.

On the other hand, Germany was plunged into anarchy in consequence of the long contests between the two pretenders to the empire. Otho re-

* Hurter, ii., 23.

† Ibid., ii., 160.

doubled his efforts to win over Philip's adherents. As all desired peace, and the cessation of discord, a diet assembled at Frankfort with the consent of the legates from Rome, and Otho was elected emperor. It now required only the confirmation of Innocent, placed between his duty as guardian of young Frederic, and his sense of what the interest alike of the Holy See and of all Europe required. Innocent will now show his inmost soul.

Otho asked why Frederic, who occupied Sicily, and in whose name a firm government was established, seemed determined to disturb the peace of the empire. Innocent replied: "In accordance with the last will of his parents, the king of Sicily is under our guardianship, and, having received his kingdom as a fief of the Church, he owes us the fidelity of a vassal to his sovereign. We cannot refuse him advice and assistance in the affairs of his kingdom, for, in the words of the apostle, we owe justice to all, but we shall aid neither him nor any one else against you, whom we have so much endeavored to raise up, and to whom, as you confess in your letters, you owe the honor conferred on you at Frankfort. Should all else abandon you, the Church, with which you ought to live in perfect harmony, would never refuse you its protection. Doubt not of our good-will; govern according to the commandments of God, and walk with pure heart in the way of peace and salvation."

It remained to be seen what were the intentions of Otho, should he succeed in being crowned at Rome. Then, by his order, an address was published at Spire, returning thanks for the support of the pope, and promising, for the emperor elect and his successors, to the pope and his successors, and to the Roman Church, obedience, submission, and respect, renouncing the abuse of taking part in the election of bishops, granting to each of them the right to appeal to the Holy See, and abandoning all pretension to the succession of deceased prelates, or to the revenues of vacant churches. This document also promised, on the part of the emperor elect, to co-operate in the annihilation of heresies, and to maintain the Roman Church in the tranquil possession of all the territories that she had received from preceding emperors, and even to assist her in reconquering the provinces that were still to be recovered.

Preparation was then made for the marriage of Otho with Beatrice, daughter of Philip of Suabia. All Germany felt that that marriage would produce universal peace. A scene ensued that strikingly illustrates the manners of the times; a compound of cynicism and piety, forced to mingle with each other. Otho invited the attention of all present, and then said, that from among the noblest ladies of the empire he had selected the daughter of Philip, duke of Suabia, but that he deemed it necessary to ask their opinion, whether he could contract that marriage without danger to

his soul ; for, rather than peril his soul,* he would prefer to remain unmarried. He therefore invited his auditors to look to that, rather than to the nobility or the great possessions of the young princess. The princes retired to consult, and, in order that they might the more freely do so, Otho desired his brother, the count palatine, to remain with him.

Morimond, the Cistercian abbot, who had followed the emperor elect with the fifty-two monks of the abbey of Walkenreid, proposed that, in expiation of any thing unlawful in the projected marriage, the prince should promise to be the protector of the convents and the churches, the widows and the orphans, to found in his own domains a monastery of the Cistercian order, and personally to aid the Holy Land.†

The princes again presented themselves before the king (the emperor elect), and Leopold, duke of Austria,‡ an eloquent personage, stated that the princes and jurisconsults were unanimous in the opinion that the marriage of Otho and the daughter of Philip could not fail to be advantageous to the empire. He added, that with respect to the proposal of the Abbot Morimond, the princes would also contribute towards the establishment of the monastery. The emperor elect having given his consent, the dukes of Austria and Bavaria introduced the young princess, and asked her consent. She blushing gave it (unfortunate princess !), and then Otho descended from the throne, bowed, drew a ring from his finger and affianced himself to the princess. After embracing her he seated her on the throne between the cardinals,§ and when the princes were also seated, he said to them : “ *Behold your queen : honor her as such.*” The affianced bride and her sister were escorted in pomp to Brunswick. Otho remained in Franconia to settle some business, and prepare for the coronation journey. With respect to that ceremony, Hurter describes the church of Saint Peter as it was then. I extract his description, which, moreover, agrees in details with all that I had collected in other quarters on the subject.

When we reach the age of Michael Angelo and of Raphael, I shall have to speak of Saint Peter’s and the Vatican, as we now see them. It is fitting, therefore, to speak of what Saint Peter’s then was ; antiquaries will thus learn what they have lost, and the admirers of the great Florentine and of the painter of Urbino will realize the debt of gratitude which religion and the arts owe them. It will be perceived that Saint Peter’s must always have been a rich and imposing temple. “ Like a majestic mother, surrounded by a group of daughters brilliant in the graces of youth,|| the church of Saint Peter, situated beyond the walls, rose amidst a crowd of

* Hurter, ii., p. 226.

† Otto de Saint Blas, Arn Lubek, vii., p. 19.

‡ I much fear that this was the same duke who kept Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, prisoner at Durnstein.

§ Hurter, ii., p. 227.

|| Ibid., ii., p. 242, Jager’s translation.

other churches, chapels, and convents. The popes had then no residence there, but, on all occasions of solemnity, repaired thither from the Lateran palace.* A flight of thirty-five marble steps led to the three entrances of the portico, the walls of which were adorned with marbles and paintings. On one side, on three brass tablets, were inscribed the names of all the kingdoms, countries, cities, and islands that were tributary to the Holy See.† By three other doors, the portico was left for the porch, which the care of Pope Sergius‡ had paved with marble. In that porch was a pineapple, of gilt bronze, fifteen palms high, which had formerly ornamented the tomb of the Emperor Adrian,§ inclosing leaden pipes from which water issued in jets. Above this, eight porphyry pillars supported a gilded roof, from which four gilt dolphins spouted forth water into a large basin. This masterpiece was due to the munificence of Pope Symmachus.|| Silver doors separated the porch from the sanctuary. This part of the church contained all that the piety of the heads of Catholicity had for centuries collected, most magnificent in symbolical significance, workmanship, and material. Besides the high altar dedicated to Saint Peter, there were twenty-seven other altars; and it is difficult to say whether the mind of a stranger was more impressed by the rich decorations of that vast inclosure, or by the host of the faithful who, from all parts of the world, often almost precluded all access to the relics of the prince of the apostles. There, were chapels adorned by the finest mosaic work, and the most precious metals,¶ and sanctified by the most venerable relics of the Christian martyrs, the doctors, and the pastors. Here, the mausoleums of almost all the popes** subsequent to Saint Clement, set forth by inscription and symbols, their acts, their qualities, and their piety. The soul was penetrated with admiration at the view, in that sanctuary, of the union of the deepest mysteries, and the earthly envelope of so many great geniuses who, during long centuries,†† had directed the intelligence of past generations, and by their

* A considerable distance had to be traversed.

† It has been said that Rome preserved a sort of hypocritical and secret jurisdiction over different countries. That list of kingdoms, islands, and cities, presented to the gaze of all comers that there was nothing either hypocritical or secret in that jurisdiction. I have deemed it necessary to add this note to the labor of Hurter.

‡ Probably Sergius IV., one hundred and forty-sixth pope, created in 1009.

§ Paul V. caused it to be removed to the Belvidere garden. We shall speak further of that ancient monument, which is nearly four yards in height.

|| Saint Symmachus, fifty-second pope, created in 498, was a most generous prince.

¶ Only the canons of the Church had the right to enter the chapel in which was preserved the Holy Sudarium.

** We have given the list of all those who were interred at the Vatican. See, also, note on p. 16, relative to the tomb of the two apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, in the subterranean church, in the midst of the new Basilica built over the ancient one by Julius II. and Leo X.

†† Nine centuries might be said; what is described here existed in 1209.

sentiments, their knowledge, and their morals had, generally, raised themselves like so many pillars of truth.

"On the eastern side of the church, which indicates the light shed upon the spiritual world, shone the high altar of Saint Peter, adorned by all that art and wealth could find to glorify the holy Apostle. His successors alone had the right to be crowned before that high altar. Four porphyry pillars supported the canopy of the altar. In front were twelve towering pillars, six of which were sent from Greece by Constantine. At the side of that altar gleamed, like the source of light upon the dark earth, amidst diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, a cross of the finest gold, weighing one thousand pounds.* It was presented by Pope Leo IV.† Near this cross was the golden table of the two Testaments; it was ornamented with emeralds, and weighed two hundred and fifty pounds; around were suspended forty silver lamps; besides which, one hundred and fifty tapers burned by day, and two hundred and fifty by night."

"On great solemnities, a quantity of gold and silver candelabra, in the form of gigantic crosses, of luminous trees, and of garlands, enriched with precious stones, shed around a light more brilliant than that of the day-star; a balsamic oil keeping up the flame, and diffusing the most delightful perfume. Rods and rings of silver supported the hangings of the choir, which, under Pascal I., were made of cloth of gold. Forty-six of those hangings represented the Passion of our Lord, and a like number the acts of the Apostles.

"The ornaments of the altar were in no respect wanting to this marvelous magnificence. Pedestals, some plated with gold and silver, and some of solid metal, supported a golden cross enriched with fine stones, as if to show that ignominy had disappeared from the cross, and had been replaced by a brilliant splendor, since Christ had wrought the salvation of the world. Statues of saints stood upon other pedestals.

"Leo III.‡ placed two silver angels at the entrance to the choir. Leo IV., one of the principal benefactors of this temple of Christianity, gave a statue of our Lord seated upon his throne between two celestial messengers, and surrounded by twenty other statues. Other pedestals served to support magnificent vases or costly hangings. But what especially awakened the admiration of the faithful§ were the paintings on the ceiling, rep-

* A thousand pounds of gold would now cost about three hundred thousand dollars.

† The one hundred and fifth pope, created in 847. See what we have said of the courage and magnificence of Leo IV. (*ante*, p. 215). It was he who had the old church of Saint Peter surrounded by walls, and it was of him that Voltaire said: "*Leo, in his defence of Rome, proved himself worthy to be her sovereign.*"

‡ He was the ninety-eighth pope, created in 795; and he crowned Charlemagne as emperor.

§ I omit nothing from this description, which testifies the learned research of Hurter. As I have said, let those who dare, compare the magnificence of Saint Peter's as it was, and as it is.

resenting the creed of the Christian revelation; paintings even more remarkable for the depth of their mysterious meaning than for their artistic merit.* There were the mysteries of the Church militant, the cross, and the Lamb; from the wounds of the Lamb flowed five streams, towards which the twelve tribes of Israel proceeded under the form of twelve lambs. The pope (probably Innocent III.) was in the attitude of adoration beside the Lamb, and held in his hand the banner of victory. Above, in a starry sky, and seated on a throne, was our Lord, holding in his hand a book whence proceeded the four Gospels, under the form of the four rivers of Paradise, while the nations, represented by harts panting for the fountains, flocked to hear him. Peter and Paul, with halo-circled heads, announced the Son of the living God, and promised a new life to the faithful. A dove escaped from a hand that emerged from the clouds. Such, at that period, was the temple dedicated to the chief of the Apostles."†

In the morning, the steps of the church of Saint Peter, and all the streets and avenues in the vicinity, were occupied by priests. There was a Roman party to whom the election of Otho was distasteful, and it was necessary to make a formidable display of troops to put down, at need, the malcontents. Otho had some difficulty in advancing with his own attendants.

The pope, surrounded by the cardinals, bishops, and clergy, was seated in front of the bronze gate, at the head of the steps leading to the church. Three bishops descended the steps to give the benediction to Otho and to conduct him to the pope.

Otho, after kissing Innocent's feet, swore, as Henry VI. had sworn, to attack neither the Church nor its rights; to be an equitable judge, the protector of the widow and the orphan; with all his power to defend the churches, especially the patrimony of Saint Peter, to watch over and support the dignity of the empire, and to reconquer the rights which had been taken from it.

The pope then said: "Will you live in peace with the Church?" The emperor having thrice replied "Yes," the pope said: "I give you peace as it was given by the Lord to his disciples," and kissed him on the forehead, the chin, and the cheeks. Then he continued, "Will you be a son of the Church?" and the emperor having answered in the affirmative, the pope said: "I receive you, then, as a son of the Church;" and then covered him with his cloak, taking him by the right hand, and the emperor kissed the pope on the breast. They thus proceeded from the *bronze gate* to the

* They date from the time of Saint Sylvester, thirty-third pope, created in 314. Innocent III. had them repaired about the year 1200.

† Hurter's words are: "The metropolitan church of Christendom;" but that title more properly belongs to Saint John Lateran, which is called *Mater et Caput ecclesiarum*—*Mother and Head of the Churches*.

silver gate, during the singing of the *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*—
“*Blessed be the Lord God of Israel.*”

The pope leaving the emperor in prayer, returned to the church, during the singing of, *Peter, lovest thou me?* The emperor was then introduced. Seven Italian bishops sat on the right hand of the pope, and seven German bishops on the right hand of the emperor. Innocent then said: “The ancient rules of the holy Fathers require that he who is placed above others, should be charitably examined as to his faith and life; for, it is written, *Impose not hands lightly.*” The emperor was then asked if he promised to be pious, temperate, disinterested, affable, and mild, and if he sincerely admitted all the articles of the Catholic faith. The pope, having blessed him after his answer to those questions, went into the sacristy, whence he returned clad in the papal vestments, to proceed with the rites. The arch-priest and archdeacon of the Sacred College, who were stationed near the emperor, to direct him in the ceremony, then conducted him to the sacristy, where the pope received him as a canon of Saint Peter’s, and caused him to put on the costume of that dignity. They then left the sacristy and advanced towards the altar of Saint Peter, and the archdeacon intoned the litany. The bishop of Ostia then anointed the emperor, and prayed the Most High to give him his Holy Spirit, that he might govern the people with justice, have God constantly before his eyes, and merit his goodness.

The pope then descended from the throne, and, with Otho, proceeded to the altar of Saint Maurice, whither the proper officers brought the imperial crown from the high altar. The pope first presented the ring to the emperor, saying: “Take it as the symbol of faith, sovereignty, and power.” Then he girded him with the sword, that with the blessing of God and by the power of the Holy Ghost he should cast down his own enemies and those of Holy Church, and protect the kingdom and soldiers of Christ. During the prayers which accompanied each of those ceremonies, the pope received, from the hands of the archdeacon, the imperial crown, placed it on the head of the emperor, and gave him the sceptre, emblem of the imperial authority, with which he was to protect the Church and the Christian people, to punish the wicked, and give peace to the good. The head of Christendom then returned with his assistants to the high altar. The prefect of the city and the chief judge conducted the emperor to his place; and the pope having intoned the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the choirs sang alternately. At the end of the chant the emperor placed the crown upon the altar, heard the Gospel read, laid down the sword, and offered to the pope bread, tapers, and gold; in return for which he received the kiss of peace, and then the body of the Lord. The episcopal shoes were then taken from the emperor, and replaced by the imperial boots and the spurs of Saint Maurice. At length he left the church, accompanied by the pope,

to march in procession through the city. Horses stood ready at the church door. The emperor held the pope's stirrup,* handed him the bridle, and following him with the crown upon his head and surrounded by all his attendants. The chant of the priests arose in the streets, the bells rang, and the chamberlains of the emperor scattered money among the people during the whole length of the procession.

At the entrance to the great Lateran palace, the emperor alighted, again took the pope's stirrup, and together with the prefect, conducted the sovereign pontiff to the banqueting hall. At the repast, Otho was seated at the right of the pope, and after the singing, and the benediction given by the pontiff, each retired amidst the applause of a portion of the Roman people.

The two sovereigns some time afterwards took leave of each other; but a germ of enmity already fermented in the bosom of Otho.

The Waldenses began to excite attention. Some of the principles of the sect of the Manicheans prevailed, it was supposed, among them. Peter Waldo, of Lyons, if not the founder, was at least the most active promoter of the sect. It owed its celebrity less to the innovations it strove to introduce, than to the audacity with which it propagated principles already taught in various countries, and even in Rome, by Arnold of Brescia. It is related that as several citizens of Lyons† were at their doors talking on indifferent matters, one of them suddenly fell dead. The impression made by the event determined Peter Waldo, a rich man, to preach the nothingness of human life, and the necessity of amending their hearts and becoming more pious. He enlarged on this topic whenever he found opportunity. Liberal almsgiving soon surrounded him with poor people, and furnished him with the means of increasing the number of his hearers.

Waldo by degrees became chief of a sect. His followers were called the *Poor of Lyons*—they called themselves *the Humble*.

The principal attack of these sectarians was upon the visible Church, which they declared corrupted by the use of property. According to them, they alone preached the true doctrine of Christ; all men were equal; no one had the right to claim obedience, since there ought not to be any hierarchy in the Church. They rejected the names of popes and bishops. Singing in church was a hellish screaming, marriage no sacrament,‡ *every honest layman a priest*.

Priests' vestments, tapers, incense, and holy water, were according to them things superfluous and absurd. Images and paintings were a sign of

* This ceremony, says Jager, prescribed by the Germanic law of the middle age, was a token of submission.

† Hurter, ii., p. 289.

‡ Ibid., ii., p. 292.

idolatry; the cross only a bit of wood, like any other; and the sign of the cross a vain habit. Yet they seem to have had images of our Saviour on the cross, but the cross was in the form of a T, and our Saviour had one foot over the other, so as to be attached by only three nails. Innocent, after testifying his horror of their maxims, disapproved this last innovation, which scandalized the faithful; for he distinctly speaks, in his sermons, of the form of the cross, and of the four nails.

Such heretics having appeared at Viterbo, Innocent succeeded in alarming them.

A warlike protector was needed by those perverse people. Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, whose ancestor is distinguished in history as the companion and rival of Godfrey de Bouillon, became the most powerful friend of those heretics.

Hurter gives exact details of the war declared against the sectaries, of the siege of Béziers, and of all the deeds of arms in which the innovators were defeated.* Unfortunately, views of personal ambition entered into this war. Some were tempted to the field by the hope of sharing the spoils of the conquered; and others expected higher titles, or exemption from a crusade to the Holy Land, for the name of *crusade* was also given to the expedition against Languedoc.

Otho did not fulfil the promise he had so solemnly made. He annexed the State of the Church to the empire, and intended the same fate for all Italy. "Roger, the Norman hero," it was said, "wrested Apulia from the empire; that province must be restored." Otho coveted even the provinces belonging to Frederic; provinces which he had sworn to respect.

Innocent could not behold unmoved the dangers that menaced the kingdom of Sicily. Although his guardianship was at an end, circumstances rendered the pope's protection necessary to the young king.

In 1211, the pontiff, with the advice of the cardinals, having long warned Otho, pronounced an excommunication against him. "for having degenerated from the sentiments of his ancestors; for having violated his sworn faith; for having seized Viterbo and other cities given by his ancestors to Saint Peter; and for preparing to wage unjust war against Frederic II., king of Sicily."

Meanwhile the Saracens remained quiet possessors of the Holy Land. Not a soldier left either Greece or Constantinople to cross the sea. The West prepared no new crusade; that in the south of France seemed to have sufficed, though it was accompanied, on both sides, by fearful cruelties that desolated that fine country. Not one of the noble wishes of Innocent had been accomplished. The reunion of the Greek to the Latin Church was

* Hurter, ii., p. 384.

only apparent ; it resembled a compulsory submission rather than a real one, and therefore was less calculated to increase the consideration of the Holy See than to increase its cares,* and to render almost impossible the execution of its duties.

In 1212, Innocent learned with joy the great victory obtained in Spain over the Moors at Navas de Tolosa, by the kings of Navarre, Arragon, and Castile. Spanish historians regard this event as another field of Poitiers, destined to deliver Spain from the Arab yoke.

In the same year, 1212, Innocent excommunicated John, king of England, because that king had seized upon all ecclesiastical rights. In the following year, however, John, perceiving that in consequence of violent insults the pope had released the English from their oath of fidelity, and had invited the king of France to dethrone and succeed him, deemed it best to return to obedience to the Holy Church ; and he rendered his country feudatory by promising the punctual payment of a tribute to the authorities at Rome.

Other disagreements had long existed in Italy. The Pisans refused on some points to recognize, not indeed the supremacy of Rome, but her right to make those remonstrances which, in that age, all the people rightly, and doubtless for their own happiness and peace, attributed to the benevolent and wisely *advisory* intervention of the Roman court, which, having to decide in the last resort, repressed tyrannies, punished robberies, and endeavored to maintain public concord everywhere.

Innocent III., notwithstanding his power, employed no means unworthy of his character to gain the Pisans. He repeated, that his first duty was that of pontiff;† that he had refused the crown ; that he had been elected in spite of his remonstrances, his cries, and his tears ; and that he would worthily fulfil all the obligations which he had been compelled to accept, and especially that of being a pacificator.

Let us confess that this courageous moderation could not always resist the spirit of the age, that spirit which strove to implicate the pope in the domestic quarrels of other countries. Let us also declare, that to a right established, by universal agreement, in favor of the Holy See, was added a whole host of cupidities that endeavored to force the pope to be their accomplice. The king of Hungary invited him to send to the Holy Land the king's brother, Andrew, whom the king accused of disturbing the State. Some French barons conjured the pope to give severe lessons to Philip, who thwarted their ambition. Innocent was called upon by them to remember the doctrine of Gregory VII., and to avail himself of that moral weapon in the recent disputes with John Lackland. The king had threatened the pope

* Hurter, ii., p. 462.

† *Italy*, p. 90.

that the English should not be allowed to take treasure to Rome. The reply to this threat was an interdict. John vilely avenged himself upon the bishop of Norwich, who sided with the pope, threw the prelate into prison, fettered, and with a leaden cope of such crushing weight, that he died in a few days. Innocent, irritated, and warmly urged by John's nobles, who were fervent Catholics, thought of deposing the prince. If the pope resolved upon this violence, a king of France, Philip Augustus himself, undertook to execute the sentence upon the legitimate king of England. Does not devotion explain these acts? Never has a pope been alone in an excommunication; there was always a benevolent executioner ready to draw the sword.

Does not any discredit that attaches to an interdict belong more to those who solicit it, and accept the execution of it, than to those who issue it? And in that case, was the interdict fulminated against John more reprehensible than the conduct of those English nobles, who, seeing their king unfortunate, declared him incapable of reigning, and who sought to replace him by Louis, son of Philip Augustus? But it is a sort of rule with some that the guilty are to be sought always in Rome. A thorough acquaintance with all the interests of that time is requisite to warrant a decision upon such questions, and with all my sincere research for facts, it is by no means clear to my mind, that Rome was always wrong.

Otho being at the point of death, Frederic II. was crowned king of Germany, and Italy began to hope for a little tranquillity. Yet it seemed that calm could not readily be restored. On all subjects, even the most futile, the pope was called upon to intervene. Amidst these senseless excitements, Innocent III., whatever may be said to the contrary, did not allow himself to be led into error. He perceived, at length, that a malevolent foreign policy, selfish and dastardly, delighted to involve the Church in affairs of civil governments, whose intrigues it was unacquainted with. And on carefully examining the close of this pope's life, where shall we easily find a man who has more courageously resisted the universal homage of Europe, and has been more calm than he, when it is noted that a king of Portugal, a king of Arragon, and subsequently, *the king of the kingdom of Poland*, so humbly wrote that they were his tributaries. Moreover, that terror which was inspired by the Saracens, who had become before that handful of Latins that had occupied the throne of Constantinople stronger than they had been before the Greeks, who still called themselves Romans (a name calculated to impress a kind of terror, especially upon the barbarians)—that terror which disguised itself beneath costly armaments, mostly mere shams, and expeditions that were almost always unfortunate, even when successful—

* *Italy*, p. 91.

concurred to strengthen the power of the pope. And what was that pope? Let us give his portrait. Innocent III. was one of the ablest statesmen of his time, endowed with tried courage, a firm yet not obstinate nature, and an enlightenment which may be termed supernatural. His intervention was solicited on all sides; and he appeared to accept them all. He strove to leave no affair in an unfinished state. Then, he set the example of great purity of morals, and when he resisted a repudiation dictated by caprice, he spoke with the voice of a just, wise, and irreproachable apostle. By his letters he earned the title of *father of the new law*; he composed affecting prayers, preserved by the Church, he was author of the beautiful *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and he is said to have composed the *Stabat Mater*.

Although we have blamed Philip Augustus on other occasions, it is impossible for us to forget the glory that he acquired, in 1214, at Bouvines. He made war in Flanders against Count Ferrand, against the Emperor Otho, and against the earl of Salisbury, brother of the king of England, who had come to the aid of Ferrand. The armies met at the bridge of Bouvines, near Tournay, and Philip thus addressed his troops:*

“All our hope is in God: the emperor and his army are excommunicated by the pope; they are the enemies and destroyers of the Church, and the money paid to them is the fruit of the tears of the poor, and of the plunder of the clergy and the churches. For ourselves we are Christians, and we rejoice in the communion and the peace of Holy Church. Although sinners, we are united to the Church, and as far as we can we defend the liberty of the clergy. Therefore it is that we may confidently hope for the mercy of God to give us the victory over our enemies.”

When the king had thus spoken, the “charge!” was sounded. Behind the king was the chaplain who wrote the history of that prince, and another clerk. When the trumpets had sounded, they chanted the one hundred and sixty-third, the sixty-seventh, and the twentieth psalms, all apposite to the occasion, and they often wept as they sang.† Victory declared for King Philip. The imperial army fled; the count of Flanders and the earl of Salisbury were captured.

We return to our recital of the labors of Innocent III. In 1215, he celebrated the twelfth general and fourth Lateran councils, to condemn the errors of the Albigenses.

The fourth canon of that council concerns the Greeks reunited to the Roman Church. The council declares that it will favor and honor them,—as far as it can, agreeably to God, supporting their customs and rites;‡ but it blames those who carry aversion so far as to wash the altars on which

* Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, Francorum Regis. (Duchesne's Collection, tome iii.)

† Fleury, v., lib. lxxvii., p. 116.

‡ *Ibid*, lib. lxxii., p. 124.

the Latin priests had celebrated, and to rebaptize those who had been baptized by the Latins; and it forbids such excesses for the future, on pain of excommunication and deposition. In many countries, people of different languages are mixed, and differ not only in manners, but also in their rules as to religious ceremonies, although living in the same city or the same diocese. That mixture existed in Constantinople and throughout Romania, where the Latins and Greeks were intermingled; and in the East, at Antioch, at Tripoli, and at Saint Jean d'Acre, where the Latins were mingled with the Syrians, the Greeks, and the Armenians. To avoid the confusion that might arise from that diversity of languages and rites among Christians having the same belief, the council orders that the bishops of those dioceses establish men capable of celebrating the divine office before *each nation*, and administering the sacraments and giving instruction to each, according to its own ritual and in its own language.* It forbids, however, the placing of two bishops in one diocese, as that would be one body with two heads, and, consequently, a monster; but it orders that the bishop give to those of the other rite a Catholic vicar entirely subject to such bishop. If any one intrude into the ecclesiastical functions, he is to be excommunicated, then deposed, and even, if need be, restrained by the secular power.

Another canon of this council declares the rank and the prerogatives of the four patriarchs, naming him of Constantinople the first, and then those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. With respect to them the following arrangement was made. "After the patriarchs shall have received from the pope the *pallium*, and taken the oath of fidelity, they can give the pallium to their suffragans, and receive from them professions of obedience to them and to the Roman Church. They may have the cross borne before them everywhere, except at Rome, or in places where the pope or his legate is present. In all the provinces within their jurisdiction, appeals will be heard by them, but with right of appeal to the pope."

This council also forbade the establishment of any new religious orders. The faithful were directed to confess at least once a year.

Innocent also thought fit to forbid ecclesiastics to practise surgery.

This pope died at the age of fifty-six, on the 16th of July, 1216, at Perugia, and was interred in the cathedral church of Saint Lawrence.

The ashes of Innocent III., in the year 1345, were joined to those of Popes Urban IV. and Martin IV., who died in that city, and placed in one tomb, whence they were removed to a more magnificent one, in 1615.

The Holy See remained vacant only one day.

We think it fitting to insert here what Dom Mauros Capellani, since

* Canon 9, canon 14, *de. Off. jud.*

raised to the papacy, said of the various popes accused by the innovators. In the list of such pontiffs he includes Innocent III.*

"We are reminded, in a tone of triumph, of the names of a Zozimus, a Pelagius I., a Nicholas I., an Honorius, an Adrian I., a Leo IV., an *Innocent III.*, &c.

"Every one knows the celebrated and victorious apologies devoted to the defence of each of these popes, which are constantly quoted by the most enlightened critics, the most impartial historians, the most profound theologians, and the most sincere Catholics. It would be a waste of time to reproduce those apologies here. The innovators cannot be ignorant of them; but they affect to be so, or rather pass them by, and persist in saying that if the popes were infallible, they should have a firmness superior to all violences—the tone of supreme judges in the tribunal and in their own apartment—in debates of councils and in social conversations; be infallible in all their words and in all their practical resolves, whether interesting the faith or not, whether they concern the Church or concern merely an individual. From the moment of his elevation, a pope, according to the innovators, should entirely cease to be a man and become a divinity. It is in vain to point out that among all nations, in the sovereigns themselves, the prince is distinguished from the individual; that the first of those qualities does not govern all his actions; that in the common understanding, the exercise of the sovereignty is always dependent upon the will of the sovereign; that the prerogatives of power ally themselves with, but do not destroy the personal qualities; and, finally, that we must consider the nature of the objects, and other circumstances in which a prince or a pope may be placed, in order to judge in what quality he acts. Nothing is gained by presenting these views to our adversaries; they do not reply to them, but they entirely ignore them, or, at the utmost, treat them as *absurd puerilities, mere chicanery, and chimerical distinctions.*"

It was a simple religious who thus spoke. What sublime instinct told him that he should be a sovereign? What gift of God unveiled to him, while still in the cloister, the depth of the heart of a prince? Gregory XVI.,† notwithstanding his greatness, was so modest that he has not told us the secret of that prodigious foresight, but we know it as it were against his will. The mind of a judicious scholar possesses a penetration which clearly explains the phenomenon.

Let us return to Innocent III., though we do not hope so ably to defend

* See *Triumph of the Holy See, and of the Church*, translated by the Abbé Jammes, 8vo, Lyons, 1833, tome i., p. 262. We shall return to that fine work in our following volumes. It is translated with both elegance and fidelity.

† "While writing this portion, we learned the death of Gregory XVI.," says Mr. Artaud, who then gives a portrait of that pontiff, which we transfer to his life.—*Translator.*

him. Innocent was a pontiff of the most distinguished character. He surpassed all the men of merit of his day. At Rome, at Pavia, at Bologna, no one could leave him but with admiration of his astonishing memory.

We have seen that in many affairs his advice prevailed. He knew how to avail himself of all advantages—skilful condescension, patience, and a just understanding of the interests of Rome. The doctrine of Gregory VII., softened in form because the secular princes were less evil; generous counsels to the crusaders, liberty secured to his partisans, respect and apostolical affection for his adversaries—such were his allies, his counsels, and his rules. The more he acted alone, the more surely he commanded success. Thrice a week he held a consistory, or, rather, a public audience, which had not been done for a long time. In various matters, he heard all parties; he left trivial causes to his subalterns, and reserved to himself only the more difficult.

He debated with such profundity, that jurisconsults went merely for the sake of hearing him.

He was of medium stature, and his countenance always imposing. Innocent supported many poor people in plenty, while only three dishes were served to him. He both advised temperance and practised it.

Under his reign, the temporal power of the popes gained new strength. This great pontiff, this great genius, as courageous in his own way as Gregory VII., was more fortunate than the latter.

Innocent, at his death, was in the zenith of his glory. Such was the end of him who had so nobly maintained the interests of Christianity, and who fearlessly reminded reigning princes of the dictates of morality and of the duties of the throne.

This pope governed the Church eighteen years, six months, and nine days.

We owe to M. Chavin de Malan, a very distinguished ecclesiastical writer, a reprint of the book entitled "*Innocentii III., de sacro altaris Mysteriorum, libri vi.* (16mo; Paris, Sagnier & Bray, 1845). This work, written in very pure Latin, contains, first, the *Ordo Missæ*, and a prologue. The first book comprises sixty-four chapters; the second, sixty-one; the third, twelve; the fourth, forty-four; the fifth, twenty-eight; the sixth, fourteen. It is dedicated to Bishop Affre, of Paris, who worthily appreciates so complete a work. All the different orders of the hierarchy are clearly defined. Finally, as announced by the title, the sacred mystery of the altar is fully explained. One cannot well express all the learning that is to be found in this admirable work, which one of the popes, most busied in important affairs, yet found time to compose for the instruction of the ecclesiastics of all countries. Bury speaks briefly of this work. Fleury and Receveur have not mentioned it. The title, the subjects, the quotations from Scripture, may have caused it to be supposed to be in the style of the *Following*

of Christ; but it is essentially different. Innocent's work has too many antitheses; a defect from which the Imitation is free.

I close with all those considerations, by quoting the portrait of The Preacher, which Innocent himself has drawn:

"The power of the preaching of the divine word is such, that it reclaims the soul from error to truth, and from vice to virtue; it raises up the fallen, smoothes the rough; it instructs in the faith, creates hope, and strengthens love; it uproots the mischievous, plants what is useful, and sustains what is virtuous; it is the road of life, the ladder of salvation, and the gate of Paradise. Therefore, the preacher should be provided with gold, silver, and balm; that is to say, that he should have wisdom, eloquence, and virtue, that he may feel what he speaks, and practise what he preaches. God grant that I may myself practise that which, as a preacher, I teach!"

Besides these precepts of so great a genius, let us add a few words which testify to the deepest humility. He says in his book v., chapter 2, of the Sacred Mystery of the Altar: *Ego vellem doceri quam docere, magisque referre quam proferre sententiam*—*I would rather be taught than teach, and receive than give advice.* No! holy and admirable pontiff, it is you who still instruct us in policy, in courage, in greatness of soul, and in knowledge; and humility will but crown so many accomplishments and virtues.

179. HONORIUS III.—A. D. 1216.



HONORIUS III., Cenci Savelli, belonged to one of the most illustrious Roman families. At first canon of Saint Mary Major, he next became canon-regular of Saint John Lateran. For four years he was tutor to Frederic II., and afterwards, in succession, chamberlain and vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church. He was elected pope at Perugia, on the 18th of July, 1216, by nineteen cardinals, whom the Perugians, to quicken the election, had confined in the hall where the election was held. He was crowned and consecrated on the 24th of July, in the same city, and made his entry into Rome on the 31st of August. On the 4th of September, he formally took possession at Saint John Lateran. The Romans received the new pope with such demonstrations of joy as justified hopes of a happy reign.

In his zeal for the interests of the Holy Land, the pope wrote to the

bishops and to the Catholic sovereigns in terms of encouragement. Desiring the execution of the laws of his predecessor on the studies of the clergy, Honorius ordered the chapters to send to the public universities some young canons to be trained in the studies requisite for their ministry; and to remove all obstacles, he granted exemption from residence to the students and to their theological professors.

The faithful had been accustomed to observe the feast of Christmas with so much solemnity, that the more forcibly to express their rejoicing, they did not abstain from flesh-meat if it fell on a Friday. The bishop of Prague wrote to Honorius, inquiring whether the custom was permissible. The pope replied, confirming it: "If Christmas-day fall on a Friday, and, even more, if it fall on a Saturday, on account of the excellence of the feast, all Christians may eat flesh-meat, provided that no vow or regular observance constrains them to abstain from it; but those are not to be reproached who, on such days, abstain from flesh-meat."*

By a bull signed on the 22d of December, 1216, Honorius approved the order of *Preachers* (Dominicans), instituted in 1207, under the rule of Saint Augustine. Innocent III. had orally approved that order. Saint Dominic has been often and violently attacked. It is to be observed that the assailants have confounded the founder of an order, which, in Spain, counted among its members some pitiless persecutors, with the persecutors themselves. The Inquisition, of which we have already spoken, and which originally only *inquired* as to the propagation of heretical opinions, became a political institution, far more Spanish than Italian. Upon which point we may remark, that Italian sagacity was somewhat outdone by Spanish despotism. It must not be forgotten that Saint Dominic devoted himself exclusively to preaching; that it was his maxim that the master of his own passions is master of the world,† and that we must either be the rulers or the slaves of the passions. Dominic exhorted to humility, and especially to poverty. He was once asked in what book he had found a sermon which had much affected his auditors; the monk replied: "The book I use is Charity."

Saint Dominic attacked the heresy of the Albigenses by word and by example. The civil authority committed cruelties which he neither advised nor appreciated; and, moreover, he died in 1221, while that terrible tribunal was not established until 1229! This justice is due to Saint Dominic, whose acts were entirely distinct from those of the Inquisition.

The rule of the Dominicans enjoined preaching, perpetual silence, con-

* Novaes, iii., p. 173. Dom Grappin gives a dissertation on this question in the Ecclesiastical Journal of Dinouarts, in 1775. The question is thus stated: "When and why was meat made lawful food on Christmas-day, if it fall on a Friday or a Saturday?"

† *Italy*, p. 94.

tinuous fasting, abstinence from flesh-meat between the 14th of September and Easter, the use of woollen instead of linen, and other austerities, which they strictly observed. Up to the year 1219, they wore the habit of the regular canons. Subsequently, they assumed that which they now wear.

In 1220, they celebrated a general chapter in the convent of Bologna. There, the holy founder of the order renounced all the income and possessions of the convents. This order became one of the four mendicant orders; those four orders are the Augustinians, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans. The Council of Trent authorized them to possess property, but imposed upon them the law of mendicancy, to preserve the memory of their former discipline.

The Dominican order has produced a great many canonized saints; four sovereign pontiffs—Innocent V., Blessed Benedict XI., Saint Pius V., and Benedict XIII.; more than sixty cardinals; more than a hundred and fifty archbishops; more than eight hundred bishops; and an innumerable host of writers, and men illustrious for piety and knowledge.

Subsequently, Honorius assigned to a member of that order the office of *Master of the Sacred Palace*, one of the most important in the Roman court. Saint Dominic, noticing that when the cardinals went to the ceremonials of the pontifical palace, their servants remained idle in the ante-chamber, proposed to Honorius to appoint a learned man who, at such times, should preach the word of God to them. The pope approved of that, and intrusted the work to Dominic himself, who commenced it by expounding the Epistles of Saint Paul. So great an audience was attracted by his lectures, that it was settled that thenceforth a Dominican should perform this duty, with the title of *Maestre del sagro Palazzo—Master of the Sacred Palace*. In the course of time, the Dominican, companion of the master, had the duty of preaching to the retinue of the cardinals, and the master had the office of censor of the publication of books and writings in the city of Rome, and of publications brought thither. For this reason, the Father Master has a seat in the Congregations of the Holy Inquisition and the *Index*.

Honorius crowned, as emperor of the East, Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, and his wife, Violante, sister of the Emperor Baldwin and Henry. The ceremony took place on the 9th of April, 1217, in the church of Saint Lawrence, without the walls, not only in order that the Eastern empire should not, on account of such a coronation, pretend to any right upon the West, but also that the patriarch of Constantinople should not have any complaint to make that his right to crown the emperors of the East was prejudiced.

The city of Genoa revived some old claims upon the island of Corsica. Honorius recognized the republic as being entitled to one-half of the island; and Genoa, in return, was to pay the pope annually a pound of gold. At

the same time the Marquis d'Este received, in fief, the March of Ancona, in consideration of an annual tribute of a hundred *livres provisines*, or, as others say, *provençales*.*

The Holy Father, in 1218, approved of the Hospitaller Canons regular of Saint Anthony, instituted in 1093, by Gaston, a knight of Vienne, in Dauphiny. They undertook the care of the patients attacked by Saint Anthony's fire, an epidemic which at that time afflicted the West. The order was suppressed under Clement XIV., and the property of the Canons of Saint Anthony given in part to the Knights of Malta; whose grand master added to his titles that of *Grand Master of the Order of Saint Anthony*.

In 1218, Honorius canonized Saint William, archbishop of Bourges, who died on the 10th of January, 1209; and in 1220, Saint Hugh, prior of the Carthusians, and bishop of Lincoln, in England, who died on the 17th of November, 1200. In 1224, he canonized Saint William, canon regular of the congregation of Saint Victor, of Paris, and abbot of Roschild, in the island of Zealand, Denmark. In 1225, he canonized Saint Lawrence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, who died on the 14th of November, 1181; and finally, in 1226, Saint William, archbishop of York, who died on the 8th of June, 1154.

The pope, who had crowned as emperor Frederic II., son of Henry VI., and grandson of Frederic Barbarossa, incessantly urged him to take the cross for the Holy Land, as his predecessors had done. Frederic II. alternately sold and seized again the patrimony of the Countess Matilda. At the time of which we speak, those lands were sold, and the pope was entreated to crown, as king of Sicily, Henry, son of Frederic. But Henry dying, Frederic seized the island again.

In the north of France, the pope had restored peace; he had previously succeeded in withdrawing all claim to the English throne by Louis, son of Philip Augustus, who had been invited to London to succeed John Lackland, and subsequently his son, Henry III. As Philip Augustus owed so much of his strength and power to the patronage of the Holy See, it was his duty to recognize the authority of Rome when she ordered him to abandon pretensions which she no longer approved.

In 1219, Saint Dominic proposed to Saint Francis that their two congregations should be blended into one. But Saint Francis replied: "My dear brother, it is the will of God that they should remain separate, in order that by their diversity they may adapt themselves to human infirmity, so that he whom the rigor of the one would not suit, may embrace the mildness of the

* Each of these livres was worth eighty centimes of present French money, or thirteen and a half cents.

other." But they none the less formed a perfect union between each other and their disciples. Saint Dominic was present in the chapter general that Saint Francis held near Assisi, in the year 1219, commencing on the day of Pentecost, 19th of May. There were present above five thousand friars, so greatly had the order increased in nine or ten years; and they camped out in the fields, lying on mats or beneath poor huts. They had brought no provisions, and yet they wanted for nothing, so great was the charity of the neighboring towns and cities of Assisi, Perugia, Foligno, Spoleto, and even Terni, Narni, and Civita Castellana. Ecclesiastics, nobles, and commons flocked from all lands to minister to the friars, in a holy emulation of humility and charity; they were touched by the sight of the peace and joy of the brethren in a life of such hardship and penance; they admired their union and their submission to their holy founder. "Behold," said they, "the narrow way of the Gospel; behold why it is so difficult for the rich to enter into the kingdom of heaven!"

Cardinal Ugolino attended the chapter, and one day when he addressed the brethren, he ended by giving them great praise. Fearing that such praise might excite a spirit of vanity and relaxation, Saint Francis ascended the pulpit, and represented to the brethren the temptations and persecutions which awaited them, the disorder of their successors, and the future decay of the order. He reproached them with laxity, and with their insufficient sense of the singular graces which God had bestowed upon them; and so forcible was his address, that not only did he repress in them any feeling of vanity, but even covered them with confusion.* The cardinal complained of this to Saint Francis, who replied: "My lord, I have spoken to preserve the substance of your praise, and to support those in whom humility has not yet become deeply enough rooted."

Many Franciscan friars of the transmarine provinces, came to seek from the head of that chapter remedies for the evil treatment they had suffered in various places, from their want of authentic letters proving that their order was approved by the Church. They also complained that they were not allowed to preach, and begged that Saint Francis would obtain from Pope Honorius a privilege by virtue of which they might preach wheresoever they pleased, even without the permission of the bishops. The holy man indignantly replied: "What! my brethren, know ye not the will of God! It is his will that you should first conciliate the superior by humility and respect; and then by your words and your good example conciliate those who are inferior. When the bishops see you live holily, and not seeking to enroach upon their authority, they will themselves solicit you to aid them in laboring for the salvation of souls, and will send to hear and imi-

* Fleury, lxxviii., p. 151.

tate you. Your peculiar privilege, therefore, should be, not to have a privilege which would only serve to inflate you, to give you a confidence prejudicial to others, and to excite opposition."

Some of them represented that they had met with many priests whom they could not influence by prayer, argument, submission, or their own exemplary life, to allow them to preach or to receive material aid. Francis replied: "My brethren, we are sent to the assistance of the priests to supply their defects; each will receive his reward, not according to his authority, but according to his labor. What is the most agreeable to God is the salvation of souls, and we shall gain souls, not by separating ourselves from the priests, but by living well with them. If they oppose the salvation of souls, God can punish them. If you be sons of peace, you will win over both the clergy and the laity, and that will be more agreeable to God than your winning over the laity while scandalizing the clergy. Hide their faults, supply their defects, and be only the more humble for having done so."

Fleury, in his book lxxix., p. 183, thus speaks of the stigmata* or marks of Saint Francis d'Assisium: "Saint Francis was accustomed to divide his time into two parts; one, of action for the good of his neighbor; the other, of contemplation for the improvement of himself. Thus, two years before his death, in the year 1224, after many labors, he retired to Mount Alvernia to pass his Saint Michael's Lent, the forty days from Assumption to the end of September, on which he habitually fasted. This mountain is on the confines of Tuscany, and is part of the Apennines, lying between the Arno and Tiber, near Camaldoli and Vallumbrosa.†

"It was given to Saint Francis in 1213, by a nobleman of the country, by name Orlando Catanio, who erected an oratory and some cells there. The holy man having retired thither in 1224, and prayed long and fervently, God revealed to him that on opening the Gospels he would learn what would be in him most agreeable to God. Having accordingly prayed ardently, he took the book on the altar, and had it opened by Brother Leo, his only companion in this solitude. He opened it thrice, every time finding the Passion of our Lord, whence Francis concluded that he was before death to conform himself still more to the sorrows of the Passion; and although his body was extremely weakened by austerity, the saint was not

* In the Dictionary of the Academy (4to ed., vol. ii., p. 780; Paris, Firmin Didot, 1835), in the article *Stigmata* we find the following: "*The Stigmata of Saint Francis*, marks like those of the five wounds of Christ, that Saint Francis had on his hands, feet, and side."

† Wadding, 1213. From the top of Mount Alvernia, in clear weather, you can see the Mediterranean on one side, the Adriatic on the other. This magnificent spectacle makes it one of the most beautiful spots of earth. A rent in the rock is shown where Saint Francis received the stigmata.

alarmed at this thought, but more encouraged to martyrdom, which he supposed to be the perfect conformity to the sufferings of Christ.

“One morning, about September 14th, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, as he was praying on the mountain side, he beheld a seraph with six ardent and luminous wings descend rapidly from heaven. When he came near, Francis distinguished amid his wings the figure of a man, having his hands and feet extended and nailed to a cross. Two wings rose above his head; two were spread to fly, and two covered all his body. This vision astonished him greatly. His heart was seized with a joy mingled with sadness, and he saw that it was not by bodily martyrdom, but by the ardor of charity that he was to be transformed into the image of Christ crucified.

“The vision disappeared, leaving in his heart a wonderful ardor, and a still more admirable impression on his body; for there at once began to appear on his hands and feet the marks of the nails, as he had seen them in the vision of the Crucified. His hands and feet seemed pierced through with nails; the heads of the nails appeared inside his hands and above his feet, and on the other side the points were turned back into the flesh. On his right side appeared a red wound, like a lance thrust, which often gave blood that stained his tunic and drawers.

“The servant of God seeing that these stigmata (as they were called) could not be concealed from his companions, was greatly embarrassed.

“He told them his vision, and after spending his Lent in solitude, descended the mountain at Michaelmas, and God confirmed the miraculous impression of these stigmata by several other miracles.”

Luke, bishop of Tuy, in Spain, an author living in that time, bears testimony to the truth of the stigmata of Saint Francis, and says that they were seen and touched, five years before he wrote, by many of both the regular and secular clergy.*

It is on account of that miracle that Saint Francis is called in history the *Seraphic*.

In 1226, Honorius, on the 30th of January, approved of the rule given on the 13th of January, 1171, to the Carmelite monks, by the blessed Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem.

These religious trace their foundation to the Prophet Elias, in Mount Carmel. Innocent XIII. forbade the discussion of that question.

Novaes† says: “I willingly submit to the decision of the supreme judge of the Church, and will only say, that the rule of the blessed Albert, which consists of eighteen very short heads, was mitigated in 1431 by Eugene III., who permitted the religious to eat meat on three days of the week,

* Fleury, lxxix.

† Novaes, iii., p. 184.

suppressed the fasting from the Feast of the Holy Cross till Easter, and moderated the perpetual silence."

This order having been suspended in the General Council of Lyons till it should be deliberately examined, Honorius IV. confirmed it, and ordered the religious to adopt a different dress from that which they had worn.

The Carmelites, and Discalced Carmelites, animated by the noblest emulation, have in all times produced a great number of saints and illustrious personages.

As Frederic II. had despoiled John of Brienne of that portion of his kingdom of Jerusalem which was not occupied by the Saracens, Honorius yielded to one of those charitable impulses which so admirably characterize the Roman Church, and gave to John, temporarily, for the support of the royal dignity, all the patrimony possessed by the Church between Radicofani and Rome.

In 1226,* Dominic held the first general chapter of his order at Bologna, and was named in it *Master General*.

The same year, the pope crowned Frederic II. emperor. Two years later, Philip Augustus died, and was succeeded by his son, Louis VIII.

Most of the letters of Honorius were published at Toulouse, by Innocent Ciron, under the title of *Quinta Compilatio Decretalium* (1645, folio), with the notes of the publisher; some of them are also to be found in the Collection of the Councils, and in the works of Baluze, Wadding, Dom Martène, d'Achery, d'Ughelli, &c.

Under Honorius we must place the reign and the conquests of Genghis-Khan, son of a khan of the Moguls,† who was born in 1153. He was only thirteen years old when he began to reign. An almost general conspiracy among his subjects, who deemed him weak and without talent, compelled him to retire to Avenk-Khan, sovereign of the Tartars. He showed himself worthy of the shelter given to him by that prince by signal services, not only in the wars against his neighbors, but also in that which he maintained against his brother, who had usurped the throne. Genghis-Khan restored Avenk-Khan to his throne, and became his son-in-law. But Avenk forgot the services Genghis had rendered, and resolved upon his ruin. Genghis levied an army, defeated his father-in-law, and dethroned him. This victory inflamed his ambition; he raised a great army, with which, in less than twenty-two years, he conquered Persia, Cathay, part of China, and almost all Asia. His dominion extended over eighteen hundred leagues, from east to west, and over more than a thousand from north to south. He was preparing to complete the conquest of China when a disease carried him off, in the midst of his triumphs, in 1227.

* Fleury, lxxviii., p. 159.

† Feller, ii., p. 583.

Genghis-Khan was neither a Christian nor a Mussulman. The Mussulmans feared him because he had done them much evil, and from fear of that indomitable conqueror they spared the Christians, whom they deemed to be less to be dreaded.

On the 8th of November, 1226, King Louis VIII., of France, died at Avignon. By his queen, Blanche of Castile, he had had eleven children, six of whom survived him—Louis, Robert, John, Alphonse, Charles, and a daughter named Isabel. The one who succeeded Louis VIII., on the throne of France, was that great king, Louis IX., whom France venerates under the name of Saint Louis. As he was only eleven on his father's death, Queen Blanche was declared regent.

Honorius III. governed the Church ten years, eight months, and one day. He died on the 18th of March, 1227, and was interred at Saint Mary Major, near the altar of the *presepio*.

There was no vacancy in the Holy See.

If we are to follow Matthew Paris, the heretical Albigenses, whose doctrine had spread into Germany, elected, about the year 1223, an antipope, on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia: he was named Bartholomew. But this intruder does not appear to have troubled the Church long. However, the Albigenses whom Raymond ruled in France threatened their country with no less fatal injury; and the pope in vain endeavored to retain Raymond in the ways of gentleness and obedience.

180. GREGORY IX.—A. D. 1227.



GREGORY assumed the name because he was created pope at the monastery of Saint Gregory *ad septem solia*. His former name was Hugh, or Hugolin, and he was of the family of the Cencis, counts of Segni.

In 1198, his cousin, Innocent III., remarked him in the congregation of Saint Mary *del Reno*, and created him successively cardinal-deacon of Saint Eustace, bishop of Ostia, and archpriest of the Vatican Basilica. Various legations were confided to him; he was sent to Naples, France, Tuscany, and Lombardy. Novaes bestows great praise upon this illustrious negotiator; purity of religious sentiment, prudence, sagacity, knowledge in every

branch of literature, dexterity in business, and persuasive eloquence; all those lofty qualities were combined in him with noble manners and an elegant and majestic figure. He was appreciated all over Europe and beloved in Rome. He was deeply versed in the affairs of the Holy See and though he was eighty-three, age had diminished none of the gifts of nature and study. He was elected pope, in spite of his strong resistance, on the 19th of March, 1227; blessed for consecration on the 21st; and, finally, crowned on the Easter Tuesday, April 3, 1227. He took possession at Saint John Lateran on the 30th of the same month. Saint Francis of Assisium, who had chosen him as the first cardinal protector of the Franciscan order, had foretold his elevation by often addressing letters to him with the superscription, *to the Most Reverend Father and Lord Hugo, future bishop of all the universe, and father of the nations*. This pope greatly loved Saint Francis, and, as we shall see, canonized him in 1228.

In the conclave which elected Gregory, the cardinals were divided in opinion. Being unable to agree, they agreed to a *compromise*, voting for the one chosen by three compromisers. This fact, not noticed by Fleury, is given at length by Novaes.* Among the cardinals selected as compromisers was Cardinal d'Urach. Two of the compromisers instantly declared in his favor, but with uncommon generosity and with earnest remonstrance he proposed Cardinal Conti; and he pressed that choice so earnestly, proving too the justice of the selection by so many arguments, that the other two compromisers† yielded, and Conti was elected. By this conduct, and by other virtues, Cardinal d'Urach has merited the title of saint in the Cistercian calendar, and in the Gallican martyrology of Saussay.‡

Fleury, on the authority of Rainaldi, gives the following account of the ceremonies then celebrated:

"On the day of his coronation, Gregory§ proceeding to Saint Peter's, accompanied by many prelates, received the *pallium* according to the custom, and, after saying Mass, walked to the Lateran palace, covered with gold and precious stones, and returned with the crown on his head. On Monday, having said Mass at Saint Peter's, he issued forth wearing two crowns, mounted on a richly caparisoned horse, surrounded by cardinals clad in purple, and by a numerous clergy; the streets were hung with tapestry ornamented with gold and silver—the finest work of Egypt and the finest colors of India—and perfumed with various aromatics. The people sang the *Kyrie eleison*, and hymns of joy, accompanied by the sound of trumpets. The judges and officers attended, resplendent with gold and

* Novaes, iii., p. 187.

† A compromise is an act by which two or more persons agree to leave their differences to the decision of an arbiter or arbiters.—*Dict. of French Academy*. Paris, Didot, 1835.

‡ Novaes, iii., p. 188.

§ Fleury, book lxxix., p. 200.

silver and silken copes. Greeks and Jews, in their respective languages, sang the praises of the pope. An innumerable crowd, bearing palm-branches and flowers, led the procession; the senator and the prefect of Rome walked beside the pope, holding his bridle. And thus he was conducted to the palace of the Lateran."

Gregory, after the *possesso*, ordered the Emperor Frederic to set out, according to his promise, for the Holy Land. Frederic bluntly refused to comply with the pontifical behest, and maintained that he would not fulfil his oath.

On the 29th of September, 1227, the pope, attired in his pontifical robes, pronounced, in the cathedral of Anagni, that the emperor was cut off from the Catholic communion. On Holy Thursday, the emperor, in his anger, induced the Frangipani and other Roman nobles to conspire against the pope, whom they attacked while he was celebrating Mass at Saint Peter's, on Easter Tuesday, thus renewing the sacrilege committed upon Gregory VII. Abandoned by a part of his guards, Gregory IX. was compelled to retire hastily from Rome to Rieti, a city of his own States, whence he repaired to Spoleto, and finally to Assisi.

Before entering the last-named city, he halted at Saint Damian, where he visited Saint Clare, and advised her, in order to avoid various inconveniences, to have some property, and he offered her an abundant supply. She firmly declined the offer (Fleury, lxxix., p. 206), saying that a holy poverty was preferable to all property, and that having that, she could find no more secure possession. The pope then said: "If it is your vow that restrains you, my daughter, I will absolve you from it." "Holy Father," she replied, "I desire absolution only from my sins."

Arrived at Assisi, the pope directly proceeded to the tomb of Saint Francis, where he prayed for a long time, and recommended to the saint the Church, so greatly disturbed. Then he consulted with the cardinals who accompanied him, as to the canonization; he ordered an exact inquiry into the miracles of the saint, both in the city and in the surrounding country. The witnesses were heard and their depositions reduced to writing, and the evidence was then examined by those cardinals who seemed least favorable to the canonization. Then, returning to Perugia, the pope examined, in full consistory, the validity of the proceedings; and the canonization being unanimously resolved upon, he returned with his court to Assisi, where the tidings of that ceremony had caused a great assemblage of prelates, nobles, and the people of the different provinces.

At length, on Sunday, the 16th of July, 1228, in the church of Saint George, where the saint was buried, the pope, from a lofty throne, preached a sermon upon the text of these words of Ecclesiasticus: "He shone in the temple of God like the star of the morning, like the full moon, and like the

sun.”* Then Octavius, cardinal-deacon of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, and a relative of Innocent III., publicly read the account of the miracles; and Rainier Capoccio, also a cardinal-deacon, pronounced a discourse in corroboration. Then the pope rose, and, in a loud tone, said: “To the Glory of God, of the Holy Virgin Mary, and the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and to the honor of the Roman Church, we, by the advice of our brethren, have resolved to place in the catalogue of the saints the blessed Father Francis, whom God has glorified in heaven; and we decide that his festival shall be celebrated on the anniversary of his death.”

Then the cardinals intoned the *Te Deum*, and the people responded with joyful acclamations. The bull of canonization was expedited three days after, and directed that the festival should be celebrated yearly on the 4th of October. Novaes† says: “The body of the saint was for a long time exposed to public view; it was erect, had its eyes open, and the stigmata were seen surrounded by blood.”

It remained thus during the following reigns; but Sixtus IV., at the request of Saint James de la Marca, when at Assisi, in 1476, had a wall built before the stairway, which led to the subterranean church, where the saint was, and thus deprived the people of the sight of the body of Saint Francis. It began to be thought that the body had ceased to exist, but, by the care of Pope Pius VII., it was found, and a detailed account published by his orders, of which we shall speak in his reign.‡ The canonization of Saint Francis had a happy effect upon the Romans, who very tenderly venerated him, and they recalled Gregory, promising to remain faithful subjects. Moreover, they were indignant that Frederic, who had at last resolved upon going to Syria, had ordered Raynald, duke of Spoleto, to commence hostilities against the Roman court. In fact, Raynald, with some imperial troops, and even some Saracens, attacked the patrimony of Saint Peter. The foresight of the popes had constantly taken measures to prevent any important success of the Mussulmans in Italy; but that same sagacity could not anticipate that the Saracens would ever become the allies of an emperor who had sworn to defend and protect the Holy See. The pope sent against this impious army some sol-

* Ecclesiastes, chap. l., v. 7.

† Novaes, xiii., p. 33. That author gives these details only in the volume comprising the reign of Innocent XIII.

‡ There are many *Lives of Saint Francis*, but they are not equal to the subject. Baillet having remarked that it was astonishing that among so many members of so distinguished an order, not one was found worthy to write the life of its founder, Father Louis Francis Chalippe, a Recollect, undertook the work. His book, 4to, was published at Paris, in 1728, and the Saint had a noble historian. The *Memoirs of Trevoux*, in 1729, very justly praised Father Chalippe's work. Subsequently Chavin de Malan published another life of Saint Francis, which the authorities of the order at Rome pronounced wise, rich in facts, and worthy of the holy patriarch.

diers hastily raised, and commanded by Jean de Brienne, the former king of Jerusalem, and Frederic's son-in-law, though all good understanding had ceased between them. Great violence was committed on both sides.

Frederic, meanwhile, had arrived near Jerusalem, disembarking at Saint Jean d'Aere. Having with him only two galleys and a hundred knights, he found but little obedience in the country. At this juncture there arrived two friars minor, who presented to the patriarch of Jerusalem dispatches from the pope, announcing the perjury and excommunication of Frederic. The pope, at the same time, forbade the Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic knights to obey any of the orders of Frederic.

The Christians now reasonably thought that such quarrels might be fitly postponed. Marching under the command of the duke of Limburg, a German by birth, they fortified Cæsarea, and thought that, after repairing the walls of Joppa, which they still held, they might march upon Jerusalem.

Frederic approved the design, and placing himself at their head, they arrived at Joppa on the 15th of November, 1229. But the Sultan of Egypt, Melik-Camel, was encamped near Gaza, a day's march from Joppa, and his nephew, the sultan of Damascus, at Naplouse, at the like distance.

The Emperor Frederic sent two nobles to Melik-Camel with presents, and with the expression of the emperor's desire to have the sultan for his brother, and of his intention being not to make conquests, as he had already territories enough to satisfy the greatest ambition. The nobles, on obtaining an audience, were to add that the emperor, nevertheless, had come to recover the holy places, and the kingdom of Jerusalem, which rightfully belonged to his son-in-law. The Empress Yolande, Frederic's new wife, had died that year, after giving birth to a son, who was named Conrad. The envoys had also orders to say that if Jerusalem were restored, there would be no need to commence a war or to shed human blood. Melik-Camel was well aware of Frederic's real weakness, and of the existing differences among the Christians. Moreover, those who arrived from Europe were not accustomed to speak so moderately; Frederic's message was in the tone of a Christian long resident in the East, who would procure by negotiation what he did not hope to attain by force and courage.

Melik-Camel, on his part, also sent presents, and begged that the emperor would explain the nature of the friendship which he desired to exist between them. "As regards Jerusalem," replied the Mussulman, "the affair is important, not on account of the value of the country, but on account of the respect that the Mussulmans my brethren feel for the city, and especially for the Temple, which they look upon as the house of God; they, with as much devotion as the Christians, visit the sepulchre of Jesus Christ. Were I to abandon the Holy Sepulchre, the Caliph might accuse me of betraying my religion."

After a very secret negotiation, in which there was no intervention of any authority dependent upon the Holy See, although there were vicars apostolic in that country, a treaty was concluded between Frederic and the sultan, in the following terms: "1. The sultan delivers Jerusalem to the emperor and his lieutenants, that he may fortify and dispose of it as he will. 2. The emperor will not touch the *Gemlate*, which is the Temple of Solomon, nor any thing that is within its bounds, nor allow any Frank to do so,* but it will remain unchanged in the hands of the Mussulmans, that they may pray there and have the public and free exercise of their religion. The keys of the inclosing gates will be kept by those who reside within the inclosure, to take care of the mosque. 3. No Mussulman shall be prevented from going in pilgrimage to Bethlehem. 4. If any Frank firmly believes in the majesty and dignity of the Temple (by this belief is meant a respect for that mosque equal to that of the Mussulmans), he may enter to pray, otherwise no Frank shall be allowed even to enter the inclosure. 5. If, at Jerusalem, a Mussulman does wrong to another Mussulman, he shall be judged by magistrates of his own religion. 6. The emperor will recall those who shall undertake to injure the possessions of Melik-Camel. 7. The emperor will aid neither Christian nor Mussulman in making war upon the Mussulmans during the truce, nor excite them to commence hostilities. 8. If any Franks pretend to contravene any of the articles in this truce, the emperor will be held to defend the sultan against their attack. 9. Tripoli and its territory, Kerek, Castelbianco, Tortosa, Margat, and Antioch, with all their contents to remain in the same state as during the war, and the emperor forbids his army to give any aid to the lords of those places. Finally, and further, Bethlehem and the territory between it and Jerusalem, together with Nazareth and the road as far as Acre, and the territory of Tournon, Sidon, or Said with its dependencies, were to be restored to the Christians.

This truce, which was to last ten years, was sworn to by both parties, on Sunday, the 18th of February, 1229. But Gerold, patriarch of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers, and the Templars took no part in forming it, as they deemed it shameful and disadvantageous to Christendom, and worthy only of an excommunicated emperor. The patriarch even refused to all pilgrims indifferently permission to enter Jerusalem and visit the Holy Sepulchre, alleging the unrevoked prohibition of Pope Gregory.

Frederic nevertheless entered Jerusalem on Saturday, the 17th of March, and on the following day, the third Sunday in Lent, he went in his imperial robes to visit the Holy Sepulchre, accompanied by the Teutonic knights, his German nobles, and a few of the populace. As he could not find a bishop to give him the crown, he took it from the altar himself. Then the

* Rainaldi, 1229, No. 15.

master of the Teutonic order delivered a long discourse, partly in German and partly in French. He eulogized the emperor, complained of the ecclesiastics, and invited the nobles to contribute towards the fortifications that were to be raised around the city. Frederic, as inconsistent in his plans as he had been in signing such a treaty, promptly returned to Acre, without paying the slightest attention to the fortifications for which he had asked the money. In the course of the few days that he had passed at Jerusalem, he wrote triumphant letters to thank God for the great success of his journey, and set forth in grandiloquent language that he had enabled Christians thenceforth to visit the holy city at pleasure. Rainaldi gives us two of those letters; one to Pope Gregory, which is couched in general terms, the other to Henry, king of England, entering somewhat into details. The patriarch of Jerusalem wrote, on the same subject, two letters in a very different style; one to the pope, the other to the faithful. In the letter to the pope he set forth the disadvantages to the Christians that resulted from the arrival of the emperor. The prelate complained of the secrecy which the prince had observed in the negotiations for the truce, in contempt of the opinions of the bishops and the nobles; and he reflected upon the precipitate departure of such a conqueror, which looked more like a flight. The prelate then examined the treaty.

"It is," wrote he, "an intolerable abuse to yield to the infidels the temple of God, which is the patriarchal seat, without even allowing Christians to enter the inclosure unless they agree with the Saracen estimate of that place, while they are permitted to enter Bethlehem freely."

"There is another wrong," he added; "Frederic, by his treaty pledges himself against any act of hostility, direct or indirect, against the Saracens, during the truce. How reconcile this oath with the oath to the Church, to keep in the Holy Land for two years one thousand knights and fifty galleys? His excommunication resulted from his non-fulfilment."

The letter to all the faithful is somewhat more menacing. Fleury gives a complete analysis of it. It is easy to see that the treaty was dictated solely by the interest of the sultan of Egypt, who had divined the imperial pride. Frederic asked but to enter Jerusalem for a moment, to date his letter from that capital. The tomb of Christ, the woes of Palestine, steps to enable other Christians to enter the city without dishonor, care for the interests of the Holy See, were motives without weight for Frederic. We have already justly remarked, that the transient rule of Frederic was but a chimera, destitute of any reality.

After reading so many sad details, we may add that it was not only chimerical, but that amid circumstances requiring more frankness than Richard had shown, it was really a treason. So we must really speak of a prince possessed of extraordinary ability, and subsequently, beyond dispute, one

of the greatest men of his time. We shall see him die in sentiments of piety and penitence ; but how many outrages had he not committed upon religion, morality, the imperial dignity, and the interests of Italy, of the Holy See, and even of the empire ! But, let us proceed.

Though Gregory was obliged to make war to preserve his States, nor could he forget the disturbance caused in France by religious questions.

Raymond, count of Toulouse, had made his peace with the Church and with the king of France ; a treaty had been concluded, in the form of letters patent of Louis IX., setting forth, in substance, that Raymond had submitted, and that he came to ask, not justice but mercy from the Church and from the king, and promised thenceforth to be faithful to them. He was to expel all heretics from his territory, and to make strict search after them.

Immediately after his absolution, Raymond was also to fulfil some other conditions : he was to take the cross from the hand of the legate, to cross the sea against the Saracens, and to remain in Palestine five years ; and to place his daughter, Jane, in the king's custody, to become the bride of one of his brothers. By this arrangement the king left to Raymond all the diocese of Toulouse, excepting the property of the marshal, that is to say, Guy de Levis, marshal de la Foi, from whom the lords of Mirepoix are descended.

In the year 1229, the pope confirmed an excommunication pronounced against Frederic, who had declared against Rome. Here we must remark, that though Frederic had been really crowned emperor, he had not pronounced the whole of the oath which the emperors took at their coronation.

The pope, after quitting Rome would not return, on account of the plots formed by the nobles, who were partisans of Frederic ; but, the Tiber having suddenly overflowed its banks, the people rose in tumult and demanded his return. The emperor, impressed by the event, determined to sign a peace.

On this occasion Frederic agreed to the following terms : " The king of Sicily and of Germany will not, by himself or by others, prevent free course to elections, postulations, or confirmations in the churches and monasteries of the kingdom of Sicily and in Germany." An interview then took place at Anagni between the two sovereigns. When the pope appeared the prince took off his cloak, threw himself at the pontiff's feet, and received the kiss of peace, and then they ate at the same table. On the following day Frederic returned to Germany.

In a prefatory discourse to his eightieth book, Fleury gives a host of important particulars as to the state of the universities of Paris and Bologna.*

* Fleury, v., p. 226

In the month of June, 1231, Saint Anthony of Padua, of the order of Friars Minor, died in that city at the age of thirty-six. His great reputation, and the miracles which daily occurred at his tomb, hastened his canonization, which the pope pronounced at Spoleto, on the 30th of March, 1232.

In Germany, Saint Elizabeth, widow of the Landgrave of Thuringia, closed a short but most edifying life. She was the daughter of Andrew, king of Hungary, and was betrothed in her infancy to Louis of Thuringia, a prince endowed with singular virtues.

The Roman court never lost sight of occasions for drawing closer the ties of good understanding with the Greek patriarchs. Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, sent a priest to solicit from Gregory a closer union of the two Churches.

The letter of the Patriarch Germanus to Pope Gregory, commenced with a prayer to Jesus Christ, whom he invoked as the corner-stone that had united the various nations into one Church. Then directly addressing the pope, Germanus acknowledged* that His Holiness had received the primacy of the Apostolic See, and begged Gregory to descend somewhat from his elevation and hear him favorably. He then repeats that he does not pretend to prejudice the primacy of the pope, and adds, "Let us with the utmost diligence seek after the authors of the division. If we are, point out to us the error and its remedy; if the Latins, we do not believe that you wish to be excluded from the heritage of the Lord." The agreement between the two parties, however, was not yet sufficiently complete to delight Gregory, who prepared to make fresh efforts towards obtaining an unalterable agreement.

The same year the pope sent some Franciscans on a mission to the infidels, with a letter addressed to the sultan of Damascus, containing a long instruction upon the Christian religion, supported by many passages of the Old and New Testaments. It finished by an exhortation to the sultan to embrace Christianity, with a protestation that the pope had no view but the salvation of the sultan, and was quite free from temporal interests in the matter, and from any desire to diminish that sovereign's power.

The reputation of the Dominicans increased daily, especially in Italy. Brother John of Vicenza was then one of the most renowned of that order. He proposed the canonization of Dominic, and, in 1234, the bull was given at Rieti, on the 13th of July.

In the year 1232, Louis had asked in marriage Margaret, eldest daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence; and as they were related in the fourth degree, he sent to solicit a dispensation from the pope, in considera-

* Fleury, v., p. 248.

tion of the importance of that marriage in securing to Provence the peace and glory of the Catholic faith.

In 1234, King Louis having entered his twentieth year, his marriage was celebrated at Sens, about the end of March. God bestowed his blessing upon this marriage, the happy pair obtaining from the providence that protected them six sons and five daughters.

In the same year, Gregory published the collection of Decretals which bears his name, and has since been of the highest authority. There were already five collections of the decretal epistles of the popes, all made subsequent to the work of Gratian; the first by Bernard Balbo, of the church of Pavia, later bishop of Faenza, and then of Pavia, after Saint Lanfranc, his master. He was a very learned canonist, and wrote five books on canon law. Balbo also collected the decretals and the canons of some councils up to the year 1190. The second compilation was commenced by Gilbert and Alain, and finished by Gallus de Volterra; it bore the two names. The third was extracted from the registers of Innocent III., by Bernard the Great, archdeacon of Compostella, and revised by Peter Benevento, notary of the pope, about the year 1210. Five years later, Pope Innocent III. ordered the fourth collection, consisting at first of the decrees of the Council of Lateran, at which he presided in the same year, 1215, and then of his rescripts. The fifth collection consisted of the Constitutions of Honorius III. who had them collected by Tancred, archdeacon of Bologna, and ordered them to be followed in the schools and the tribunals.*

From all these collections Pope Gregory had his own compiled by Saint Raymond of Peñaforte, a Dominican, who was then sub-chaplain of his penitentiary.† The decretals in that collection are divided into five books, each containing many titles in chronological order, which had not been attended to in the former collections. This commenced at Alexander III.; it was at the commencement of that reign that the decretal of Gratian terminated, and the decretals are given only in extract, according to the matter of each title, but preserve the first words by which they were already known.

Pope Gregory addressed this collection to the doctors and scholars of Bologna, by a letter, in which he said that he had published in one book the constitutions of his predecessors, previously dispersed through many volumes, and that he had done this to avoid the confusion arising from their resemblance and their apparent contradiction. Moreover, as some of them were to be found nowhere but in these volumes, their authority had been questioned. He added, that he had omitted whatever was needless in the ancient constitutions, and added his own on some

* *Edit. of Innocent Ciron*, 1645, tit. i., c. i.

† *Fleury*, v., p. 267.

doubtful questions, and he ordered this collection alone to be used in the tribunals and schools, and that no other should be made without the authority of the Holy See. The pope wrote a similar letter to the doctors of Paris, dated from Spoleto, on the 5th of September, 1234. His design was fulfilled, and his constitution so well received that it has since been referred to simply as *the Decretals*.

While the pope was at Spoleto, the Emperor Frederic II. arrived, having been preceded by the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem. It was agreed that preparations should be made for war, as the truce with the infidels terminated in four years.

Then the crusade for the year 1238 was published. The letter, especially addressed to Louis IX., bears the date of the 6th of November, 1234. The pope exhorts him to prepare to assist the Holy Land, either personally or by his troops. At the same time there was a renewal of the excommunication by the last Lateran Council against all who should furnish the infidels with arms or vessels.

Then the pope demanded from all parts aid against the revolted Romans who had driven him from Rome. The Romans, however, taking wiser counsel, made their peace with the pontiff in the month of March, 1235.

In Syria, the citizens of Acre would not submit to the authority of the archbishop of Ravenna, papal legate in Palestine, who was directed to defend the interests of Conrad, son of Frederic, and heir, through his mother, to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The archbishop of Ravenna, therefore, laid the inhabitants of Acre under interdict. Gregory reflected that that city was inhabited by Christians of different rites, who, on account of that censure, might refuse obedience to the Holy See, and give rise to heresy, ever ready to make its appearance. The pope, therefore, raised the interdict, after receiving from the inhabitants of Acre their promise to obey his orders; and he became their mediator with the emperor.

In Spain, from the battle of Navas de Tolosa, the arms of the Christians constantly prospered. In 1236, Ferdinand took Cordova.

Numbers of crusaders assembled in their excitement: they tormented the Jews, and baptized them by force. Gregory addressed a letter to several prelates, in which he said that the crusaders ought to war against the infidels in the fear of God, purity of heart, and charity; and that although our Lord excludes no one from baptism, he shows mercy to whom he will. No one ought to be compelled to receive that sacrament; for, as man fell by his free-will, so he should rise again by his free-will, being called thereto by grace. The pope wrote to Louis IX. on the same subject, and the pious king replied that he had given orders that in his kingdom every one should obey the wise and prudent decision of His Holiness.

The pope received a letter from Philip, prior of the Dominicans in the

Holy Land, in which he said that "the patriarch of the Jacobites, a man venerable for age, knowledge, and virtue, came this year (1237) to pray at Jerusalem, with a numerous attendance of bishops and monks of his nation.* We have explained the Catholic faith to him, and with the grace of God we have so far convinced him, that on Palm Sunday, at the solemn procession to the Mount of Olives, at Jerusalem, he promised obedience to the Roman Church, abjuring all sorts of heresy, and he gave us his confession, written in Chaldee and in Arabic; and on leaving, he even assumed our dress. He has in obedience to him the Chaldeans, the Medes, the Persians, and the Armenians, whose countries are already ravaged, for the most part, by the Tartars. His sway extends over seventy provinces, inhabited by an innumerable multitude of Christians, who, however, are subject and tributary to the Saracens, with the exception of the monks, who pay no tribute. Two archbishops have made the same submission; the one a Jacobite, of Egypt, the other a Nestorian, of the East, who are recognized as superiors in Syria and Phœnicia; and we have already sent four brethren into Armenia to learn the language, thus complying with the earnest entreaties of the king and the nobles.

"We have received many letters from the patriarch of the Nestorians, whose authority extends into the great Indies, the kingdom of Prester John, and the neighboring Eastern States; and he has promised Father William of Montferrat, who sometime resided with him, to join the Church. We have also sent some of our brethren into Egypt, to the patriarch of the Jacobites of that country, whose errors are greater than those of the Orientals, for they add circumcision, like the Saracens.† That patriarch, also, has professed to us his willingness to return to the unity of the Church. He has already done away with several errors, and has forbidden circumcision within the limits of his authority, which extends into the little Indies, Ethiopia, and Libya, besides Egypt; but the Ethiopians and Libyans are not subject to the Saracens.

"As regards the Maronites of Mount Libanus, they long since returned to obedience to the Church, and still persevere in it. All those nations accept the doctrine of the Trinity, and our preaching. The Greeks alone persevere in their malice; everywhere they either openly or covertly oppose the Roman Church. They blaspheme all the sacraments, and treat as evil and heretical every opinion which differs from their own.

"Seeing so wide a door opened for the admission of the Gospel, we have

* Matthew Paris, 1237, p. 372; Bain. Cod., n. 87.

† In those unhappy countries, those who are alarmed, seek to propitiate the more powerful by defections from principle which never turn to good. As we pointed out on pp. 183, 205, the Byzantine Greeks, in endeavoring to gain over the Mussulmans by culpable concessions only, urged them to a livelier and more terrible hatred.

set ourselves to learning those languages, for which we have established a school in each of our convents, and already we have brothers who preach in various languages, principally the Arabic, which is the most common language of the country."

On the 23d of March, in the year 1237, John de Brienne, emperor of Constantinople, died of grief, while young Baldwin was in Flanders, occupied in the recovery of his lands, and in borrowing money to sustain his tottering empire. Many of the best qualified French nobles had already taken the cross to aid him, which deprived the Holy Land of just so much aid. The Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem had unhappily been gained over by Vatacius, John III. (Ducas), Greek emperor of Nice (1238), who had given them lands and revenues, on condition that they should follow him, even against the Latins.* Moreover, they were accused of indulging in deplorable excesses. These complaints having reached Pope Gregory, he wrote thus to the master of the order :

"We have learned with grief that you retain on your lands, on certain conditions, abandoned women, with whom you live in disorder ; that you possess individual property ; that you take the defence of all who embrace your fraternity and pay an annual fee ; and that you receive among you thieves, murderers, pilgrims, and heretics. You are not ashamed to aid with horses and arms Vatacius, that enemy of God and the Church. You diminish your ordinary alms, you alter the wills of those who die in your hospital, and you do not allow the patients to confess, without your permission, to any other priests but those who are of your order or in your pay. It is even said that many of your brothers are suspected of heresy."

In Spain, James, king of Aragon, besieged and took Valencia. It was easy to see that the arms of the Catholic princes were blessed by God.

In 1240, the animosity of Frederic II. against the pope was at its height. The emperor recriminated by enumerating the services that he had rendered to the Church ; and, on this occasion, no one attempted to reconcile so mischievous a difference.

Cardinal James, bishop of Palestrina, having arrived in France, published throughout that kingdom the bull of excommunication pronounced by Gregory against Frederic ; the legate was at the same time directed to offer the empire to Count Robert, brother of the king. Louis refused the offer in most firm and prudent terms. The French ambassadors, who were sent to Frederic, to ask if he held religious sentiments different from those of other Catholics, were told by him that the emperor had never departed from the faith of his fathers, and of his predecessors. After this assurance had been given by Frederic himself, the ambassadors replied : "God forbid

* Fleury, v., p. 239.

that we should attack any Christian prince without legitimate cause! It is not ambition that moves us. We esteem the king our master, who came to the throne by the right of birth; we esteem him beyond any elective prince: as for Count Robert, it is sufficient for him to be brother of so great a prince."

Such was the reply, admirable for greatness and piety, and distinguished by sentiments of good neighborship, and that circumspection which should never desert even a powerful sovereign.

The pontifical legates endeavored to excite some of the German princes against Frederic, but no consideration could alter the fidelity of the *electors*.

Gregory wished to assemble a council; Frederic opposed it, and marched upon Rome. He approached *Grotta-Ferrata*, when he learned the death of the pope, who sank under so many troubles on the 20th of April, aged nearly a hundred years, after governing the Church fourteen years, five months, and a few days.

We extract from Novaes* the character which he gives of Gregory IX. :

"He was a man of sagacious intellect, endowed with a most happy memory, skilled in the liberal arts, distinguished for his knowledge of jurisprudence and sacred literature. He was the flower of Ciceronian eloquence, the ever ready friend of the poor, the zealous defender of the faith and of ecclesiastical liberty; a model of the most shining virtues."

He was interred at the Vatican. The Holy See remained vacant one month.

Gerard Vossius, provost of Tongres, and doctor of theology at Rome, published, in 1588, in 4to, a book entitled *Gesta quædam ac monumenta Gregorii IX. græcolatina, cum scholiis*.

Inquiry has often been made about the cause of the somewhat sudden death of Gregory. Novaes and some other authors attribute it to the grief he felt on learning that some French and Spanish bishops, who were on their way to Rome to be present at the council, had been attacked by the people of Pisa, then at war with the Genoese, and treated in the most barbarous manner,—being chained, and left to the torments of hunger and thirst, by order of Frederic. Gregory never recovered from the attack which deprived him of all consciousness, and which almost instantly caused his life to be despaired of. Louis IX. demanded the release of the bishops, who were his subjects. Frederic made a haughty reply. Louis rejoined: "You must release them. Think seriously, for the kingdom of France is not so weakened as to bear any more of your *spurring*." This truly royal letter produced its effects; the French prelates were released. The advisers of

* Novaes, iii., p. 200.

Louis IX. must have been convinced that Gregory was not wholly in the wrong in his differences with Frederic.

The brother of *Prester John*, of whom we spoke in our life of Alexander III., must be David. This last had a shorter reign than his brother, Ungcam. The Portuguese writers have given the most positive information about the two *Presters John*.

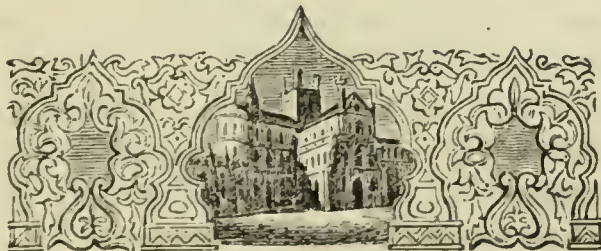
181. CELESTINE IV.—A. D. 1241.



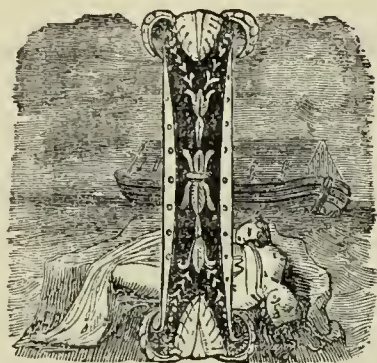
CELESTINE IV., originally Geoffry Castiglioni, canon and chancellor of Milan, his native city, was created cardinal-priest of Saint Mark, and bishop of Sabina, by Gregory IX. That pontiff named him legate *a latere*, in Tuscany, in Lombardy, and then to the Emperor Frederic II., when he was at Monte Cassino.

Celestine was elected pope at the place called *Sette Soli*, by only ten cardinals. The senator and princes of Rome had confined them there, that the election might be the more speedy. Weakened by age and by grief, he survived his election only seventeen days, had not time to publish a single bull, and died on the 5th of October, 1241, unconsecrated. He was interred in the Vatican.

The Holy See remained vacant one year, eight months, and seventeen days. The cardinals were dispersed, and Frederic kept most of them in prison.



182. INNOCENT IV.—A. D. 1243.



INNOCENT IV., whose name in the world was Sinibald Fieschi, belonged to one of the first families of Genoa. He was at first bishop of Albenga, and vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church. Gregory IX. had created him cardinal-priest of Saint Lawrence in *Lucina*, and legate of the Marches. He was elected pope at Anagni, after an interregnum of more than twenty months, on the 24th of June, 1243, and consecrated on the 29th.

Towards the end of October he approached Rome, and as usual, when the popes enter that city, he was received with acclamations by the senator and people of Rome. But their joy was short-lived; some merchants demanded payment of a large sum which had been lent to the preceding pope, Gregory. The insolence of those merchants, escorted by a crowd of the populace, was such, that they invaded a large portion of the palace, so that Innocent was obliged to hide himself in the most obscure place, in order to take nourishment. At length, on receiving a portion of their claim, these merchants retired.

Innocent had previously contracted a close friendship with Frederic II. Then, Fieschi was only a private individual; now that he was pope he was obliged to sustain the interests of the Church, and the emperor incessantly and violently insulted him. However, Frederic sent an embassy to Rome to propose peace; and to obtain it, the ambassadors, on Maundy-Thursday, March 31st, 1244, swore solemnly in presence of the Emperor Baldwin, of the cardinals, prelates, the senator, and of the people of Rome, that Frederic would give satisfaction to the Church for all the wrongs with which she had to reproach him, before and after the excommunication pronounced against him by Gregory IX.

Innocent was rejoiced at seeing so happy a contrition; but his joy was speedily changed into sadness. Frederic relapsing into his original perfidy, protested that he could not be bound by the oath taken by his ambassadors, as it was too prejudicial to his interests. The better to convince Frederic, and to bring him back into the right way, Innocent repaired to Citta di Castello, that he might treat directly with the prince, who was then living at Terni. But the pontiff soon learned that snares were laid for him, and that the emperor intended to seize upon the head of the Church, that he

might have no opponent. After a stay of nineteen days at Citta di Castello, Innocent went to Sutri, whence he wrote to the Genoese to send him their galleys to Civita Vecchia. Learning that they had reached there, he determined to cross the mountains, reached Civita Vecchia by that road, and sailed from that city to Genoa, where he disembarked, and safely travelled by land to Lyons, though suffering severely on the way.

In the quarrels between the pope and Frederic, the city of Lyons was neutral, but not so weakly neutral that it could be prevented from affording an asylum to the head of the Church.

In that city Innocent convoked a general council (the 13th), which was to assemble in 1245. He presided over it, assisted by several cardinals. At this council there were three patriarchs and a hundred and forty bishops. The Emperor Baldwin was present, as were the ambassadors of France and England. There Frederic II. was excommunicated, and deposed from the kingdom of Sicily and from the empire, as having outraged the Church. It has been said that this prince was the first who appealed to a future council, more numerous and solemn, from such a sentence of one council; but Novaes justly remarks,* that forty-five years earlier, in 1200, the like appeal had been made by Philip Augustus, king of France. In this Council of Lyons the reform of discipline was debated, as also was the subject of the crusades for Palestine, and Louis IX., king of France, was chosen to head the expedition. Meanwhile, Thaddeus of Suessia defended the cause of Frederic, whose ambassador he was; but it was difficult for him to produce arguments calculated to soften the evil impression that was made upon men's minds by the violence of the prince towards the pontiff and the cardinals, and, especially, by the tenacity with which he opposed what had been done to put an end to the vacancy in the Holy See. The sentence of deposition was substantially as follows:

Pope Innocent first recounted the steps that he had taken from the commencement of his pontificate to bring about peace with Frederic, and the promises sworn to in the name of the emperor on Maundy-Thursday, in the preceding year, 1244. "Therefore," continued the pope, "we can no longer tolerate his iniquity without partaking of it, and it has become matter of conscience to punish him." He then reduced the crimes of Frederic to four principal acts, averred to be of public notoriety—perjury, sacrilege, heresy, and felony. He proved the perjury by Frederic's breach of the peace made with the Church, that is to say, with Pope Gregory IX., in 1230, and by several other violated oaths; the sacrilege, by the capture of the legates and other prelates while on board the Genoese galleys on their way to a council; the heresy, by his contempt of the censures, notwithstanding which

* Novaes, iii. p. 211.

he caused divine service to be celebrated ; by his connection with the Saracens, by his alliance with the Emperor Vatacius, a schismatic, to whom he gave his daughter, and by other conjectures, exciting vehement suspicion. The felony was proved by Frederic's vexation of the subjects of the kingdom of Sicily, a fief of the Roman Church, and the non-payment of the tribute during nine years.

In that same council, it was settled that the cardinals should wear the red hat, as they now do ; by that symbol the pope notified them that they should be prepared to shed their blood in defence of the liberty of the Christian people. However, the cardinals did not receive the red hat until afterwards, at Cluny, when the pope went thither to consult with the king of France and his brothers. The pope, at the same time, ordered cardinals thenceforth to ride on horseback in ceremonies : till then, in a spirit of moderation and humility, they had attended on foot.*

Thaddeus of Suessia then demanded that the guarantee of the kings of England and France should be taken for Frederic's future conduct ; but Innocent refused to accept it. He described the emperor as the declared enemy, not of the person of the pontiff, but of the Church herself ; and he declared that it was impossible to clear the accused from suspicion of unfaithfulness to his promises. Frederic continued to apply to the king of France, Louis IX., and, no doubt, regretted the violent tone in which he had formerly addressed that monarch. The kindly Louis held secret conferences with the pope, at Cluny, but it did not appear that they could agree as to the withdrawal of the sentence upon the emperor.

The excommunication, and, according to the jurisprudence of that day, its necessary result, deposition, had been made known to Frederic. In 1246, there would be an election of a king of the Romans. The pope exhorted the electing princes to choose Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, who was deemed to be a sound defender of the Church and of the empire. The majority of the electors accordingly named him on Ascension-day, May 17th, in the same year. The Landgrave Henry dying, Innocent desired that his successor should be William, count of Holland, who was elected king of the Romans on the 29th of the following September.

Daniel, duke of Russia, had led his people into the Catholic religion, and had recovered them from the Greek schism ; the Holy Father caused Daniel to be crowned king, and granted him the royal insignia ; the same favor being solicited by Joachim, king of Norway, was not refused. In 1247, the pope approved the order of Sylvestrine monks, instituted about

* The cardinals continued to go on horseback or in litters until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the first carriage appeared in Italy, where it was used by the marchionesses of Massa, of the house of Cibo ; then the cardinals also used carriages.

the year 1231, near Fabriano, under the rule of Saint Dominic, by Saint Sylvester Guzzolini, canon of Osimo, who died in 1261, aged ninety years.

This order did not spread beyond Italy, but only in the March of Ancona, Umbria, Rome, and Tuscany. The Slavonians obtained from the Pontiff Adrian II. and John VIII. permission to celebrate Mass in their own language. But that right had afterwards been taken from them by Popes Alexander II., and Gregory VII. In 1248, the bishops and clergy of that nation having solicited Pope Innocent to restore them the privilege that had been granted by Adrian II. and John VIII., he deigned to restore it to them ; but it has been deemed most unwisely.

Innocent, grateful to the canons of Saint Just, in Lyons, granted them the *golden rose*. He had enjoyed their hospitality during seven years. The piety of the Lyonesse has at all times been admirable. He also sent the *golden rose* to Raymond, count of Provence, who had visited him at Lyons. We find a proof of that fact in a diploma of the 10th of April, in the sixth year of the pontificate. Novaes, while quoting the opinions of several authors as to the date of the commencement of the ceremony of blessing the *golden rose*, expresses no precise opinion of his own ; so that both those who believe the ceremony to be an ancient one, and those who differ from them, may each enjoy their own opinion.

As Innocent took great care to encourage the study of the canon and civil law, at Rome, he is supposed to have been the founder of the University of Rome ; be that as it may, it is certain that it was Boniface VIII. who rendered it illustrious in Italy.

In 1246, the Holy Father canonized, at Lyons, Saint Edmond, archbishop of Canterbury, who had taken refuge in France, on the 16th. of November, 1234. He also canonized, in 1247, Saint William, bishop of Saint Brieuc, in Lower Brittany ; and in 1253, he canonized at Perugia, Saint Peter of Verona, a Dominican, who was martyred in the previous year by the Manichæans. Finally, he canonized at Assisi, on the 19th of September, 1253, Saint Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, martyred by order of Boleslas, king of Poland, while that saint was celebrating Mass, on the 10th of March, 1079.

God continued his blessings to Spain ; Ferdinand took Seville, which had for five hundred and thirty-four years been in the power of the Moors. Frederic, however, continued to arm against Innocent, and at Lyons, emissaries were even discovered, sent to attempt the life of the pope. The zealous care of the canons of Saint Just prevented the crime.

A crusade having been preached against Frederic, armies were assembled in Germany and Italy ; Marcellinus, bishop of Arezzo, whom Innocent had placed at the head of his interests in Tuscany, was seized and hanged by order of the emperor, who respected neither the age, nor the Episcopal

character, nor the situation of his prisoner. The unfortunate prelate was dragged, bound hand and foot, at the tail of a horse to the gallows.

In 1248, King Louis, who had gone to the crusade, disembarked in the isle of Cyprus. In 1249, he took Damietta. It is to Joinville especially that a Frenchman should look for the details of the victories and the misfortunes of Saint Louis. Alas! why did not a wise policy teach that prince that it was not by occupying Damietta, and afterwards marching upon Cairo, had that been possible, that he could usefully serve the interests of religion? At that moment of such passion, enthusiasm, and Catholic zeal, it was still Jerusalem that he should have sought; it was Jerusalem that it was necessary to recapture; Jerusalem, where there was no longer a Saladin with what have been truly called his fatal virtues. Meanwhile, Frederic died penitent, on the 13th of December, 1250. By his will he ordered his son Conrad to restore to the Church what she had been unjustly deprived of seven years before. Innocent determined to go to Rome; but before carrying his resolve into action, he with great feeling granted to Louis IX., king of that France which had given so many proofs of attachment to the courageous Pope Gregory IX., ten days indulgence in favor of those who should pray for the sovereigns of that country. This example was followed by Urban IV., who on the same condition granted twenty days; by Clement IV., who extended the indulgence to a hundred days; and by Leo X., who extended it to a whole year.* In 1251, Innocent, after celebrating Mass on Easter-day, and dining in public in the monastery of Saint Just, set out for Rome, with William king of Germany, and the cardinals and prelates of the Roman court. He stayed for some time at Genoa and at Milan: from Milan he went to Brescia, visited Mantua, Ferrara, and Bologna, and stopped at Perugia, where he remained nearly a year and a half. In 1253 he went to Assisi, where he visited Saint Clare, who was at the point of death. At length, entreated to go to Rome, and even threatened if he should not go, he set out thither and made his entry in the month of October, amidst the ordinary acclamations which, as we have already remarked, always welcome the entry of the popes into the capital of the Christian world.

Innocent, afflicted with the reverses which Saint Louis had met with, sincerely rejoiced when he learned that that monarch had effected his return to France. He was not to see once more his mother, Blanche of Castile; but the vows of the French, their prayers, and their tears of affection somewhat softened the affliction of the prince so beloved by his illustrious nation.

While marching against Manfred, son of Frederic, the pope fell sick at

* Spondanus, *Annal. Eccles.*, Leo X.

Naples, and died there on the 7th of December, 1254. He had governed the Church eleven years, five months, and about fourteen days. He was buried in the cathedral of that city. This pope, profound in jurisprudence, was also called *monarch of the divine and human laws*. He left a work in folio, which has often been reprinted, *Apparatus super Decretales*.

We may say a few words about that work, which was among the latest transactions of Innocent. He had always promised a treatise on studies, and his decretals were anxiously looked for. When they were ready, he addressed them to all the prelates of France, England, Scotland, Wales, Spain, Germany, and Hungary. In an accompanying letter he said: "We are grieved to learn* that all students, quitting philosophy, to say nothing now about theology, apply themselves to the study of the secular laws. And what is still more lamentable is, that the bishops in most countries take for benefices and ecclesiastical dignities only lawyers and professors of law, who should be excluded if not otherwise commendable. Hence, those who study philosophy remain in want of food and clothing, not venturing to show themselves, while lawyers, riding pompously on well-harnessed steeds, robed in silk, glittering with gold, silver, and jewels, draw down the indignation of the laity, not only on themselves, but on the whole Church.

"Anxious to repress this insolence, and exalt the study of theology, or at least of philosophy, which even without piety leads to science and diverts from avarice, we order that in future no professor of laws or advocate, distinguished as he may be in the profession, shall be promoted to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, unless he is instructed in the liberal arts, and recommended by good morals. If any prelate venture to violate this constitution, his appointment shall be null and void, and he shall lose the right, for that case, of making one."

We see with what exemplary regularity the popes intervened in the business of all orders; and what could more happily, more promptly, or more effectually intervene? After the death of Innocent IV. the Holy See was vacant only four days.

I insert here an extract from the *Credo* of Joinville,† in which, after his profession of faith, he relates various incidents relating to the taking of the king near Damietta, in 1250, and which occurred in the presence of the legate of Innocent.

Saint Gregory of Tours, named bishop in 573, left us a *Credo*. That of Dante is much esteemed in France, where numerous commentaries have made him so well known. Then comes the *Credo* of Joinville, which he composed at Acre, in 1253, for the edification of the Catholic knights. He returned from Syria with King Louis IX. in 1254, and in 1287, he finally

* Fleury, v., p. 496.

† Published in 1837, by the *Société des Bibliophiles Français*

completed this *Credo*, which is of the most precise orthodoxy.* A single extract will show the author's veneration for Holy Church. "We should believe the Holy Church of Rome. We should believe the commands given to us by the apostles and the prelates of the Holy Church, and perform all the penances that they impose upon us."

The *Credo* is based upon the Apostles' Creed; then the author explains the various prophecies which announced the facts of the New Testament. The work is ornamented with illuminations of that era, which in color resemble those of the Roman Catacombs, in the frequent use of ultramarine, ochre, and scarlet. It appears that the *Credo* was read before the sick who were cared for by the Knights Hospitallers, and that copies were given to the convalescent.

The closing passage of the work, which I have translated as closely as possible from the original, is as follows. It is Joinville who speaks:

"Now you perceive that it is fitting to have both good faith and good works. To deprive us of either the one or the other, enemies are daily attacking us, and they will attack us, even more than they do now, at the last day, that is to say, the day of death, in which day may God and God's Holy Mother Mary, and all the saints help us! At that last day, the fiend will see that he cannot deprive us of the good that we have done; and he will see that he cannot make us do evil, all the strength of the body having left us. Then he will assail us in the other direction, and will do all in his power to tempt us into sin against faith or otherwise, so that we may die in evil thought, which God forbid. And then will be serviceable books, with images of the points of our faith, even to the very moment of our death. And in order that the enemy may work no delusion before the patient, let the book be read, which sets forth and teaches the points of our faith, so that both by eyes and ears the heart of the dying may be so filled with true knowledge, that the enemy neither here nor elsewhere can put aught of his evil into that dying heart; as from such evil thought may God preserve us at that death-hour and always!

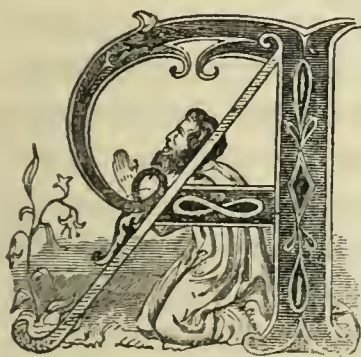
"I have taught you, to the best of my knowledge, how you should hold God embraced in both arms—that is to say, in the arm of firm faith and in the arm of good works. For they are in great peril whom the enemy can alienate from God! God threatens to smite them with his sword, and to pierce them with his arrows, which are not to be feared by those who are his friends, and who hold him in their embrace. Now, let us not leave him,

* The manuscript, of which a fac-simile and translation are given, is in the Imperial Library (No. 2,016), and was first noticed by Mr. Paulin Paris, member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. Thirty copies were printed on vellum, and thirty on 4to paper, by Ambrose Fermin Dedot. No copies were sold; forty-eight were given to members, and ten to foreign associates of the Society; the other two were placed in the Imperial Library.

and we shall do wisely ; and let us hold unto him until he shall give us his blessing, and until he shall change our name of Jacob, which signifies *combatant*, into the name of Israel, which signifies *Him who sees God* ; and may God grant that we may see him face to face, to the salvation of our souls and bodies ! And may he grant us this in answer to the prayers of his sweet Mother, of Saint Michael, and of all the saints ! *Amen.*"

Joinville, the warrior, in composing that Credo, which any priest might have avowed, revived the courage of the laity, who might venture, subsequently, to concern themselves with the dogmas and the precepts of religion.

183. ALEXANDER IV. -- A. D. 1254.



AT the commencement of the reign of Gregory the Great, we presented the reader with a summary of the events which preceded his pontificate. We now give another, no less necessary ; it will rapidly touch upon the host of new circumstances which accumulated from the reign of Gregory the Great, in the year 590, to the death of Innocent IV., in 1254. It is easy to perceive, at the outset, that under Gregory the Great the pontifical power was consolidated ; both East and West accepted its laws. An eloquent writer and a consummate statesman, such as Saint Leo had been, the great Gregory also taught the people their duties, and made them bless his authority. It was he who brought under his immediate authority Rome, its environs, and very many adjacent countries. Bossuet justly praises Gregory, under whom dawned that science of government which was subsequently to rule the world.

The Lombard and the imperial Exarch, both opposing each other and embarrassing the Church, were both repressed ; and though their efforts were sometimes united, yet even then a supernatural genius watched over the destinies of the Church that they dared to oppress.

The Roman clergy and people, in the election of the pontiffs, still sought to please the emperors of the East ; but these latter, in their uncertainties, their mistakes, and the perfidies by which they embarrassed themselves, daily lost the prestige which had previously upheld them.

* Mahomet began to appear in 625. He prepared his arms in silence.

However, it was already felt that monarchy is universal in the Church, and that *its government could not become obscure or uncertain.*

Councils assemble at the voice of the successor of Saint Peter. He is the head and father of all the bishops assembled in council. These very names are given to him by the Council of Chalcedon, in the letter to Saint Leo: "*Summitas tua filiis quod deest adimpleat—Let thy elevation supply what is wanting in thy sons.*"* Some acts of Honorius could not be mentioned without pain. Dom Capellari defends him with prudence and decision, following an opinion of Bolgeni: "Those are heretics who maintain writings that have been condemned as formally heretical, I admit; as indirectly heretical, I deny. Now the letters of Honorius were condemned as indirectly heretical, I admit; as formally heretical, I deny."

Was there ever martyrdom so long and so courageously borne as that of Pope Martin? Yes—that of Pius VII.; but this latter terminated in glory and in immortal clemency.

The followers of Mahomet inundate Europe. Charles Martel, instrument of a great miracle of God in favor of his people, hurled them back into Spain, whence Pelayo pursues them even into Africa.

Charlemagne appears; Saint Leo III. rewards his valor. A terrible blow, a death-blow, is given to the indolent emperors of Constantinople. Their future is a career of cowardly decline. In good faith, Charlemagne gave other principalities to the popes. They learned at once the rules of ecclesiastical and of temporal government. Impassioned writers before us have treated of these annals. We have analyzed their works; doing full justice to their researches, but dealing plainly too with their errors, calumnies, and the false direction that they would give to Catholicity.

A succession of popes form links in that chain that is to extend to our own days.

Saint Leo IV. found in Rome traces of the force of Charlemagne's action. The Saracens threatened Rome. Without waiting to summon to his aid Lothaire, the successor of Charlemagne, the pope raised an army and drove them from the neighborhood of the capital.

Sylvester II., a Frenchman, also brought to the throne the knowledge and the skill of some of his predecessors: he speaks of penance at the commencement of that tenth century which is about to be so ferocious as to recall the times of the most ignorant barbarism. Saint Leo IV., in spite of the patronage of a German emperor, declares that he will owe the pontificate only to the clergy and the Roman people. Sublime example of submission to laws which had often freed the Holy See from the usurpations of

* See *Triumph of the Holy See and of the Church*, by Dom Mauro Capellari, afterwards Gregory XVI., translated into French by the Abbé Jammes; 8vo, Lyons, 1833; vol. i., p. 74.

its enemies, desirous of disturbing public order and the course of received customs.

By a celebrated excommunication, this pope attacks all heresies, old and new; the wicked who assail the Catholicity of the primitive times, the innovators who, with names of yesterday, recall to the bosom of the Church passions from which she had already freed herself.

Saint Gregory VII. comes forward to put an end to the horrible excesses of the eleventh century, which equals the tenth in perversity. This pope endowed with rare vigor, a logical mind, all the dignity of the deathless arguments which then governed the world. He inflicts chastisements at the call of justice; he makes relentless war on simony, adultery, the contempt of divine and human laws. The age required him. The nations led him triumphantly into the capitol of their king, and there they loudly demanded respect for property, true liberty, the honor of women, and the sanctification of the name of Jesus Christ. If Saint Gregory VII. is not better defended here it is our fault; we confess our weakness. At all hazards, we persistently maintain, in the face of those who can see only the circumstances of the present, that his compulsory acts, from 1073 to 1085, were in their places indispensably necessary; and that they established each master in his own sphere on conditions of honesty, wisdom, and truth, which we hope will be maintained for the happiness of the existing nations spread over the world. The example of Gregory VII. encouraged a Victor, an Urban II., in the pursuit of the real good of Christendom.

The latter reign was illustrated by Godfrey de Bouillon, who conquered Jerusalem. "When," says de Maistre, "we went into Asia in the middle ages, sword in hand,* to crush, if it might so be, on its own soil, the terrible crescent which threatened all the liberties of Europe, the French led the way in that memorable enterprise. A man of the people, who has left to posterity only his baptismal name of Peter, and the humble surname of *the Hermit*, with no power but his faith and unconquered will, aroused Europe, startled Asia, broke down feudalism, ennobled the serfs, brought in the torch of science, and changed all Europe.

"The French name made such an impression in the East,† that it has ever since been in the East the name for European; and the greatest poet of Italy, writing in the sixteenth century, does not disdain to use the same expression.‡

"The French sceptre ruled at Jerusalem. What might not have been expected from it! It should have aggrandized Europe, repulsed Islamism forever, and stifled schism; unhappily it could not maintain itself."

* *The Pope*.—Preliminary discourse, vol. i., p. 28.

† *Italy*, p. 30.

‡ *Il popol franco*; Tasso—The Crusaders, Godfrey's army.

We shall have to write but a few lines without having to deplore the loss of that conquest. And God, for our more complete punishment, raises up in the camp of the enemy a thunderbolt of war to be on the point of conquering us alike in glory and in generosity. But let us drain the cup of bitterness! After the tender and Catholic joy of Urban II. came Pascal, Gelasius, Calixtus, Honorius II., Innocent II., the great Alexander III., Gregory VIII., and Clement III., in *whose reign we lost Jerusalem*, and Celestine III.; and at length we reach Innocent III., the one hundred and seventy-eighth pope.

Aided by Hurter, we have deemed it our duty to bestow particular care upon that reign of strength, virtue, and eloquence. All Catholics know the promises of God to his Church; but have all paid proper attention to the fidelity with which those promises are fulfilled? He has tolerated weaknesses, errors, and culpable excesses on the part of isolated individuals; but how great should be the gratitude of the faithful for that series of mercies bestowed from time to time through privileged pontiffs! The historian of the Church should preserve in his most precious pages the great character of Gregory VII.; but, as time went on, civilization having ameliorated manners, the year 1198 needs a no less skilful, though perhaps a milder hand. But even yet we have not got free from crimes, especially political crimes. When the French and Venetians usurped the throne of Constantinople, mark the ineffable grief of Innocent III., that they have stopped so far short on their way to the Holy Sepulchre! Alas! another crime is committed. An emperor disappears like another Romulus, and the guilty are not certainly known. Another monarch, who has no longer a rival to fear, presents himself to be crowned; he will even marry the daughter of the victim. But evil in the other classes of society is not so intense. Innocent III. will appreciate these new circumstances that few men of his time understood. And as the spirit of conciliation, the doctrine of pardon, or, at the least, the sentiment of indulgence and justice, which requires incontestable proof of every crime, will accompany every decision of Innocent III. Although he anticipates the approaching ingratitude, he will turn aside his head, and, amidst painful vicissitudes, will continue that reign which we have sketched, and which was one of the most glorious that we have had to mention in these annals. Innocent is succeeded by Honorius.

This pope approved of the rule of Saint Dominic. I have dwelt with praise on the order, illustrated in our day by Father Lacordaire. Nor have I overlooked the spirit of concord reigning between the Dominicans and Franciscans. It has seemed to me that I ought not to omit any of the details which recommend to admiration Saint Francis, that noble friend of poverty, who, on account of the miracle of the stigmata, is called in history by the name of Seraphic.

Further on I have mentioned, with the especial esteem which they merit, the Carmelites, who owed their first rule to Saint Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem.

The reign of Honorius III. was desolated by the ravages made by the conquering Genghis Khan. Gregory IX. solemnly canonized the great Saint Francis of Assisium, the father of so many pious orders, and of that of the Minor Observantins, to whom the care of the Holy Sepulchre was intrusted. We have rendered homage to the zeal of Gregory IX., in publishing the collection of *Decretals* that bears his name; he redoubled his efforts to bring back to the faith the Jacobites and the Nestorians in Asia, and to encourage the Maronites remaining intrepidly faithful to the voice of the Holy See.

Celestine IV. had only time to leave his name in the list of popes.

Innocent IV. creates kings, carries far and wide the standard of Christ, blesses Spain, victorious over the Saracens, consoles Saint Louis on the disasters in Egypt, and gives his *Apparatus ad Decretales*, received with such applause by all the universities of Europe. The legate of Innocent IV. encouraged Joinville to compose a *Credo* which became the formula of faith of the sick and wounded at Saint Jean d'Acre. To conclude, we may add that after the horrors of the ninth, the tenth, and portions of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the popes continued their noble mission of civilization, and prepared for the Holy See new triumphs which we have yet to relate.

Alexander IV., originally called Raynold or Roland, belonged to the Conti family. Gregory IX. made him cardinal-deacon of Saint Eustace, and then bishop of Ostia and Velettri. Conti was elected pope at Naples, against his will, on the 12th of December, 1254, and crowned on the 20th of that month.

In 1255, the new pontiff, who resided at Anagni, there canonized Saint Clare, of the Second Order of Saint Francis.

The faculty of theology of Paris, having decided, in 1525, that it was not allowable to confess to any priest without the permission of the parish priest, the Franciscans and Dominicans appealed from the decision, which they deemed an invasion of the privilege of the mendicant orders. They were therefore excluded from that university at the instigation of William of Saint Amaur, who wrote on this subject a book entitled, *On the Perils of the Latter Times, and the Eternal Gospel of the Franciscans*. This book contained many errors and attacks on the Franciscans: the Holy Father condemned it, and having, like his uncle, Gregory IX., taken the friars under his protection, he demanded their readmission into the university, and restoration to all the privileges which they had been deprived. The Holy

Father wrote a very courteous letter to the university, paying many well-deserved compliments to that illustrious body. "The school of Paris," says one passage in that letter, "is like the love of life in the earthly paradise, or like the alabaster lamp in the House of the Lord." About the same time the pope confirmed the institution of the University of Salamanca, founded, or restored, by Alphonso X., king of Castile.

In 1256, the Holy Father approved the order of the *Servants of Mary*, or Servites, under the rule of Saint Augustine. William, count of Holland, elected king of the Romans, having died in December, 1255, Alexander threatened to excommunicate the electors, should they elect, as the deceased king's successor, Conradine, son of Conrad, and grandson of the Emperor Frederic II.

The pope ordered that the bishops should be consecrated within six months after their election. Anxious to reconcile the Greek and Latin Churches, he sent the bishop of Orvieto to Theodore Lascaris, but the embassy had not the hoped for success.

New disturbances excited at Rome by Manfred, obliged the pope to retire to Viterbo, and thence to another city of those States.

While in that condition of exile, Alexander is said to have granted privileges with unexampled facility.

King Louis IX. continued to govern France with glory, and daily gave tokens of an exemplary piety. Among all the religious orders he especially loved the two mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans: he said if he could give away his body, each of those orders should have half of it.

About 1256, Saint Bonaventure began to be famous. He was born at Bagnarea, in Tuscany, in the year 1221. At the age of twenty-two he entered the order of Saint Francis, and became the eighth minister-general of that order.

About 1259, Italy witnessed a till then unexampled religious movement. It commenced at Perugia, and passed thence to Rome, and the rest of the country.* Nobles and commons, old and young, even children only five years old, touched by the fear of God's anger for the crimes with which Italy was inundated, went about the streets of the city almost naked. They went in procession, by two and two, each carrying a leather whip, and, with groans and tears, so violently beat their shoulders that they were covered with blood. At the same time they implored the mercy of God, and the help of the Virgin Mary. These Flagellants, so called, were suspected by Manfred, king of Naples, even before they were accused of any errors of faith; and he forbade, under pain of death, such austerities in any part of his kingdom.

* Fleury, v., p. 439.

The Holy Father returned from Anagni to Viterbo, to hold a general council, and restore peace between Genoa and Venice, but fell ill and died in that city, on the 25th of March, 1261, after governing the Church six years, five months, and fourteen days. He was interred in the cathedral of Saint Lawrence.

The Holy See remained vacant three months and three days.

184. URBAN IV.—A. D. 1261.



HE original name of Urban IV. was James or Hyacinth Pantaleon ; he was born at Troyes, in Champagne, and was the son of a shoemaker. Bury says that the father was *sutor veteramentarius*. Pantaleon embraced the ecclesiastical state, and after prolonged studies became archdeacon of Laon, and then of Liege, and subsequently pontifical legate in Pomerania, in Livonia, and in Prussia. Innocent IV. had known him at the Council of Lyons, and had often heard him speak with ability in the affairs of the Church. In 1252, he was named fifty-eighth bishop of Verdun. Alexander wished to make him patriarch of Jerusalem, with the title of legate to the Holy Land and to the army there.

Pantaleon at that time came to the place then occupied by the Roman Court, on business of his church, and, though he was not then a cardinal, he was elected pontiff at Viterbo, by eight of the nine cardinals who were there, and who then constituted the whole of the Sacred College. Being elected on the 29th of August, 1261, he was consecrated on the 4th of September, and received the name of Urban.

The commencement of his pontificate saw the end of the empire of the Latins in Constantinople, which had lasted fifty-seven years. Michael Paleologus, with the aid of the Greeks, recaptured that capital, which had always longed for the old authority. Paleologus, to avoid the war with which he was threatened by Urban, proposed the union of the two Churches, but that was not effected till the time of Gregory X.

Urban, a few days after his coronation, wrote to Louis, king of France, and Philip, the king's eldest son, to grant a year and forty days' indulgence to them and to all who were present at the consecration of any church

or chapel. Urban, perceiving that the sacred college was too limited in number, at the Ember Days, in December, 1261, increased the number by seven new cardinals, all men worthy of that honor by their learning and piety. The next year, he created seven more. In this second promotion, Urban included one of his nephews, Antherus, canon of Bayeux, archdeacon of Laen, then cardinal of Saint Praxedes, and legate in various kingdoms. That nephew acquired great wealth, with which he founded a *collegiale* of twelve canons.

Urban employed representations and entreaties, in language by turns firm and pathetic, to bring back into the right way Manfred, king of Sicily, but in vain; that prince continued to harass the Church and afflict Italy. Then the pope ordered a holy war against him. The army of the allies, commanded by Guy, bishop of Auxerre, and Robert, son of the count of Flanders, defeated the army of Manfred, in Lombardy; but the king speedily retrieved the honor of his arms, and laid siege to Rome. Urban has been blamed for employing Italian crusaders against Manfred; but it should be remembered that Manfred's army was composed almost entirely of Saracens, who had declared war to the death against the faithful Catholics.

Having retired to Orvieto, the pope instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, which he celebrated for the first time on the Thursday within the Octave of Pentecost, in 1264.* By his direction, Saint Thomas Aquinas, then professor of philosophy, composed the office of this feast, which is still recited. But when Pope Urban died at Perugia, the celebration of the solemnity was interrupted for more than forty years. It had been ordered in the year 1246, by Robert of Torota, bishop of Liege, in consequence of the revelations of a holy nun of the order of the Hospitallers, Saint Juliana Falco-nieri. When the festival had been established at Liege, Urban IV., then James Pantaleon, had been consulted, and had approved it. As pope, he did not lose his interest in it; but he postponed an answer to those who wished the festival made universal throughout the Church.

About the same time a German pilgrim priest, who celebrated the Mass at Bolsena, near Orvieto, ventured to doubt whether the bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ, when suddenly the blood issued from the host and stained the corporal. The priest, to conceal his want of faith, folded the corporal, but there remained the form of a man on every fold. The miracle was at once divulged. The pontiff, who till then had been irresolute, had the corporal brought to Orvieto and solemnly received. Sub-

* Panvini states that Urban instituted the procession now held on this feast. Others attribute the institution of the procession to John XXII., Urban in his bull speaking only of the festival. The sixcentennial anniversary of that institution was celebrated at Liege. A great number of bishops were present at it.

sequently, at the prayer of the Catholics of Spain, who stated that a like prodigy had been witnessed at Daroca, in Valencia, and at the same time to put down the heresy of Berengarius, denying the presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, the pope ordered the whole Church to celebrate the festival of Corpus Christi. The corporal is still preserved in the Cathedral of Orvieto. All know Raphael's magnificent fresco, representing that miracle.

Urban forbade any interments whatever in the Vatican without a pontifical permission. He was the first pope to add his number to his name; he signed Urban, Pope IV. It is said that there is a bull extant, signed *Pelagius, Pp. II.*; but many authors consider that bull apocryphal.

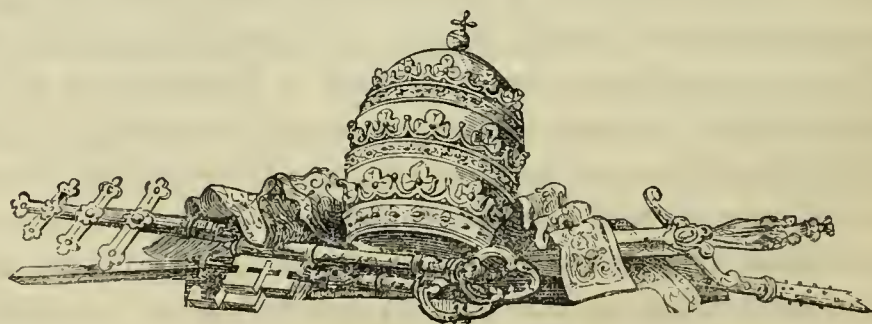
Urban died on the 22d of October, 1264, at Perugia. He governed the Church three years, one month, and four days. He was a man of lofty intellect and prudence. His heart was filled with clemency, kindness, generosity, and many other virtues that may be called truly royal. He left a *Paraphrase of the Fathers*, and sixty-one letters breathing wisdom and goodness..

The Holy See was vacant five months and two days.

I rarely shrink from matters the discussion of which may seem delicate and offensive. The Protestants have endeavored to cast ridicule upon the profession of Urban's father. Aristocratic sneers of the kind may well astonish us, coming as they do from men who so often preach equality and republicanism. What is done when the son of a poor man is intended for the ecclesiastical career? He is placed in a monastery where he is enabled to study. At the time of which we speak, the contract that existed between the Latin Church and the Greek Church, either in agreement or in controversy, rendered familiar to even the learned of Italy the study of the language of Demosthenes. The traces of the language of Cicero were not effaced.

Saint Augustine, that *master of masters*, was in the hands of all the pupils who desired to become learned. The cleric who had the least resources, the least aid to hope from his family, was, as is almost always the case, precisely that one who studied the most. When a distinguished scholar became known for ability, he was pointed out as one who would be found useful to the Church. Rome profited by all among the pupils who, whether in Italy or in France, were known to be the most studious. Innocent IV. found at his hand a Frenchman who united all the qualifications necessary for a courageous nuncio; Innocent IV. knew that in the difficulties of the Church it is talent, knowledge, devotion, that is needful worthily to sustain and vindicate the work of Jesus Christ. Innocent IV. did not ask whence James Pantaleon came. After speaking with him, His Holiness perceived in him a merit worthy of esteem, and named him legate to the

Holy Land, and men's eyes were necessarily turned upon him who was to animate the crusaders to conquer the tomb of our Lord. James Pantaleon having become celebrated, had but a short time to wait ere becoming pope. In that sublime elevation, courage, learning, and experience can freely manifest themselves. Philosophers may talk as they please about the rights of all men; those rights have been most constantly recognized by the Holy See. With pleasure, with interest, nay, with preference, if people will have it so, it honors patrician birth and those historic descents which *oblige to virtue*, but it is none the less attentive to reward services rendered to religion. Can any country be mentioned in which more than in Rome the *equality* that should obtain among men is understood in a consistent, ever true, and ever certain spirit? Upon that point, as upon so many others, Rome, without calling people to revolt, gives the most judicious lessons and practises the pure and essentially philosophical precepts of the Gospel, that inexhaustible well-spring of instruction which, properly followed, cannot fail to secure happiness in this life and salvation in the next. One of my reasons for writing the *Lives of the Popes* is the consideration I have just mentioned. Parties and sects may agitate the multitudes, poor and born in the lower ranks of society; but these parties and these sects can only repeat to a few what Rome has unceasingly taught to all. Rome, in constituting the monarchical principle, has not forgotten the consolations that she owes to the classes that everywhere else are degraded, to the classes in which, in all countries, by cultivating with care and in the spirit dictated by the Gospel, abundant fruits may be produced, unhopd for riches, and riches more than all others inexhaustible. Rome operates on a scale of very different extent from that on which so many exclusively political governments confine their action.



185. CLEMENT IV.—A. D. 1265.



CLEMENT IV., originally named Guy Foulquois, belonged to a noble family of Saint Gilles, on the Rhone. It is to be remarked here, that a Frenchman succeeded a Frenchman. Guy was successively soldier, jurisconsult, secretary to Louis IX., married, father of a family, widowed, priest, canon, archdeacon, bishop, cardinal, and pope. Some authors state that Guy was also a Carthusian, but it seems they confound him with his father, who did really enter the order of Saint Bruno. Clement himself, if we may judge from a letter written at Viterbo, on the 21st of November, in the fourth year of his pontificate, speaks of the entrance of his father into a monastery, but he does not say that he himself had ever been a monk.

When Guy Foulquois embraced the ecclesiastical state, he contracted friendship with the holy doctors Saint Thomas Aquinas and Saint Bonaventure; Urban IV., who had great confidence in Guy, made him cardinal-bishop of Sabina, to reward the ability with which he had filled the office of legate to England, when sent there to appease the differences between the king, Henry III., and Simon de Montfort. The cardinal-bishop of Sabina was absent when Urban IV. died; nevertheless the sacred college elected him pontiff. Being informed of his election, he repaired to Viterbo, and on his knees entreated the electors not to persist in their choice; but they were inflexible. He ascended the throne with the name of Clement IV., and was crowned on the 22d of February, 1265.*

That same year, Clement, after expressly reserving the Duchy of Benevento, gave to Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., the investiture of the Two Sicilies. Charles received them in fief, *without the salic law*, and promised an annual payment of eight thousand ounces of gold and one palfrey. The tribute was to be paid on Saint Peter's eve. The Church was to resume possession of the kingdoms should Charles leave no heir, or in case of any such heir leaving none. On the day of the Epiphany, Clement crowned Charles at the great altar of the Vatican Basilica. There is a painting of the ceremony in the Farnese palace at Rome.

Villani has left the following description of Charles of Anjou:

* The same year in which Dante Alighieri, the great poet, was born.

"Charles was a wise and prudent man, sage in council, brave in battle, respected and feared by all the monarchs in the world, magnanimous, and with a mind aspiring to great achievements;* confident in himself, firm in adversity, and faithful to all his promises; he spoke but little and acted much; rarely laughed; was pure and Catholic as a religious; stern in his justice, and haughty in his glance. His stature was lofty and remarkably athletic; he had an olive complexion, and a large nose. There was majesty in his bearing. He slept but little, and was accustomed to say that sleeping was a waste of time. Lavish with his soldiers, he was also greedy of lordships and castles; he loved money, come to him as it might, to meet the expenses of war. He never diverted himself with the courtiers, minstrels, or mimics. His arms were those of France, *azure*, fleurs de lis *or*, with a lambel *gules*, to distinguish his arms from those of the king of France. When Charles presented himself in Italy, he was forty-six years old, and he reigned nineteen years."

(A portrait, that, worthy of Saint Simon.)

After his coronation, Charles advanced towards Naples, to attack the army of Manfred. The courageous son of Frederic II. did not decline battle, but was defeated on the 26th of February, 1266, and, rashly exposing himself, lost his life.

After the death of Manfred, king of Sicily, another competitor refused to yield to the pretensions of Charles. This competitor was Conradine, son of King Conrad, and grandson of the Emperor Frederic. Conradine, not contented with the title of king of Jerusalem, which the pontiff had left him, aimed also at being king of Sicily. Censured for this by Clement, Conradine levied an army, but was defeated by Charles, put to flight, and then betrayed by faithless nobles, who gave him up to Charles. When Charles had his rival in his hands, he took that stern and bitter vengeance which will forever be the subject of universal reprobation. Some writers have accused the pontiff of having consented to the death of Conradine, and they have quoted certain antithetical phrases to justify the charge. We shall not pause to refute the dastardly calumny. Though very properly disdained by almost all French writers, it has nevertheless been quoted by Velly, and has left him in some doubt as to the part that Clement may have had in the event to which it relates. But the sarcasm which is imputed to the pontiff is utterly incompatible with his gentle manner.† Fleury and Muratori also justify the pope from that false imputation; and Father James Spon still better, by proving that Conradine did not ascend the scaffold until a year after the death of the pope.‡

* *Italy*, p. 95.

† *Biog. Univ.*, ix., p. 20.

‡ On this point, Fleury says (v., p. 497) that the execution took place on the 26th of October

Villani mentions the conduct of Robert, son of the count of Flanders, and a relative of King Charles. Hearing a Provençal judge read the condemnation of Conradine, in the presence of the king, Robert struck him with his sword, exclaiming that it was not for him to condemn to death so great and illustrious a prince. The judge died of the blow, and not a word was said about it. King Charles and the French nobles thought that Robert had acted as a noble should. The death of Conradine is none the less an ineffaceable stain upon the sovereign who permitted it.

Conradine, in his prison, was playing chess when his sentence was announced to him, and he was almost immediately led forth to execution. When he was in the hands of the executioner, he threw off his cloak, and remembering the piety and the tenderness of his mother, Elizabeth of Bavaria, who had been unwilling that he, so young, should engage in a terrible war, he knelt in prayer, and, as he rose, exclaimed: "Oh, mother! how deeply grieved you will be when you have tidings of my death!" Then he turned towards the spectators, and hearing their pitying sobs, he proudly drew off one of his gloves and threw it among them. We shall see how the gauntlet thus thrown down was taken up.

Clement, weakened by old age and sickness, but full of glory, and of merits in the administration of Holy Church, died at Viterbo, on the 29th of November, 1268, and was interred in the church of the Dominicans. He was the first pontiff on whose tomb armorial bearings were placed. This pontiff, who never entered Rome, governed the Church three years, nine months, and twenty days.

The popes, thus far, have, in some cases, not sufficiently restrained the ambition of their families. The very opposite conduct of Clement IV. will command the admiration of posterity.* He would not allow his relations to be near him, and he forbade them to make any recommendations to him. He married his niece to a simple knight, and promised only a moderate sum as her marriage portion. He showed no greater eagerness for the settlement in life of two daughters left him by his marriage; and they became nuns in the abbey of Saint Saviour's, at Nîmes.

Father Martene has collected some works and the *letters* of this pope, in the *Thesaurus Anecd.* (tome ii.) The most curious of the letters is that which he wrote to his nephew Peter, to prevent his exaltation from giving any hopes to his relatives.

Novaes is untiring in his admiration of Clement IV. "He was," says that historian, "an eloquent preacher and a consummate jurisconsult.

1268, and that Clement died on the 29th of November, in the same year, almost a month after. Still, it is to be remembered that Clement IV. was then so feeble from suffering that he could not have uttered the ferocious words attributed to him.

* *Biog. Univ.*, ix., 20.

Durand calls him *light of the law, illustrious in penance, in prayer, in apostolic zeal, in modesty, and in morals, so that the higher he rose in dignity, the more he flourished in sanctity.* During his whole reign, he undertook nothing of consequence without first consulting the sacred college." Novaes then eulogizes this pope's horror of nepotism; *so greatly was this pontiff detached from his own blood.*

The Holy See remained vacant two years, nine months, and two days.

186. BLESSED GREGORY X.—A. D. 1271.



THE interval which separates the reign of Clement IV. from that of Gregory X., was signalized by an event which cannot be forgotten in history, the death of Louis IX., before Tunis.

Louis left Aigues-Mortes on the 3d of July, 1270, with a fleet conveying sixty thousand combatants.

On the 21st of July, the naval divisions united before Tunis, five leagues southeast of the ruins of Carthage.

The arrival of Edward, of England, and his wife Eleanor, of Castile, at the same moment, crowned the general satisfaction.* Faithful to a treaty, that son of King Henry III. had embarked at Bordeaux, but contrary winds had prevented his reaching Aigues-Mortes before the departure of the royal fleet.

The heir of the Plantagenets did not, however, long remain under the French banner. Dissenting from the plan of attacking Tunis, Edward, against the opinions expressed in the council of the leaders, insisted upon marching directly upon Syria, and towards Jerusalem. Despairing of converting them to his opinions, and convinced that to act otherwise would be to hazard the safety of his knights, he withdrew from the army.

Noble and touching reparation made by a prince of the blood of Richard the Lion-hearted, who, on another occasion, was less pious and less obedient than Edward! We should remark here, that at that period there was no Pope. Clement IV. had died in 1268, and the conclave of Viterbo, as we shall see, could not agree upon a successor. The ship of Christianity

* *History of Saint Louis, king of France*, by the Marquis of Villeneuve-Trans; vol. iii., p 389.



GREGORY X

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floated without a pilot,—left to the treacherous winds of statecraft. The crusaders had lost sight of the road to the Holy Sepulchre.

The debarkation being completed, a camp was formed; it was an immense street of tents, open at each end, and having the arms and all munitions in the centre.

Peter de Condet, chaplain to the king, presented to Mahomet, the bey of Tunis, a cartel, which ran thus: "I proclaim to you the ban of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his sergeant, Louis of France, in July, 1270, 666 of the Hegira, the last day of the moon of Zilkadé." The reply to the king said: "O Frenchman, learn that Tunis is the sister of Cairo.* Expect the same that fell to your lot there;† you will find here the house of the son Lokman for your tomb, where the eunuch Sabih will supply the place of the terrible angels Moukir and Nakir, who, as saith the Koran, question the dead in these words—*Who is thy Lord? Who is thy Prophet?*"

After several battles very advantageous to the king, the plague broke out. The first Christian baron, Matthew III. de Montmorency, died on the 1st of August. The sons of the king, Philip, Tristan, Peter of France, and the king himself, were attacked. On the 7th of the month, the contagion struck down the pontifical legate, Raoul de Grosparmy, who was acting by virtue of the powers conferred by the late Pope Clement IV., who had died in 1268.

The health of Philip of France was somewhat improved, but the king felt that for himself there remained but a few hours of life.

On Monday, the 25th, the sun had scarcely glinted on the sea, when the lilled flags slowly descended. At this announcement the whole camp shud-

* The keenness of this may be well seen. Had Louis remained conqueror, as at Mansora, he might have hoped to occupy Cairo, which he beheld no nearer than he did *Tunis, sister of Cairo*. Mansora is fourteen leagues from Damietta, and twenty-two from Cairo. I have these distances from the Chevalier Jaubert, a companion of Napoleon, in Egypt. According to the Chevalier Jaubert, Napoleon often blamed Saint Louis's expedition. It seemed to him undertaken at a wrong season; the Nile had but just retired; the land was but an impracticable field of mud. The impetuosity of the Count d'Artois and his bannerets could have no successful issue. Prudence, a knowledge of the ground, all those considerations which create success, were wanting.

Napoleon, after blaming, in language worthy of Cæsar, Turenne and Frederic, the members of Saint Louis's council, who knew so little of the seat of the war they were to wage, expatiated on the courage and patience of the king, and said warmly, that nothing in history deserved higher honor than his hero courage and saint-like patience. Endowed with a quick and ardent mind, Napoleon gave to conversation, new, burning, even Oriental expressions. Those who heard such language from the great general, could not withhold their admiration. There were no ministers of religion in that army, but there were, in spite of the times, many noble sons of ancient France, who were delighted to see such noble justice paid to their sires. Wherever glory is to be won, parties mingle and are confounded. Beneath the laurel, beneath distant suffering, the anger and animosity of opinions is appeased, and peace, not yet seen at home, is found.

† It is a very slight consolation to find Mahomet exaggerate the glory of Louis to humble him the more.

dered. Knights, men at arms, the sick, the wounded, all rushed from their tents in terror; one side of the royal tent was raised, and Louis, supported by attendants, made his appearance, clad in haircloth to his feet; his already livid hands bearing a crucifix, and his eyes fixed upon a bed of ashes, spread upon the parched earth. The last breath of the head of the army was to be drawn upon that humble couch; it was his last command, and he had scarcely strength enough left to lie down upon it, and to motion for the crucifix to be again placed before him.

Isabella of Aragon, Amicia d'Artois, the queen of Navarre, and the countess of Poitiers, stifled their sobs; their noble husbands, Peter d'Alençon, the high barons, chaplains, almoners, and imperial ambassadors of Michael Paleologus, knelt in a circle around the dying king, whose majesty never shone in a purer light than on this throne of sorrow; his sceptre and hand of justice, the crucifix; his diadem, the martyr's halo; his canopy, the sky of Carthage; his court, a weeping army; and his kingdom, Eternity.

Horrible convulsions seemed to rack his frame, and yet no complaint, no regret, no murmur escaped his lips. All that his dying voice was heard to utter was: "Noble Sire, God, have mercy upon this people that has followed me to this shore! Oh, conduct it to its own land, lest it be forced to deny thy holy name." The very last words of the king were: "Jerusalem! We will go to Jerusalem!"* So the prince regretted that he had not followed the advice of Rome, which had always been that he should go to Jerusalem.

"*The king is dead! Long live the king!*" This old cry of monarchy was arrested by grief. The heralds and the great officers of the crown were silent; sobs alone proclaimed the great loss of the crusaders.

Charles, king of Naples, arrived with his fleet; but not to see his brother alive. He caused Philip III. to be recognized as king of France. The details of the battles, of the treaty, of the embarkation, and the return which followed, belongs to other annals.

Thus died Louis IX. We have said that the Holy See was vacant. The legate who should have attended the king, had himself perished; but the love of the cross was so deep in the heart of the monarch and of the French, that Rome, notwithstanding her widowhood, had not to deplore any misfortune to the faith. The throne of Peter was vacant, but, Louis IX. aiding, religion had no tears to shed. Yet, it were not good that the great moderator should often be wanting to his children. Had Gregory X. been sooner elected, the expedition against Tunis would probably have been abandoned, and Louis, upon the road to Syria, and in the port of Antipatris, would

* Marquis de Villeneuve-Trans; iii., p. 415.

have preserved his strength to lead the Christians a second time to the Temple of the Saviour.

Let us now return to the high deeds of the holy pontiffs, of those men of wisdom who formed a king like Louis IX.,* and who, by the lips of one of their successors, will place upon the altar that model of monarchs and of Christians.

The blessed Gregory X., originally called Theobald Visconti, was of the family of that name at Placenza, supposed to derive its origin from the Flavia family, to which Constantine the Great belonged. Other authors maintain that the Visconti sprang from Desiderius, king of the Lombards.

Theobald, son of Hubert, a brother of Otho Visconti, archbishop of Milan and lord of that city, was at first canon of Lyons, archdeacon of Liege, and then became legate in Syria. While there he was elected pontiff at Viterbo, on the 1st of September, 1271. The fifteen cardinals who composed the sacred college, could not agree upon a candidate. One of them proposed to authorize six cardinals to name the pope, all promising to recognize the one thus named by compromise. It was necessary to have recourse to such an expedient, for the conclave had lasted three years. Ranieri Gatti, captain of the city, had already had the roof uncovered so that the inclemency of the weather might dispose the cardinals to make a final choice. In proceeding by *compromise*, the six cardinals put an end to the longest vacancy of the Holy See that had taken place since the persecutions. At first they thought of Saint Philip Benizi, of the order of Servites, who was then famous for his miracles; but learning the design from cardinals Ottobono, Fieschi, and Ubaldino, who had proposed him, Saint Philip went and hid himself on the top of Mount Tuniato until another was elected.

The six cardinals having agreed upon electing Theobald Visconti, on the 1st of September, 1271, a courier was dispatched to Saint Jean d'Acre, where he was with Prince Edward, eldest son of the king of England, waiting for a favorable moment to go to Jerusalem. Theobald having received the news on the 27th of October, took the road for Italy, and disembarked at Brindisi, on the 1st of January, 1272.

* "Among his virtues," says Michaud, "we must remark especially that passion for justice, which ever animated him; that respect for human life, of which he had given so many examples amid dangers, and which is so rarely found among the lords of earth. What affected him alone, moved him not; what affected religion and the good of his people, raised him above all fear and all consideration."

"Louis IX.," says Voltaire, "rendered France triumphant and well governed; he was, in all respects, a model for men. His piety, though that of an anchorite, did not compromise his royal virtues; his liberality was never at variance with wise economy; he reconciled profound statesmanship with strict justice, and is, perhaps, the only prince who deserves this praise. Prudent and firm in council, intrepid without being headlong in combat, as compassionate as though he had known only misfortune, it is hardly given to man to carry virtue further."

Accompanied by Charles, king of the Two Sicilies, he went to Benevento, and thence, by way of Capua, to Viterbo, where he found the cardinals. Thence he proceeded to Rome, and was crowned at the Vatican by Cardinal John Orsini, on the 27th of March, 1272. On the day of the coronation he took possession at Saint John Lateran, preceded by a magnificent cavalcade; the king of the Two Sicilies held the pontiff's stirrup, and, at the solemn banquet which followed, presented him with water to wash his hands,* and served him with the first dish.

In 1273, the German electors, excepting the king of Bohemia, elected as king of the Romans Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, the head of that glorious house of Austria which has uninterruptedly produced such a brilliant series of emperors. The Holy Father approved the election, and induced Alphonso X., king of Castile, to renounce his claims upon the imperial diadem, to which he believed himself entitled, which that prince generously and promptly did, to show himself obedient to the Holy Father.

The same year, Visconti, who had taken the name of Gregory X., wrote to Philip the Bold, king of France, to thank him for restoring to the Holy See the Venaissin, situated between Provence and Dauphiny, which was left to the Roman Church by Raymond, count of Toulouse, who died in 1249, and which the kings of France had since held. It does not appear, from the relations that existed between the pope and Philip the Bold, that the pontiff had opposed the sixth article of what is called the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX., published in 1269, before the departure for Tunis, with the five other articles of that document. Fleury states that that article ran thus: "We do not allow that there be paid or received the pecuniary *exactions* and the very heavy burdens that the court of Rome has imposed upon the Church of our kingdom, by which it is miserably impoverished, unless for some reasonable and very urgent cause, or from an inevitable necessity, and with the free and express consent of ourselves and of the Church."

Villeneuve-Trans gives this as the fifth, and must have found it thus transposed. Upon this point Marchetti thus replies to Fleury: "We see how exact our historian is in scrupulously relating whatever in any way opposes Rome. In his preface, Fleury had said that in his history he would insert only such facts as should appear, at least to him, to have a moral certainty; and we have seen that he adopted as certain a host of mere popular stories of Matthew Paris and others, which that same Fleury carefully included in his history. He acted thus with the sixth article of the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX., king of France, and *certainly* every one does not look upon that article as an indubitable idea of the pious mind of that

* See Cancellieri, *Hist. des Possessi Solennels*, p. 18.

great king. On the contrary, let any examine the reasons adduced by Natalis Alexander, for asserting the spurious character of that article, and decide whether Natalis Alexander has not demonstratively replied to his opponents. The article is at least a subject for serious controversy, when it is added to the Pragmatic by a strange hand. But it is directed against the exactions of the Roman Church; that renders it a monument of antiquity, and Fleury inserts it unquestioned. On the contrary, in that Pragmatic, which is nothing but an instruction written by the king for his son's guidance, we find these words: '*Be devout and obedient to our mother, the Roman Church, and to the sovereign pontiff as to the Spiritual Father.*' Natalis Alexander has taken care not to omit these words. The Abbé de Choisy has faithfully transcribed them in his *Life of Saint Louis*, printed at Paris in 1689, and he invokes the testimony of Geoffry de Beaulieu, confessor of the pious king, who was an eye-witness (chap. vi.)

"Theveneau, advocate of the parliament of Paris, in his work, *Precepts of State*, gives us its ancient form, and in that form even the entire introduction; it has been registered in the *Chambre des Comptes*. That writer, to the words which we have cited, adds this observation: '*The precept, not without cause, has been registered in the Chambre des Comptes, so that it might serve as a memorial to the kings of their duty towards the Church of Rome.*'* Well! Fleury, who nevertheless was the preceptor of some of the royal successors to the French crown, shows himself less disposed than Louis IX. to make such documents known to them; Fleury did not desire that posterity should read these words in his *Ecclesiastical History*; he therefore did not direct it towards as worthy an end as did the immortal King Louis IX."

These reflections, made calmly, and in part taken from other French authorities, deserve sincere praise, and I share those sentiments and that opinion with all my will and with all my soul.

It was a pious, able, and generous thought, that led the cardinals to elect a pope whose duties had led him to the Holy Land, and who knew the distress of that unfortunate country.

The recovery of the Holy Land almost exclusively engaged the thoughts of Gregory. On the first of the preceding April he published a decree, convoking at Lyons the fourteenth general council, and the second of Lyons, which was celebrated in that city in 1274. The pope was there even in 1273. On his way he crossed Tuscany, and paused at Florence to endeavor to restore peace between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines of that city.

I will repeat here some facts already related in the *History of Dante*, page 468. History cannot ignore the conduct of Gregory X., at Florence. At

* Marchetti, *Criticism on Fleury*, p. 118. The archbishop of Ancyra, in printing this passage, cites Fleury's 76th book; he should have said the 86th.

first he was accompanied by Baldwin II., son of Henry, brother of Baldwin I., and afterwards by Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and brother of Saint Louis.*

The pope, delighted with the coolness of the water and the purity of the air, proposed to his august companions to pass the summer in that beautiful city. The Guelphs at that time had exiled the Ghibellines, and treated them with undue rigor. On the 2d of July, the pope assembled the people of Florence and the vicinity on the banks of the Arno, at the foot of the Rubaconte bridge. A platform having been erected to afford seats for the two princes, the pope from his throne forbade, on pain of interdict, any distinction to be made in future between Guelph and Ghibelline, and commanded the syndics of the Guelphs to embrace in his presence the syndics of the Ghibellines (the pope was head and protector of the Guelph faction).† Gregory in his address to the people said: "He is a Ghibelline—yes; but he is a Christian, he is a citizen, and he is your neighbor. Is so much that we have done to bring about a union to be ineffectual? Is the very name of Ghibelline (*Weibling*, no one knows what it means), empty as it is, to be more powerful for hatred than so many clear and substantial reasons for charity? You declare that you have embraced this party spirit in favor of the popes and against their enemies? We, Roman pontiffs, we have received these men to our heart, although they formerly offended us—these men, your fellow-citizens, who have returned to us; we have pardoned their insults, and now regard them as our children. Will you disobey your pontiff, and in his presence?"

Is not the pontifical conciliation here seen in all the sublimity of its glory and of its power? What reply could be made to Gregory, to that great heart, by the mad passions which, roused into a feeling of hatred and the ignoble promptings of vengeance, breathed only hatred and vengeance and revelled in slaughter? Gregory pronounced sentence of interdict upon these men whom no feeling of sensibility, patriotism, religion, or charity could bend; and he left in grief that city, since so illustrious, mother of so many geniuses, and of minds so often generous and noble. A single man, with no armies to sustain him, had the right to utter such remonstrances; and he had the right, too, to punish those who despised them.

From Florence, which no doubt he secretly blessed, Gregory went to Placenza, his native city, and arrived there on the 3d of October. He took with him Otho Visconti, made archbishop of Milan by Pope Urban IV., who had not been able yet to take possession of his See, because the Turriani, a revolted family, desired an archbishop of their own name. Having entered Milan, Gregory could not induce the people to accept Otho Visconti,

* J. Villani, p. 219.

† Ibid.

though regularly appointed, and the bearer of bulls recently confirmed, and he was obliged to leave Milan in the same grief that had afflicted Florence.

The direction of the General Council of Lyons was intrusted to Saint Bonaventure. This fact is attested by the bull of canonization of that saint, issued by Sixtus IV. In that assemblage there were fifteen cardinals, two Latin patriarchs, seventy archbishops, five hundred bishops, and more than a thousand prelates and abbots. Never had there been a more numerous council. The Greeks confessed that the Holy Ghost proceeded from both FATHER and SON, and, for the fourteenth time, were reconciled to the Latin Church.*

It was first decreed that considerable succor should be sent to the Holy Land. It must have been an imposing scene when the pontiff said: "We have seen the sufferings of those pilgrims; one by one we have followed all their misfortunes. Their courage never tires, no piety can be more submissive than theirs; they are true children of Jesus Christ, like the companions of Godfrey, but they have not wherewith to support life. Those who had money when they went hence, have been robbed of that money, and even of their clothes. Can our brethren in the desert ask alms of the wild beasts? These give only death. The Turk and the Jew sometimes hearken to a cry of distress; but on that long pilgrimage there are so many cries! It is to the Holy Land that aid must go; there must be no ambition for kingdoms and provinces of Asia; Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre must be delivered."

The *flagellants*, wherever they were not suppressed, asserted that baptism by water was useless; that flagellation alone was effectual, which they called *baptism by blood*; that all religion consisted in *flagellation*. Baronius, according to Novaes, reproached Saint Peter Damian with having been, if not the founder, at least the propagator of this sect, so censured by the Church, and so wrong in deducing from a simple ordinary penance the impious consequences of the flagellants.

Tournaments were discussed, and it was agreed that those fatal shows should everywhere be abolished.

This council passed thirty-one canons on ecclesiastical discipline. All except the nineteenth concern the sixth book of the *Decretals*. It was this council that enjoined every Catholic to bow the head as often as he hears the holy name of Jesus.†

* Spondanus, ad an. 1274, n. 8.

† Novaes (iii., p. 254) quotes, as usual, the councils of Father Labbe. Care must always be taken when the name of that Father occurs in Italian authors not to write it as Italians do; they have no mute *e* as we have. With them, Father Labbe is either Father Labbé or l'Abbé. An Italian purist, wishing to respect our pronunciation, and yet endeavoring to make us understand him, would write the name thus: *Lab*. Then they would pronounce the name as we do, and this alteration would arrest an error which always a little annoys us in ecclesiastical writers of Italy.

The Holy Father, remembering the length of the conclave in which he at last had been elected, passed laws to prevent like delays in future. These laws may be found in the introduction to Novaes' *Lives of the Pontiffs* (vol. i., dissertation ii.) They were frequently suspended and then restored, whenever there was too long a conclave.

During this council, the great Saint Thomas Aquinas died in the monastery of Fossa Nuova, whence he was about to repair to Lyons.

The council having terminated its sessions, the pontiff set out on the 6th of March, 1275, for Italy. He met Rodolph of Hapsburg, king of the Romans, at Lausanne, on the 10th October, and that prince swore to guarantee to His Holiness the exarchate of Ravenna, and other Italian lands belonging to the Roman Church. Ptolemy of Lucca (*Hist. Eccles.*, liv. ii., iii., chap. iv.) affirms that fact. Moreover, there are extant two diplomas of Rodolph's relating to that subject, which are given by Rainaldi, year 1275 (Nos. 37, 38).

The same year, Gregory united the two bishoprics of Valence and Dié, in France, but they were separated again in 1692.

Gregory had governed four years, four months, and ten days, reckoning from his election; and only three years, nine months, and fifteen days, reckoning from his consecration, when he died at Arezzo, aged sixty-six years, on the 10th of January, 1276 (a fatal year, in which four pontiffs died), and he was interred in the cathedral of that city.

Monsignor Benedict Falconcini de Volterra, bishop of Arezzo, in 1704, solicited and obtained, under Pope Clement XI., in 1713, at his own expense, the beatification of this illustrious pontiff.

Gregory had but little learning (Novaes, iii., p. 257), but he was endowed with rare prudence. He always was the courageous defender of the faith and of the divine worship, inclined to peace and a conciliatory spirit, and an enemy to all partiality.

The Holy See remained vacant ten days.

Saint Antoninus (3 par., lit. xx., cap. 2), and afterwards Steffanardo de Vicomercato, and Galvaneo della Fiamma (the two latter Dominicans), George Menda, and Paulus Jovius, affirm that this pope knew of the attempt of the Turriani to kill Otho, archbishop of Milan. When Gregory's beatification was debated, this terrible charge was forcibly opposed, but Peter-Maria Campi, who was the postulant for the beatification, defended the pope, and proved that the allegation was only an imposture, like so many others that have been tried to blacken the memory of some popes. The well-reasoned and eloquent apology of Campi is in the second part of his *History of the Church of Placenza*. And in truth, if that great pope excommunicated the Turriani, and subjected the city of Milan to interdict, only because they sequestered the ecclesiastical revenues of Archbishop Otho,

how could the same pontiff dissemble the great crime of attempting the life of that prelate?

No celebrated author of that time testifies to this *indolence* of Gregory (Novaes, iii., p. 257), quite contrary to his noble inclination. Some writers give the accusation, misled by false reports or party spirit. It is known that the two Dominicans mentioned above were attached to Otho and to the Visconti. Paul Jovius gave way to fits of love or hatred; he was ready to sell his pen, and even in writing history was still the slave of money. Lambertini,* moreover affirms, that this imposture did not prejudice the pontiff in the cause of his canonization. Father Antonio Maria Bonucci, a Jesuit, wrote the *History of the Blessed Pontiff Gregory X.* (4to, Rome, 1711). Besides another life of the same pope, published anonymously, and inserted by Campi in his history of Placenza (vol. ii.), and by Muratori in his *Script. Rer. Ital.* (vol. iii.), there is another life of that pope by the same Campi. It has been translated from the Italian into Latin by the Jesuit Sylvester Peter Santa, under the title of *Vita Gregorii X., ex familia Vicecomitum* (4to, Rome, 1635). There is also a life of Gregory X. by Claude Clement (12mo, Lyons, 1632).

Platina gives the following judgment upon Gregory: "He was a man illustrious in life for prudence in affairs; for the strength of soul with which he disdained money and all low considerations; for his humanity, clemency, benevolence to poor Christians, and especially those who took refuge in the bosom of the Apostolic See.

Following our custom of mentioning at the end of each pontificate the great writers who died under that reign, we must speak of the works of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Fleury (v., liv. 86, p. 519) says: "The life of this saint, who died at forty-nine years of age, seems short in comparison to his writings. The five first volumes are commentaries on most of the writings of Aristotle; then come the commentaries on Peter Lombard, *the master of sentences*; then a volume of theological questions, the *Summa against the gentiles*, the *Summa Theologica*, many commentaries on the Holy Scripture, and finally short treatises to the number of seventy-three, some of which are doubted. In general, the best critics believe that many works are attributed to Saint Thomas which are only notes of his public lectures, called *reportata* in those days, and that a similarity of name has confounded with him Thomas the Englishman, or Jorzi, a friar of the same order, who lived in the same century and at the beginning of the next.

William de Tocco, in his life of the saint, also says: "It is known from the faithful report of his companion, and of those who wrote under him, that he sometimes dictated in his room to three and even four secretaries at

* *De Canon.*, liv. ii., cap. 42, n. 3.

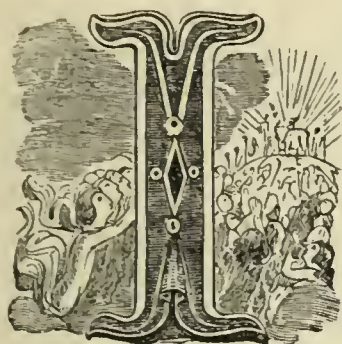
a time, upon different subjects. He slept but little, and passed a great portion of the night in prayer, and it was to prayer rather than to study that he attributed his science. He always prayed before study and before composing, and in great difficulties redoubled his prayers and added fasting."

The article of Feller upon Saint Thomas (v., p. 264) should be consulted. Saint Louis had summoned him to Paris, and treated him with distinction. Thomas was also in high consideration with the Roman pontiffs. John XXII. placed him among the saints in 1313, thirty-nine years after his death. Let Feller speak for a moment. "Of all the scholastics of that barbarous time, he undoubtedly is the most solid, the most judicious, and the clearest. The titles of *Angel of the School*, *Angelic Doctor*, and *Eagle of the Theologians*, cannot have seemed exaggerated to his contemporaries. His works, says a competent critic, attest a vast and profound genius, an exquisite judgment, an admirable clearness, and a rare precision. Whether he established the truths of the faith, or replies to difficulties, it is seldom that any thing can be added to what he has said ; this, considering the early age at which he finished his career, causes him to be properly considered as an intellect almost superhuman, and extraordinarily raised up to enlighten the schools."

All his works were printed at Rome in 1570-1571, in eighteen folio volumes ; at Venice in 1745-1760, in twenty-eight volumes, 4to. Under his name appears a work entitled *Secreta Alchymie Magnalia* (Cologne, 1579, 4to), a work neither by him nor worthy of him. Feller regrets that scholastic studies are not more in vogue ; he would like them pursued moderately. When scholastic questions were debated, the great truths of the faith, morality, and the constituent maxims of the governments of civil and ecclesiastical society were safe from contradiction. There was no dispute upon those great subjects ; they were not contested, because the natural restlessness of mind nourished itself on speculations in which eternal truths and the happiness of men were not compromised. In our day, reason carries its rash and destructive glances to all questions.

The office of Corpus Christi is one of the finest of the Roman breviary. The hymns, *Sacris Solemnis*, *Verbum Supernum*, *Pange Lingua*, and especially the *Lauda Sion*, blend the unction of piety and the language of exact theology. The choice of words is so correct, the expressions so happy, the cadence so sonorous and so natural, that they are rightly considered as the production of a rare genius, and still more as the work of a man selected by Providence to celebrate with dignity the most august of the Christian Mysteries. (See the life of the saint, by Father Tournon ; 4to, Paris, 1737.)

187. INNOCENT V.—A. D. 1276.



INNOCENT V., Peter Tarentasio, was born at Sentron, near that city. Having entered the order of Saint Dominic, he was master of theology, provincial of France, archbishop of Lyons, and then made cardinal-bishop of Ostia by Gregory X. He was presented at the council of Lyons, and took a considerable part in all relating to the Catholic dogma of the procession of the Holy Ghost. He was the first Dominican who became pontiff. On the 21st of January, 1276, the cardinals, ten in number, elected him at Arezzo, on the second day of the conclave.

This pope was crowned at Rome on the 22d of February, the day dedicated to the Chair of Saint Peter.

Rodolph, king of the Romans, preparing to go to Rome to be crowned as emperor, Innocent sent the bishop of Albi to advise him not to enter Italy without first making peace with Charles, king of Sicily. The pope feared that the presence of the two princes would cause a war between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. Innocent reconciled to the Church the Florentines, upon whom Gregory X. had laid an interdict, and he made peace between the people of Lucca and those of Pisa; but while the Church was indulging still more glorious hopes, Innocent died on the 22d of June, 1276, after a reign of five months and two days. He was interred in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran. He left *Notes on the Epistles of Saint Paul*, under the name of Nicholas de Gorâm (folio, Cologne, 1478); and commentaries upon the *Book of Sentences*, printed at Toulouse. There are also four letters of his to be found in Ughelli and Campi (*Istoria Ecclesiastica di Piacenza*); *Postilla in Genesim et Exodum*, a manuscript, preserved in the library of Turin; and many other still unpublished works.*

His eulogium, by the Count de Saint Raphael, is in the fifth volume of *Piemontese Illustri*. His enemies imputed errors to him, but Saint Thomas justified him. His life is in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*.

The Holy See was vacant eighteen days.

* Fleury, iii., p. 601.

188. ADRIAN V.—A. D. 1276.



ADRIAN V. was originally named Ottoboni Fieschi, of the counts of Lavagna, one of the most illustrious Genoese families. He was archdeacon of the churches of Canterbury, Rheims, and Parma. His uncle, Innocent IV., created him cardinal-deacon of Saint Adrian, and he became, in succession, legate to England, Spain, and Germany.

On the 10th of July, 1276, he was raised to the pontificate, as had been predicted by Saint Philip Benizi, the Servite.

On the death of Clement IV., the sacred college deputed Cardinal Fieschi to offer the tiara to Saint Philip Benizi, who replied: "It befits you rather than me." When Adrian was elected and congratulated by his relatives, he replied: "Would to God you were congratulating a healthy cardinal, instead of a dying pope!"

Forty days after his election, Adrian went to Viterbo to smooth away some disagreements between the Church and Rodolph of Hapsburg. While there, he suspended the bull of Gregory X., relating to the conclave, wishing to make some useful additions to it. Shortly afterwards, he died at Viterbo, and was interred in the Church of the Franciscans, and not, as Father Jacob has stated, in that of the Dominicans. Novaes maintains that Adrian had not received the *priesthood*, and had not been consecrated,* which does not prevent him from ranking among the popes, because at that time a legitimate election, and the acceptance of the elected, sufficed to make a lawful pontiff. In the first ten centuries of the Church, on the contrary, a pope was not legitimate until after consecration. Adrian governed the Church thirty-eight days.

The Holy See was vacant twenty-seven days before the election of John XXI.

* Novaes, iii., p. 251. I quote Novaes here because it is a delicate question, and I prefer to rely on a work printed at Rome.



189. JOHN XXI.—A. D. 1276.



JOHN XXI., born of a noble family in the city of Lisbon, Portugal, was originally named Peter, son of Julian. He was sent by his father to Paris, where he studied with brilliant success. Successively dean and master of the schools of Lisbon, and next archdeacon of the church of Braga, he was created cardinal-bishop of Frascati by Gregory X., and finally elected pope at Viterbo, on the 15th of September, 1276, and crowned on the 20th of the same month. On the same day he suspended the constitution of Gregory X., on conclaves (already verbally suspended by Adrian V.), with the intention of improving it. On the 17th of October he received from Charles, king of Sicily, the oath of homage for that kingdom, which the prince had obtained in fief from the Roman Church.

A question arose between Philip, king of France, and Alphonso, king of Castile. John, in order to restore peace, wrote letters to each of them. He induced Alphonso III., king of Portugal, to cease oppressing the churches in his country, and depriving them of their property. He dispatched legates to Michael Paleologus to obtain from that prince the ratification of the peace concluded between the two churches, and sworn to by his ambassadors at the Council of Lyons; and, finally, he happily exerted himself for the preservation to the crusaders of the lands which they still possessed in the Holy Land. John condemned the errors professed in the University of Paris,—errors which resulted from the misreasoning of a false philosophy. He died on the 16th of March, 1277, of a bruise on the head, received while visiting a pontifical palace erecting at Viterbo, one of the rooms falling in upon him.

He had governed the Church eight months and a few days. This pope possessed vast erudition, especially in medicine. He was affable towards inferiors, and an especial friend to men of letters of all countries. Some monastic writers have described him unfavorably. The reason assigned for that is, that he was unfriendly to religious order; and had his reign been prolonged, he would have published a decree for reforming them. John, however, showed great affection for the Franciscans, and it is considered certain that His Holiness was on the point of giving a cardinal's hat to John of Parma, general of that order.

The Holy See was vacant ten months and eight days; and the conclave would have lasted still longer, if the people of Viterbo had not shut up the cardinals in the city palace, to compel them to make a choice.

Under this reign, the Venetians besieged Ancona, because the inhabitants traded with Dalmatia, to the great vexation of the senate. John XXI. had not the means to protect the people of Ancona, but they redoubled their efforts, and the siege of their city was raised.

Platina says that this pope wrote a book, entitled *The Treasures of the Poor*. On the whole, that author speaks in unbecoming terms of this pope, whom he calls *homo stolidus*, because he promised himself a long life, and was killed accidentally.

190. NICHOLAS III.—A. D. 1277.



HE original name of Nicholas III. was John Cajetan Orsini; he was a member of that celebrated family, and a Roman. John Cajetan was created cardinal-deacon of Saint Nicholas *in Carcere*, by Innocent IV. The sacred college then consisted of only eight cardinals. He was elected at Viterbo on the 25th of November, 1277, ordained priest at Rome on the 18th of December, consecrated on the 19th, and crowned on the 26th. Saint Francis had predicted to him that he would be pope and protector of the Franciscan order.

Nicholas induced Rodolph, king of the Romans, to approve, by a diploma, all the concessions, privileges, and confirmations given to the Church by his predecessors, kings of the Romans, and emperors. In order to anticipate any differences that might arise upon those questions at a future time, Nicholas sent to Rodolph the original diplomas given by Louis thè Pious, Otho the Great, and Henry II., in order that those documents might be equally confirmed. Rodolph agreed to these demands, and among the number of the possessions recognized as belonging to the Church, were Ferrara and Comacchio. Finally, that there might be no more doubt as to the possessions, the Holy Father had the diplomas confirmed by the electors of the Holy Roman empire.

Nicholas requested King Charles to renounce the title of senator of Rome, and, by a constitution, forbade that dignity to be given to any foreign king or prince. It was subsequently determined to give the title to no one for

more than a year. A member of the Orsini family received the title of senator. Under the next pontificate, the title was restored to King Charles, and in 1316, John XXII. conferred it upon Robert, also king of Sicily.

The pope wrote to the emperor of the East, Paleologus, to his son Andronicus, to the patriarchs, and the other Greek prelates, to induce them to confirm that peace between the two churches which had been established in the Council of Lyons. Nicholas subsequently received letters from the emperor, in which that prince acknowledged the authority of the sovereign pontiff over all the churches, and protested that he regarded the pope with all due veneration. The emperor further affirmed that he had condemned the schism in the form prescribed to him by the apostolic Holy See, and that he would employ all fitting means to withdraw the Greeks from their schism.

Nicholas caused a sumptuous palace to be built near Saint Peter's, for the pontiffs and their court.

Having learned that tournaments, which various councils had condemned, were re-established in France, Nicholas wrote in a firm tone to the cardinal of Saint Cecilia, his legate in Paris, ordering him to cause the suspension of those exercises, in which some deplorable misfortunes always happen. The pope said that the disasters of the Holy Land should be thought of, and not vain amusements of no benefit to religion.

In 1279, on account of the great heat, the Holy Father retired to Viterbo, and died there of apoplexy, on the 22d of August, 1280. The body was conveyed to the Vatican and deposited in the chapel of Saint Nicholas, which he had built.

Nicholas governed two years, eight months, and twenty-seven days.

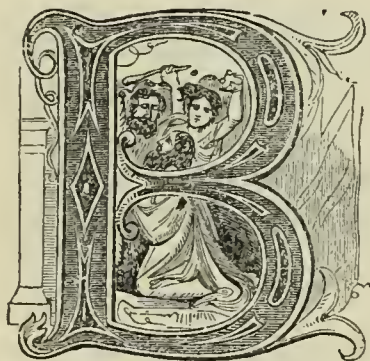
He was endowed with great prudence, and a singular spirit of justice. He filled more quickly than any of his predecessors the bishoprics that became vacant. When he conferred the priesthood, he scrupulously chose the holiest men rather than the most learned men; saying, "that knowledge without goodness was a poison without antidote. He had a great soul, and untiring activity; he loved the religious orders, especially that of Saint Francis. In approving the judgment of Gregory IV. upon the stigmata of that saint, he did not forget that, when cardinal, he had been named protector of that order. The purity of his life and conduct was such, that he was surnamed *il composto*, the Polite. Every one knew him by that name, at which he took no offence. Generous in almsgiving, he was also endowed with other excellent virtues. It were to be wished that he had not somewhat weakened those virtues by a spirit of nepotism, that prompted him to enrich his family.

It has been affirmed that he designed to divide the empire into four kingdoms—Germany, Vienne in Dauphiny, Lombardy, and Tuscany. But,

while revolving such a project, Nicholas must have left France out of his calculation,—a country which would not suffer itself with impunity to be thus dismembered.

It has been imagined that upon one of those thrones he would have placed at least one of the members of his own family. The Orsini had then an idea which the Medici entertained. A pope, born a prince, who had enriched his family, was more blamable than a pope who had risen from the lower ranks of society. The aggrandizement of princes already powerful, increased that facility of Roman rebellion which produced so many evils in those times. The Holy See was vacant ten months and one day.

191. MARTIN II.—A. D. 1281.



Y some authors Martin II. is ranked as Martin IV. We have seen that the seventy-fifth pope was called Martin I., and the one hundred and tenth pope was called Marin (Marinus) I. But then Martin or Marin was the same name; so, Marin I. was Martin II. The hundred and thirty-first pope was called Marinus II., which is equivalent to Martin III. He, therefore, who is named by some, and particularly in the *Diario* of Rome, Martin II., is, properly speaking, to be called Martin IV., for the subsequent Pope Martin, whom we shall find reigning in 1417, is officially recognized as Martin V. We are here treating of Martin IV., and close with him the confusion of the names of Marinus and Martin. The original name of this pope was Simon de Brion, and he was born in the castle of Montpensier, in Touraine. He for a long time resided in Tours, where he was a regular canon, and treasurer of the church of Saint Martin. Saint Louis named Simon keeper of the seals, in 1260. Urban IV., in 1262, made him cardinal-priest of Saint Cecilia. Gregory X. sent him to France as apostolical legate.

Simon was unanimously elected to the pontificate, in the city of Viterbo, on the 11th of February, 1281. He then made so strong and determined a resistance that the cardinals, inflamed with a holy zeal, tore away from him his costume as cardinal, and forcibly clad him in the papal habits. Yielding to force, and no longer venturing to resist, he was crowned on the 23d of March at Orvieto.

The Roman people having suffered great evils because the powerful families of Orsini and Annibaldi had each named a senator during the conclave, now gave to the new pope the rank of senator of Rome, and the pope restored it to Charles, king of Sicily, from whom it had been taken by Nicholas III.

Martin excommunicated Michael Paleologus, because he had perpetuated the schism, after promising by his ambassadors to Lyons, and afterwards in person between the hands of the legate, that he would remove all division between the two Churches.

In 1282, he excommunicated the authors of the Sicilian Vespers—that massacre in which the Sicilians assassinated four thousand Provençals. He also excluded from communion Peter III., king of Aragon, an accomplice of the conspirators, and deposed that prince from the throne of Aragon, which he conferred upon Charles of Valois, son of King Philip of France.

If it is surprising that the popes, as is often said, gave away kingdoms which did not belong to them, is it any less so that princes accepted such gifts? Did not that acceptance confess the right of the popes to depose a monarch, and dispose of a crown as they deemed fitting? What proves that this jurisprudence was then generally accepted is, that the kings themselves did not dispute it. It is wrong to impute the blame of this solely to the popes. "The conduct of other courts," says the Count d'Albon (*Discours sur l'Histoire le Gouvernement, &c., de plusieurs Nations de l'Europe*), "is not less reprehensible, and is far more inconceivable. In those unsettled times, when the pope had pronounced sentence of excommunication against a prince, the other potentates hastened to enter with all their forces into the States of the unfortunate prince, not to preserve them for him, but to seize upon them and inhumanly enrich themselves with his spoils. Could they more strongly accredit error? And could the usurpers complain if the example they had given became fatal to themselves? At the second Council of Lyons, the English ambassador was the only one who ventured to speak in defence of the rights of the Emperor Frederic II.; the ministers of all the other courts preserved a profound silence. This tacit consent, on which modern writers affect silence, is far more astonishing than what was done in the assembly against Frederic. Moreover, even had the sovereign pontiffs been the first to give currency to that false opinion, they did not take advantage of it to subject new countries to their rule. They derived no advantage from their policy. Why then attribute it to them as a crime, while saying nothing about those who more than once knew how to profit by the consent?" Novaes,* in his life of Martin IV., professes the same doctrine.

* Novaes, iv., p. 7.

In 1285, the pope complained of the violence of Ranieri, governor of Orvieto, and being unable to go to Rome, he took refuge in Perugia. There he fell sick, and died in four days.

Martin governed four years, one month, and four days. He was magnificent, of great courage in the affairs of the Church, learned, prudent, adorned by shining virtues, and detached from his relatives. One of them having visited him, he gave him a small sum to pay his travelling expenses, and said: "The property we have belongs to the Church and not to us. We cannot dispose of it."

The Holy See was vacant three days. Martin has been accused of being too favorable to Charles of Anjou, and of having on several occasions shown him undue partiality, but the miracles that accompanied the death of this pope, and the prodigies that were witnessed around his tomb, sufficiently prove that the pontiff never exceeded the limits of justice. We did not dwell upon Martin's excommunication of the actors on the massacre known as the *Sicilian Vespers*. That catastrophe is always reported in the same manner, and writers do not perceive that, in our days, when we cultivate the *study of facts*, it would be as well not to continue to say exactly the same thing about an event which is now better understood.

The following details we take from *Italie* (p. 98):

"Charles being unable further to extend his domination in Italy, where he was stopped by the same obstacle which had repressed the Lombards, meditated an expedition against Constantinople; but John da Procida of Salerno, on beholding Conradine throw his glove from the scaffold on which he was executed, had sworn to revenge the death of that prince. John retired to the court of Constantia, daughter of Manfred and queen of Aragon, the last heiress of Suabia, because Frederic II., by his will, had, in default of legitimate heirs, declared Manfred, his natural son, heir to all his rights of sovereignty. John da Procida was welcomed as a faithful friend.

"Peter III., called the Great, the husband of Constantia, had been solemnly crowned king of Aragon. To indemnify John for his seignorial rights in the island of Procida (the same island which travellers now visit to see the manners and dress of the Greeks, which its inhabitants still preserve), the king made him a baron of the kingdom of Valencia. Procida gave little heed to that dignity. Of a firm nature and an inflexible will, he passed no day without seeking means of avenging the death of his master. He had twice travelled to Constantinople to engage Paleologus to assist Peter of Aragon with money, and had obtained thirty thousand ounces of gold, which was to serve to hasten the preparations for the invasion in Sicily. Many authors have represented the events in Palermo as the result of an assault by a Provençal upon a young woman. That Provençal is said to have been

named Drouet.* There was, in fact, at the hour of Vespers, on Easter Monday, 1282, a quarrel between the Provençals and the Palermitans; but that quarrel, like many that had preceded it, would probably have had no serious consequences, had there not existed a formidable conspiracy, in which Peter of Aragon, some Sicilian nobles, and the emperor of the Greeks, who at the same time flattered the pope with promises of a return to Catholicity, all engaged. It is true that the discontents of the Sicilians had so irritated them, that only a slight spark was needed to kindle that great fire. This point of history, however, has not been sufficiently studied. An attentive perusal of John Villani will suffice to make it clear that a vast conspiracy had been in existence for two years; that John da Procida was to give the signal when Peter of Aragon should be at hand; that it was not till the moment the latter was off the neighboring coast, that the cry was raised of—‘A woman has been attacked by a Provençal, in a public festival.’ Then *le genti erano tenere*—the people—were ripe; the whole nation was excited against the soldiers of Charles; and yet the young woman, the Provençal Drouet, and the insulting attack, were just so many falsehoods invented for the purpose of forwarding the views of the conspirators.

“In fact, the battle having once begun, the massacre was continued throughout Sicily by the efforts of the conspiracy, which became universal, and which demanded to the very last victim the many foreigners there, including, no doubt, some virtuous knights.”†

The Italians, without consulting one of the fathers of their history, *John Villani*, have almost all given to that frightful event the color which it still bears. I can conceive that national pride has delighted to keep its remembrance alive; I can conceive that it is preserved as an eternal menace to foreigners who should invade and ill-treat that beautiful country; and I can conceive its provoking enthusiastic applause in a peninsular theatre; but I cannot conceive how European historians have needed such a lapse of time to enable them to discover *the truth*, the august and eternal *truth*, which is surely not to be found in tales almost always founded on hostile chronicles.

Charles had committed a crime in putting Conradine to death, but both West and East had witnessed that crime without denouncing it. Clement IV. was dead or dying before the execution of Conradine, and the conclave which named his successor, Gregory X., lasted three years. That fact is not to be overlooked. That crime would have been reproached and punished, had there been a pontiff in a condition to make his authority respected.

* It is impossible without disgust to read the note of Voltaire to this passage, on the *Manners, Morals, &c., of Nations*; in Desoer's edition, Paris, 1817. In vol. iv., p. 374, line 41, there is a word which belongs only to the vile language of the most depraved.

† *Italy*, p. 99.

It chanced at the same time that there was at Salerno a nobleman who had been the confidant of Frederic II., and educated in that court of elegance and pleasure; that that confidant of Frederic had been the friend of that prince's son Manfred—a prince of warlike qualities; that that friend of Manfred had been the faithful counsellor of the grandson of Frederic; and it happened that this Salernian noble had sworn to avenge his late masters, both slain by Charles,—the one, nobly in battle, the other, vilely on the scaffold. It also happened that in Spain that nobleman had said to Peter, a valiant and ambitious king: "How, do you not find yourself pent up here in Aragon, and do you not think of adding to your states that Sicily which ought to be yours?" And that at Constantinople that nobleman had said to Michael Paleologus: "Charles wants to be the sixth French king in your capital; give Peter gold to pay his armaments, and you will not lose your empire."

Thence a conspiracy, with a thousand inextricable ramifications, confided to malcontents who were often seriously offended by Charles, carried on under the eyes of a credulous, presumptuous, and ill-disciplined army. Michael lavished gold, and Peter embarked soldiers. John da Procida exclaimed that a woman was insulted by a Provençal, and fourteen thousand Provençals are pitilessly butchered,—not that Charles shall be driven from Italy, for his son and grandson will reign at Naples, and Conradine will not be completely avenged, but only that Michael shall remain in peace in Constantinople, and Peter be crowned king in Palermo.

We shall have no difficulty in reversing falsehoods. Should we not give to every one his due?—to Charles *his ranks ill taken and ill kept*; to Michael his native perfidy; to Peter his greed, based on the rights of illegitimate children—rights which were then recognized; to Procida his fidelity and his skilful constancy; and, finally, to Pope Martin—one of the successors of Clement IV., who had given Naples and Sicily to Charles, because kingdoms were thus given in those days—to Martin the idea of aiding Charles, of repulsing Peter, and of indirectly punishing Paleologus for so many insults to the Holy See?

It seems to us that we have here written history in its fitting language; it should respect all that is confirmed by good sense, but it should have no mercy upon romances, however long an existence they may have usurped.

Novaes (iv., p. 6) declares that a document exists, published on the square of Saint Flavian's church, at Montefiascone, in 1282, which renews the excommunication pronounced by Martin against Peter III., king of Aragon, guilty of having usurped the throne of Sicily. Rainaldi, under the date of 6th of February, 1283, reports another document, from which it appears that the said Peter III. was again excommunicated for having, at Bordeaux, challenged King Charles of Sicily to single combat. The latter is excom-

municated too, if he accepts the challenge; "that kind of combat," says the pope, "being prohibited and condemned, by both the holy canons and the ecclesiastical laws."

192. HONORIUS IV.—A. D. 1285.



HONORIUS IV., James Savelli, belonged to a very distinguished Roman family. He was a canon of Barcelona. Urban IV. made him cardinal-deacon of Saint Mary in *Cosmedin*. Adrian V. sent him, with two other cardinals, to terminate the differences which still existed between Rodolph, king of the Romans, and Charles, king of Sicily. James was elected supreme pontiff, in spite of his resistance, on the second day of the conclave, held at Perugia on the 2d of April, 1285. At Rome, he received the priesthood on the 14th of May, was consecrated on the 15th, and crowned on the 20th. He was so tortured by the gout that he could not celebrate Mass without instruments which assisted him to move his hands.

In 1286, the Holy Father condemned an order called the Order of the Apostles, which was founded or obstinately propagated by Gerard Segarelli, of Parma. This innovator, having been expelled from the Franciscan order, dressed, as he told his followers, after the manner of the apostles. He said that at length they had reached the time of the Holy Ghost and of charity. These fanatics, moreover, followed the errors of the Albigenses or of the Waldenses, and of the *Patarini*.

The Holy Father excommunicated James of Aragon, son of Peter III., king of Aragon; because he continued to usurp the royal power in Sicily.

Honorius IV. had studied in the University of Paris, and was much attached to that establishment, which enjoyed great celebrity. The pope ordered Arabic and other oriental languages, necessary to those sent to strengthen the faith among the schismatics and the Saracens, to be taught in that university.

The pope governed two years and two days. He died on the 3d of April, 1287. He was interred in the Vatican, and by order of Paul III. his body was removed afterwards to the church of Araceli.

The Holy See remained vacant ten months and eighteen days. This delay was caused by no misunderstanding or want of agreement among the

cardinals. When they were assembled in conclave, in the palace of Saint Sabina, a pestilence broke out, which obliged them to seek change of air, six of them having fallen victims, and the others being sick. They did not name a pope until the scourge had ceased its ravages. Their choice then fell upon Cardinal Tineus, who, in spite of the pestilence, had not quitted that palace, but contented himself with having a great fire kept burning all around the building, to purify the air. This, he said, was the remedy that Hippocrates recommended to the Athenians.*

In Wadding's *Annals* and Ughelli's *Italia* there are some letters of this pope, full of wisdom and mildness; yet he must be deemed somewhat too liberal towards his family. Many of the princely families of Rome, when they obtained the tiara for a member, often wearied him with requests that he lacked courage to refuse.

193. NICHOLAS IV.—A. D. 1288.



NICHOLAS IV., named Tineus, of an obscure family in Alessiano, in the diocese of Ascoli, was a Minor Observantine, and became the first general of the Franciscans after Saint Bonaventure, and the first pope of that order. As legate from Gregory X. to Constantinople, he contributed to bring the Greeks back for a moment to the Roman Church. We have seen that he alone would not leave the palace of Saint Sabina, in which the conclave was assembled. This courageous conduct was not dictated by any paltry self-interest. When the tiara was offered to him he rejected it, and endeavored to put forth the greater merits of other cardinals. On the 22d of February, 1288, he was unanimously proclaimed, and he was obliged to submit to his coronation on the 24th. In the first year of his pontificate, Pope Nicholas granted privileges to the brethren of his order. Firstly, as many doubted their exemption, he declared them immediately subject to the Holy See, and

* This fact is mentioned in a life of Hippocrates of the second century, but it is now considered apocryphal. Fires have been lighted in times of pestilence, but without arresting the scourge. Feller, like many others, repeats this ancient fiction, attributed to Soranus, of whom Regnaudin, in the *Biog. Univ.*, speaks as a *Greek and uncertain* writer. This rectification does not diminish the glory of the prince of physicians and the founder of the healing art. Moreover, perhaps his writings and advice combated the contagion of which Thucydides has left us so terrible a description.

absolutely exempt from every other jurisdiction ; adding, that all the property, fixed or movable, of which they had the use, was the property of Saint Peter, in conformity to the bull *Exiit qui seminat* of Nicholas III. This bull of Nicholas IV. is dated at Rome, April 30th, 1288. By another, of May 6th, given at Rieti, he ordered that no Friar Minor who, after profession, should pass into another order, should be raised to any charge, dignity, or prelacy, without the express permission of the Holy See. In case the place of their abode should fall under interdict, he permitted them to confess each other, receive absolution, recite the office, and say Mass with closed doors, without the bells being rung, and without being obliged to admit any one but the members of the order ; and, finally, to communicate on the accustomed days, and in case of need to receive extreme unction. He also gave special privileges to some houses of the order, among others to that at Assisi. He forbade any other religious to settle in that city : if necessity compelled them to do so, their establishment was to be four hundred yards from the walls. He intended thereby to prevent any diminution of the alms on which the brothers and sisters of the order of Saint Francis subsisted.

In 1289, Nicholas removed the interdict which, sixteen years before, Gregory X. had laid upon the kingdom of Portugal, when Alphonso III. had usurped the property of the Church, and reduced all the ecclesiastics to beggary.

On the 29th of May, the pope crowned, in the Vatican Basilica, Charles II., king of Sicily, on the same conditions that had been imposed on the father of that prince by Clement IV. In virtue of a constitution (Rainaldi, 1289, n. 69), he divided the income of the Roman Church into two parts, the one allotted to the pontiff and the other to the cardinals. This constitution has not been in force for many years ; other arrangements are made for the income of the cardinals, which is very limited considering their high dignity.

To Nicholas is due the foundation of the University of Montpelier, which the founder, in his diploma of the 26th of October, calls *a city created for study*. Subsequently, he granted great privileges to the university established at Lisbon by King Dennis.

Nicholas, ever watchful for the maintenance and propagation of religion, exhorted all the princes upon the earth with unwearied zeal, to form a numerous crusade to arrest the progress of the victorious sultan of Babylon, who in 1290 took the city of Tripoli from the Christians. As the aid was not sent as quickly as the Holy Father desired, the city of Acre, the last that the Christians still possessed in Syria, was attacked and taken by the same sultan. This deeply grieved Nicholas, who made new but still vain efforts to stimulate the zeal of the Catholic princes. The loss was irrepa-

nable. It was no longer Saladin who fought against the Christians; the Sultan Cahil was an odious barbarian. In spite of the efforts of Henry, king of Cyprus and of Jerusalem, of the Templars, Hospitallers, and the Christians in Palestine, the city of Acre was taken by storm.

The master of the Templars was killed fighting valiantly. The patriarch of Jerusalem, Nicolas, was urged to escape by open sea, the port being still free. The holy man was dragged against his will, by his people, to a boat, that they might convey him to a galley not far off. But he charitably received so many fugitives into the boat that she went down. Thus perished the last Latin patriarch of Jerusalem who resided in the country.

In Acre there was a famous convent of Poor Clares. The superior being informed that the Saracens were in the city, assembled all the sisterhood in chapter and said: "My daughters, let us despise this life, in order that we may preserve for our heavenly Spouse pure hearts in pure bodies: do as you see me do." Immediately she cut off her nose, and her face was bathed in blood. The others followed her example, and cut their faces in various manners. The Saracens entering the convent scimeter in hand, were astounded at the sight; then, horror turning into fury, they butchered all the holy women. The Franciscan friars of Saint Jean d'Acre were also all killed.

The Saracens carried off more than thirty thousand prisoners, after having killed a like number of the inhabitants. On the day of the taking of Acre, the inhabitants of Tyre abandoned their city without making any defence. Those of Beyrout also surrendered without resistance. The Latin Christians lost every thing that had remained to them in the country. Most of those who escaped retired to the isle of Cyprus.

So closed the wars for the conquest and recovery of the Holy Land, which had lasted one hundred and ninety-five years, from 1098 to 1291.

Nicholas added pure intentions to the talents necessary to fulfil the duties of his high station. He had been employed in the most delicate business, and the popes who had given him their confidence had reason to rejoice over the success of so enlightened a nuncio. It is remarkable that in the affairs of Rome the ablest and most experienced persons generally attained the tiara; their being acquainted with men and things has given so many popes truly great, and possessed of the difficult art of governing.

Nicholas was a prudent philosopher and a good theologian; he governed the Church wisely, and he appeased some of the dissensions which had arisen at Rome and in the Ecclesiastical States. Father Felix Mattei published a life of Nicholas, from a manuscript in the Vatican, the author of which was Jerome Rubeo.

This pope governed the Church four years, one month, and fourteen days. He died on the 4th of April, Good Friday, 1292, and, as he had desired,

was interred in a simple tomb in Saint Mary Major. He was so humble, this worthy religious, that he said: "We would rather be the cook to our brethren, than a cardinal; we accepted the purple only from fear of offending our order." He was also accustomed to say: "We have relations: these relations are all men who are distinguished by knowledge and virtue."

The Holy See was vacant two years, three months, and two days. There were twelve cardinals, but they were divided in opinion,—six Romans, four Italians, and two French. Villani (liv. i., chap. 150) says: "*Quærentibus illis quæ sua, non quæ Jesu Christi, tantum dilata est electio*—The election was so long delayed because they cared for their own interest, and not for that of Christ."

194. ST. CELESTINE V.—A. D. 1294.



SAINT CELESTINE V. was originally called Peter of Morroni, from a mountain near Sulmona, where he led a solitary life. He was born near the castle of Molisa in the territory of Lavoro, in the year 1215, and was the eleventh of twelve sons of Angelerio, a farmer.

He was first a Benedictine monk in the monastery of Faifoli, in the diocese of Benevento, which he entered at the age of twenty. He left in 1239, with the permission of the abbot, to go and do penance in the caves of Morroni, where he spent five years. Thence he went to the mountain of Majella, in Apulia, where he founded the order of the Celestines. He was prior of the order when he was elected pope at Perugia, on the 5th of July, 1294, principally at the solicitation of the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, a Roman of the Malabranca family.

This cardinal, to put an end to the discords which rent the sacred college, proposed that they should choose this hermit, well known for his sanctity, and who was then at Rome on a visit to a house of his order, which had just been founded there.

Peter of Morroni, therefore, was unanimously elected, and the decree of his election was forwarded to him; but he firmly refused to accept. His refusal was only overcome by the entreaties of the cardinals and of King Charles II., of Naples, and of Andrew, king of Hungary. Those princes went to him and entreated him to accept. They told him that there was

no other method of remedying the evils suffered by Christianity, and that it was his duty to accept the pontificate to which God had called him.

Francis Petrarch writes* that Peter had meditated escaping from their importunities by flight, but the people flocked about him, and he was obliged to yield to their cries and commands. Almost frenzied, Peter set out for Aquila, which he entered mounted on an ass, the bridle of which was held by King Charles and the king of Hungary. He had written to the cardinals that, on account of the heat, he could not proceed to Perugia, and they repaired to Aquila to take part in the ceremonies of his coronation, on the 29th of August, in the church of the Celestines, of Collemaggio. Afterwards, mounted no longer on an ass, but upon a beautiful white horse, he made his entrance into the city amidst the acclamations of a multitude of people, who had gathered from all parts to see the first personage in the world, who so recently had been only a lowly hermit, poor, often suffering from hunger.

Shortly after the coronation, the Holy Father made a promotion of twelve cardinals, seven of whom were French; and then he resolved upon going to Naples.

Meanwhile, Celestine, regretting his liberty, resolved to recover it. He showed that resolution more plainly after the death of Cardinal Latino, to whom he had intrusted the principal business of the pontificate. Celestine knew that the cardinals were ill pleased with him. The twelve new members of the sacred college, seven French, as we have said, and five Italians, had been created without the former cardinals being consulted. He began to be spoken of as a man reared in the woods, and unfit to wear the tiara. Impelled by such considerations, he first declared that the pope might freely renounce the pontificate, and then he soon desired to make that renunciation; not, as some authors have pretended, because Cardinal Benedict Gaetani, who succeeded him, told him through a trumpet, as though the voice came from heaven, that he ought to resign the tiara. This is a wretched fable, unsupported by any contemporary evidence.

He voluntarily resigned the pontificate at Naples, on the 13th of December, 1294, after governing five months and nine days.

Chacon gives the formula of his renunciation:

“We, Celestine, Pope V., moved by legitimate reasons, that is to say, for the sake of humility, of a better life, and an unspotted conscience, of weakness of body and of want of knowledge, the malignity of the people, and personal infirmity, to recover the tranquillity and consolation of our former life, do freely and voluntarily resign the pontificate, the place, the dignity, occupation, and honors of which we expressly renounce and we give full

* Lib. ii., *de Vit. Solit.*; sect. 3, cap. 18.

and free faculty to the college of cardinals canonically to elect a Pastor of the Universal Church.”*

This done, in a consistory publicly held in the city of Naples, he laid aside all the pontifical insignia, and with a noble and modest, yet lofty bearing, seated himself at the feet of the cardinals.

The Holy See was vacant ten days. For the first time the law of Gregory X., confirmed by Celestine V., was observed, which provided that a conclave should not be commenced until nine days after death or renunciation of a pope.

Well pleased, he who had again become Peter of Morroni retired to his hermitage of Majella, to devote himself to perpetual prayer and uninterrupted mortification. His successor, Boniface, fearing some schism that was or speedily might be threatened,† not from the will of the holy hermit, who was far from having such a thought, but because the simplicity of his heart might not be proof against the wiles of the enemies of the new pope, his successor—Boniface, we say, caused search to be made after Peter, that he might be carefully guarded against all danger. The saint was informed of this, and although he had no thought but to give himself entirely to God, he kept himself concealed during two months. Some time after, he determined to go to Dalmatia, but a storm drove him to Viesta, a city of the Capitanate, where he was recognized by the governor, who sent him to Anagni, where his successor was. Thence he was sent to the castle of Fumone, a short distance from Ferentino, where, for ten months, he languished in prison.‡ Celestine, at the age of eighty-one years, bore this treatment with an apostolical constancy. He died on the 19th of March, 1296, and, by order of Boniface, his body was carried with pomp to Ferentino. His heart is preserved in the church of the Poor Clares. Subsequently, his body was removed to the monastery of the Celestines, at Aquila. Clement V. canonized Celestine at Avignon, on the 5th of March, 1313, seventeen years after his death.

The life of Saint Celestine has been written by various authors. First, by Celestino Talera, abbot of the Celestines. That life precedes the works of the pontiffs printed at Naples, in 1640. Among the works are: *Relatio vitæ suæ; de Virtutibus, de Vitiis, de Hominis vanitate, de Exemplis, et de Sententiis patrum*. Other Celestine monks have also written his life. Cardinal Peter d'Ailly is the author of another life in Latin; which was improved in style by Dionysius Faber, prior of the Celestines of Paris, and printed in that city, 4to, in 1539. There is another life of this pontiff by Vincent Spinelli, procurator-general of the order; Rome, 1664, 8vo. Lelio Marini, also published the life of the holy pontiff in Italian; 4to, Milan, 1637.

* See also Novæ, iv., 28.

† Ibid., 29.

‡ Ibid., 28.

Under this reign occurred the miracle of the removal of the *Santa Casa*, or holy house, into Italy. I will quote Novaes (iv., p. 33): "In 1291, in the same year when the infidels got possession of Saint Jean d'Acre, on the ninth day of May, the *Holy House*, in which the divine Word was made flesh, was carried by angels into Dalmatia, between Tersate and Fiume, on the Adriatic. Three years and seven months after, that is to say, on the 10th of December, 1294, the same Holy House was transported to a spot near Ancona, in a wood belonging to a woman named Lereto; and eight months after, moved to another place, not far off—the same where the church now stands. It is the most celebrated sanctuary in the Christian world. Before it was despoiled of its riches, it had twenty gold lamps, given chiefly by the republic of Venice, and sixty other lamps of silver. The church which contains the *Casa Santa*, or Holy House, was commenced by Paul II., the two hundred and fifteenth pope, and finished in 1577, under Gregory XI.

"France possesses, at Loretto, property given for the purpose by Cardinal de Joyeuse. Pious persons, travelling in Italy, never fail to make a holy pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loretto. Many excellent works give a description of this imposing sanctuary."

195. BONIFACE VIII.—A. D. 1294.



BONIFACE VIII., originally named Benedict Gaetani, was a member of that illustrious family, and born at Anagni. He was successively canon of Todi, of Paris, of Lyons, and the Vatican Basilica, consistorial advocate, and apostolical prothonotary. On the 12th of April, 1281, he was created cardinal by Martin IV.; then Nicholas IV. named him cardinal-priest of Saints Sylvester and Martin. Martin IV., who knew him to be a man of talent, dexterity, and fidelity, sent him as legate to King Charles, of Sicily, to prevent him from warring against the king of Aragon, and to keep the subjects of both kings in their devotion to the Roman court. He was afterwards sent with another cardinal to restore peace between King Philip, of France, and Edward, of England, and to defend the rights of the Church in both countries. Nicholas IV. deputed him, with other cardinals, to inquire into and arrange the differences between Dennis, king of Portugal, and the clergy of that kingdom. After these many signal services, Cardinal Gaetani was unanimously elected pope



on the 24th of December, 1294, at Castel Nuovo, near the city of Naples, where the cardinals were assembled in conclave.

After accepting the pontificate on the 2d of January, 1295, he, in company with Charles II., king of Sicily, and Charles Martel, his son, king of Hungary, set out for Rome, where he was consecrated and crowned by Cardinal Matthew Rosso Orsini, the first deacon, on the 16th of the month of January. When he went to the Basilica of Saint John Lateran he rode a magnificent palfrey, of which the two kings held the bridle reins. They also, wearing their crowns, presented him at table with the first two dishes, and then seated themselves at the cardinals' table.

The first cares of Boniface were directed to the pacification of Italy. He reduced Sicily to obedience to the Holy See; and he succeeded in restoring a sufficient concord between the kings of France and England. He dissuaded the king of the Romans from his intention of attacking France, and sought means to destroy all the factions that divided the Christian princes. New efforts were made to reunite the Greeks to the faith; and, finally, every effort was made to aid in the recovery of the Holy Land, from which the Catholics had been driven by the Mussulmans.

At the conclusion of a peace between Charles II., of Naples, and the king of Aragon, Charles swore fidelity to Pope Boniface, in the church of Saint Sabina.

In the year 1295, Boniface ordered the feasts of the Holy Evangelists, and of the four Doctors of the Church—Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome—to be celebrated as doubles. He ordered that at Rome there should be for the future a general academy of all the faculties.

Boniface, perceiving that some princes oppressed the clergy with imposts, published, on the 21st of September, 1296, a bull which he caused to be inserted in the sixth book of the *Decretals*, to remedy that evil. The clauses of the bull were singularly softened for France, at the request of some of the prelates of the kingdom. The sixth book, entitled the *Sexte*, was printed at Mayence in 1465, folio. The editions published about the end of the fifteenth century are without value.

The bull in question is called the bull *Clericis laicos*. In it the pope says: "Antiquity shows us the enmity of laymen against the clergy, and our experience in the present time manifestly supports that teaching, since, without considering that they have no power over the persons or the property of ecclesiastics, the laity lay imposts upon the prelates and the clergy, both regular and secular; and we grieve to say, that some prelates and other ecclesiastics, having more fear of the temporal majesty than of the eternal, acquiesce in that abuse. That we may obviate this, we order that all the prelates and ecclesiastics, regular or secular, who pay to the laymen tithes or any other portion of their revenues, under the name of aid, subvention,

or any other, without the authority of the Holy See, and the kings, princes, and magistrates, and all others who shall impose such burdens, or who shall give aid and counsel thereto, shall incur excommunication, absolution from which is reserved to the Holy See, notwithstanding any privilege."

Fleury adds, brusquely: "The aversion of the laity to the clergy, which the pope speaks of at the outset, goes back to no ancient date, for during the first five or six centuries, the clergy attracted universal respect and affection by a charitable and disinterested conduct."*

This bitter reflection, which does not touch the depth of the matter, is all the more unseasonable, since, as we have said, the measures prescribed by that bull were modified, as Fleury himself admits, on the representations of several bishops of France.

So, having pretended to point out the *prepotency* of Rome, Fleury is compelled to confess that this prepotency kept within just bounds. Grieved as I am at the undue bias of an author who has so long formed the opinions of French seminaries, I yet do not wish to say of Fleury, as was said of Benno, *obtrectatio et livor*. I only remark that it is not astonishing that in the first five or six centuries the popes spoke less warmly in favor of the clergy. Fleury is one of those authors who have best taught us that the popes did not then possess so much power; but he is an author, too, who often in spite of himself has taught us that nations laid at the feet of the popes the confidence, the power, and we may almost say *the keys of the capitals of all countries*, circumstances which often embarrassed them in the necessary development of the great interests of the Catholic cause.

Boniface being at Orvieto on the 11th of August, 1297, canonized Louis IX., king of France, who died at Tunis on the 25th of August, 1270. Fleury gives with precision the details concerning the labors and negotiations relating to the canonization. This part of Fleury's account is very satisfactory, and the more interesting to us because foreign writers seem to have attached but little importance to those facts. But Fleury had his own fixed opinion; he did not like Boniface VIII. Such prejudices are deplorable in a historian.

He says:† "At length Boniface determined that King Louis should be included among the saints.

"He delivered two sermons upon the subject at Orvieto, the first in his palace, the Tuesday before Saint Lawrence, that is to say on the 6th of August, 1297, and in them summed up the proceedings preliminary to the canonization. Among other things he said: 'Pope Nicholas III. affirmed that the virtues of that saint were so well known to him that he would have canonized him if he had seen two or three miracles.' And again: 'The

* Fleury, v., pp. 89, 655.

† Ibid, v., lxxxix., p. 641.

matter has been so often inquired into that the documents about it are *more than an ass could carry*.' Boniface delivered the other sermon in the church of the Friars Minors, in Orvieto, on the same day that he published the bull of canonization, which was the eleventh of August. The bull, which is dated on the same day, and addressed to all the bishops of France, gives an abridged life of the saint, with many of his miracles, and orders his feast to be celebrated on the anniversary of his death, the morrow of Saint Bartholomew, that is to say, the 25th of August."

That is all that Fleury finds to say upon one of the most beautiful bulls a pontiff ever sent forth. It is the sub-preceptor of the king of France who thus calmly speaks of one of the greatest princes of the earth, of the grandfather of the monarch who, by Robert de Clermont, sixth son of Louis IX., descended directly from the great king. Was there in France another dynasty that was jealous of the glories of the preceding kings? And that fine selection of phrase: "*More writings than an ass could carry!*" Ah! this time ungrateful and partial historian, corrupter of your pupil's sensibilities, you have deserved what Marchetti has directly and positively said of you (vol. i., p. 231 of his *Critica*), with reference to less censurable passages.*

The Archbishop of Ancyra adds: "The general reader relishes censure of the most distinguished personages, because at bottom men like these censures as true, though they are not only companions of malignity but even worse than it." Marchetti continues: "But the duty of the historian is to say that which is the most *true*, and not that which is the most *agreeable*. In that case only the applause of the minority will be obtained, because wise men are few in number, but *stultorum infinitus est numerus*—*infinite is the number of the fools*; but, for my part, I value more the estimation of those who love truth, than I do the approval of men of no weight: *Sufficit unus Plato pro cuncto populo*—*one Plato outweighs a whole unreasoning mob*."

I will not interrupt the archbishop in his judgment. "Let it not be supposed that I wish to carry things to an extreme, and to deny all that is said in so many tales about the *personal* failings of the popes. The great master of ecclesiastical history, Baronius, had not ears so delicate that he would refuse to hear the *fruits of man*; suffice it to say that Muratori, in the Italian annals of the tenth century, has, by new monuments, proved that the personal vices of the pontiffs of that time were less than those that have been registered by Baronius himself."

What reply can be made to the holy indignation of the archbishop of Ancyra?

* *Critica de la Storia Ecclesiastica del sig.* Abate Claudio Fleury: 8vo., Rome, 1819; third edition.

Now that I am writing the history of Boniface, I may be permitted to examine one of the great acts of that pontificate—that bull of canonization which interests not only the sovereigns of France, but all sovereigns upon the earth. It matters not from what country a great example comes; when it is so noble, so precisely known, it belongs to the whole universe. On examining the style of the document, too, we shall see whether we can detect the low and unbecoming language ascribed to a sermon of this pope.

This Constitution,* so honorable to the royal family of France, and evincing so clearly the great literary talent of Boniface VIII., for the elegance of the Latinity is remarkable, is too little known. I will make some quotations from the history of Dante Alighieri, in which that act is reported at some length.† The pope commences thus: “Let all who cultivate the orthodox faith, and whose hope is in God, exclaim in the tenderest accents of devotion, *Gloria, praise, and honor*‡ to the Father of Light, who giveth all that is great and perfect! How the multitudes of the denizens of heaven rejoice at the arrival of a new, and so eminent and glorious inhabitant!§ How the glorious inhabitants of heaven sing hymns of joy, and they behold such a fellow-citizen of the New Jerusalem arrive among them! How the venerable assembly of the saints exults in joyful rapture over the addition of such a consort! Arise, numerous multitudes of the faithful, and sing with the Church the hymns of praise!”||

Then follows the portrait of Louis: “He was assuredly of the most illustrious birth, opulent in wealth, sublime in virtues, elegant in manners, excellent in wisdom, abhorring all evil and shameful thought.

“He so purely adhered to the ways and works of modesty, he so well knew how to avoid the contagion of the flesh, that many believed that he would have been a virgin throughout life had he not accepted the tie which bound him to a wife. He long held the reins of State in France, and held the helm there, when surrounded by shoals, with a far-seeing circumspection; he was never fatal, or insulting, or violent to any one; he marvellously confined himself within the limits of justice, which he ardently loved, never stepping to the right hand or to the left from the path of equity.”

Further on, the bull with a most energetic vivacity of style describes the

* *Gloria, laus, et honor.* Bullar. Roman., vol. iii., part 3, p. 88.

† *Hist. de Dante Alighieri*, p. 88.

‡ The modern idiom places the words that occur first in the bull in the second or third line.

§ Boniface does not here accuse Louis of having dictated the sixth article of the *Pragmatic Sanction* which, considering its date and the approaching danger of a crusade, we still consider a forgery, and perhaps of the time of a hostile king. As in 1269 there was no pope, the Roman court could exact neither justly nor unjustly. The whole of the article is uncivil, bitter, and passionate. Louis IX. needed Rome in that fatal voyage he had undertaken, and in no station of life do men insult those of whom they have need. The dates alone prove the interpolation.

|| Here the bull is Ciceronian in both imagination and Latin.

strife of courtesy between the king and his brothers, when he alone was permitted to embark in Egypt for France, on condition of giving hostages.

After the canonization of the monarch, the bull closes by congratulating the whole French people in the following eloquent terms : " Rejoice, O lofty house of France that hast given birth to a prince whose merits so honor thee ! Abandon thyself to joy, O devout nation of the Gauls that hast been deemed worthy to have a master so virtuous and *so elect* !* Chair of the prelates and of the clergy, rejoice and triumph that this kingdom is magnificently adorned by the brilliant miracles of its own king ! Rejoice, spirits of princes, nobles, and warriors, rejoice that by the holy works of that king the splendor of the kingdom is honored with an increased brilliancy, shining in some sort like the sun's rays."

Ah, Louis, great grandson of Louis XIV., why did not your sub-preceptor make you read those few lines, which would perhaps have shown you another way ?

It was in the year 1297 that quarrels between the pope and the Colonna family began to appear. He confiscated their palace, condemned them as schismatics, compelled them to leave Rome, and took the purple from James and Peter, belonging to that illustrious family. Those measures were certainly too severe. The Colonnas had done evil to the Church, but that was no reason for being thus wanting in prudence and even in generosity. There are enemies who should never be driven to desperation. It is true that the animosity of those princes had been beyond all bounds ; they had circulated a manifesto which affirmed that Celestine had no power to renounce the pontificate, and that Boniface, consequently, could not be legitimately elected.

That was a grave insult, for it accused the pope of being an intruder, an antipope ; but whatever the offence given, it should not be avenged in an unchristian spirit, calculated to produce still more dangerous evils.

We now gladly hasten to add, that the two cardinals having appealed to the clemency of Boniface, he granted their pardon, released them from the interdict, and restored them to their dignity.

Led away by bad advice, the two cardinals again revolted. Here we must praise the conduct of Boniface. He again condemned them. But there was too much severity in the order to raze the town of Palestrina. Violence of this kind can never be either useful or excusable, and it is generally useless. At the same time it was astonishing that at that very moment Boniface published a Constitution which, like one that had been pub-

* *So elect, tam electum*, is a stroke of genius ; Boniface here combines exquisite style with the dignity proper to the pontiff.

lished by Honorius III., punished all who sacrilegiously wronged the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church.

The Holy Father perceiving that at the close of the century a great number of pilgrims arrived at Rome, because their fathers had told them that every hundred years, at the close of the century, they ought to visit the tomb of the apostles to acquire the benefits of the jubilee, he in the year 1300, did not institute, but renewed that plenary indulgence. He ordered the feast to be renewed every hundred years; Clement V. ordered that it should be every fifty years; Urban VI. every thirty-three years; and, finally, Paul II. ordered that it should take place every fifty years, which is the present arrangement, excepting some irremediable cause of prevention arise, as was the case in the year 1800.

At the jubilee of the year 1300 there was an immense concourse* of pilgrims. Boniface ordained that to obtain the benefits of the jubilee the Romans should visit Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's thirty times and the pilgrims only fifteen times.

In 1301, the differences between Philip the Fair and the pope were still further envenomed because the pope confirmed the bull by which he forbade ecclesiastics to pay any thing to layment without the apostolical authorization. Philip then confirmed a former decree, prohibiting the sending of any money to Rome. One of the king's partisans, William of Nogaret, a fiery magistrate, accused the pope of simony, magic, and atheism; and the bishops, theologians, and doctors who would not embrace the party of the king were exiled. Philip even went so far as to forbid all the prelates of his kingdom to attend a council about to be held in Italy. The pope, being at Rome on the 6th of November, is said to have published there the celebrated constitution *Unam Sanctam*,† in which, in order to re-establish the papal authority, oppressed by the counsellors of the king, he declared it to be heretical to say that any Christian is not subject to the pope; and he excommunicated those who had prohibited the prelates from going to Rome.

Although neither at Rome nor elsewhere is the bull *Unam Sanctam*, or *In Cæna Domini*, any longer officially mentioned, I should deserve censure if I passed over in silence the principal arrangement, or points, or merely specified others without detail.

* See *History of Leo XII.*

† Novaes, iv., p. 43.

‡ This bull, which is also termed *In Cæna Domini*, is still attributed to Boniface, although it can scarcely be of his time, and though many more additions of later date can be detected. It contains extended views, for the most part useful to the prosperity of States, and to the relief of their people; but, as the pontiff assumes a tone of command, it appeared to impugn the power of the kings, and their independence in the administration of their States. For this reason, Clement XIV. and Pius VI. interrupted its annual publication on Maundy-Thursday, and since that time it has no longer been quoted in public.

Here De Maistre comes to my aid, and I will give what he says in his second volume of the work, entitled *The Pope*, vol. ii., chap. xv. :

"Probably there is no one in Europe who has not heard of the bull *In Cœna Domini*. But how many men in Europe have taken the pains to read it? I know not.* I believe I shall do no useless thing to the general reader in giving here the substance of that famous bull. When children are frightened by some distant object, which their imagination enlarges and disfigures, the best way to refute a credulous nurse, who tells them that it is an *ogre* or a *ghost*, is to take them by the hand, laughing or singing, and lead them right up to it.

"The following is an analysis of the bull *In Cœna Domini*. The pope excommunicates :

"ART. I. All heretics.†

"ART. II. All who appeal to future councils.‡

"ART. III. All pirates traversing the sea without letters of marque.

"ART. IV. All who plunder shipwrecked vessels.

"ART. V. All who establish in their territories new imposts, or increase the old ones, except in cases authorized by law, or without the express permission of the Holy See.§

"ART. VI. The falsifiers of apostolical letters.

"ART. VII. Those who supply arms or any kind of munitions of war to Turks, Saracens, or heretics.||

"ART. VIII. Those who intercept food or other provisions on the way to Rome for the use of the pope.

* It was selected as the text of insults, sarcasms, and accusations, even where unread ; which is not honest on the part of our opponents. Like De Maistre, I have read that bull, of which he speaks wisely and in the spirit of justice, with which he mingles a tone of pleasantry which is quite in place.

† I hope there is no difficulty here !—*De Maistre*.

‡ Whatever some may think as to the question of appeals to future councils, no blame can be attached to the pope, and especially a pope in the fourteenth century, who sternly repressed such appeals as absolutely subversive of all ecclesiastical government. Saint Augustine had already said to certain appellants—*And who, then, are you, that you are to disturb the universe?*—(*Note by De Maistre*.) To which we may add, What would kings say, if to every law the subjects could reply, We appeal to the future king? What would the tribunals say if, to every sentence it could be answered, I appeal to the magistrates who will come after you?

§ The pope accepts the case provided for by the *national law* ; and, moreover, we must bear in mind in what century that decision was given by the religious authority ; let us not forget that all nations applauded such reserves, and that only the kings and their ministers complained.

|| Dante, who lived in that time, says in his burning verse far more than is said in that seventh article ; and Boniface, if he was the author of the bull, evidently justified these verses of Dante :

E nessuno era stato a vincer Acri,
Nè mercatante in terra del soldano.

And yet Dante was accusing Boniface.

"ART. IX. Those who kill, mutilate, despoil, or poison persons going to the pope or returning from him.

"ART. X. Those who similarly injure pilgrims whose devotion leads them to Rome.

"ART. XI. Those who are guilty of like violence towards the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and the legates of the Holy See.*

"ART. XII. Those who strike, despoil, or maltreat any one on account of any suit that he has at the court of Rome.†

"ART. XIII. Those who, on pretence of a frivolous appeal, transfer causes from the ecclesiastical to the secular tribunal.

"ART. XIV. Those who carry causes relating to benefices or tithes to lay courts.‡

"ART. XV. Those who cite ecclesiastics before lay tribunals.

"ART. XVI. Those who deprive prelates of their legitimate jurisdiction.

"ART. XVII. Those who sequester the jurisdictions or revenues that legitimately belong to the pope.

"ART. XVIII. Those who impose upon the Church new tributes, without the permission of the Holy See.

"ART. XX. Those who usurp the territory of the pope's sovereignty."§

The rest of the bull is unimportant.

In 1303, Boniface founded at Rome the university commonly known as the *Sapienza*.

* The four previous articles portray the epoch which rendered them necessary. The acts of sovereigns should not be judged without regard to the time and place which they relate to: and supposing the pope to have gone somewhat too far in some of these regulations, it would be sufficient to say, they went *too far*. All oratorical declamation is entirely out of place.—(*Note by De Maistre.*)

† On the one side, *they smite, they despoil, they maltreat*, those who go to seek redress at Rome; and, on the other side, they excommunicate those who *smite, despoil, and maltreat*. Where lies the wrong, and who should be blamed? If all eyes were not wilfully closed, all eyes would see that when there is wrong on both sides, it is the height of injustice to see only the wrong on one side, that there are no means of avoiding such combats, and that the fermentation which disturbs the wine is the indispensable preliminary to its clarification.—(*Note by De Maistre.*)

‡ At that time it was as necessary to respect an ecclesiastical court as it now is to respect a royal court. We are in the fourteenth century.

§ Whoever will read over our existing penal code, will find a host of articles providing punishment for a part of the contraventions pointed at by the bull. See the second title—*Crimes and offences against the person*; see chapter ii.—*Crimes and offences against property*: the roads must be safe and free; then as now, every recognized proprietor—even the pope!—was to possess and keep his own property.

The bull *In Cena Domini* established legislation where there was none. But for five centuries the cry has been repeated, "How abominable is that bull *In Cena Domini*!" And who had read that bull?

Its provisions, as a whole, repressed robbers; and as concerns the authority of the pope, it only gave him back his, what all knew to be his own, and that every one would have desired in the case of himself. Definitely, it must be observed that our bold innovators have shed torrents of blood to obtain only, or almost only, what the bull provided for, and what it would have been unreasonable to expect from the concession of the secular sovereigns of that time.

The usage of cloistering nuns was very ancient, as is proved by the fourth century, nevertheless it was not yet generally recognized. Boniface made it a law for all nuns in Christendom.

In 1303, there were disturbances in Rome, and the pope deemed it prudent to retire to Anagni. But Sciarra Colonna, his irreconcilable enemy, and William Nogaret, Philip's councillor, after corrupting some of the servants of the court, and many of the principal inhabitants of the city, entered it at the head of armed men, shouting: "Death to Pope Boniface! Long live the king of France!" They then attacked the palace of the pontiff, and found him seated on his throne, in his pontifical attire, with the crown on his head,* and holding in his hand the keys of the Church.

The unfortunate pope was abandoned by all his court, except the cardinals of Sabina, Peter of Spain, of Ostia, and Bonasini, who was his successor.

God watching over the holy papal dignity, no one ventured to touch Boniface. The invaders, however, pillaged the treasury, and left the pope, still clad as we have described, under the guard of some soldiers, after having insulted him. Nogaret even threatened to take him to France as a prisoner, and to have him deposed by a general council. At that threat the magnanimous pontiff replied: "We shall be well content to be deposed by *Patarini* (heretic Albigenses) such as you are, and such as were your father and mother, who were punished as such."†

Novaes says not a word about Sciarra Colonna having struck the pope in the face with his gauntlet. Feller thinks the blow was given.‡ The *Biographie Universelle*§ says on the subject: "Some historians add that Colonna carried his brutality so far as to strike the pope on the cheek with his gauntlet. Fortunately for the memory of Colonna, there is still some doubt as to this excess, which would have been dastardly as well as inhuman against an unarmed and aged man." After so cruel and ignoble an attack, the inhabitants of Anagni, who had not interfered, repented of their ingratitude to their compatriot and their sovereign, who had heaped benefits upon them. Suddenly, stimulated by the Cardinal Luca Fieschi, they rushed to arms, attacked the pope's enemies, who were few in number, put them to flight, and took prisoner Nogaret himself, whom the pope ordered to be treated gently.

Hearing of that success, Boniface with unheard of clemency set Nogaret at liberty, and he retired without suffering the penalty of his crime.

The pope, finding himself free, determined to return to Rome. But

* It was Boniface who added to the tiara a second circle or crown.

† See what we have said on p. 355 about *Patarins*—from *patis*, destined to suffer.

‡ Feller i., p. 549.

§ V., p. 113.

he was so violently shocked by these insults and sacrileges, that thirty days after, on the 11th of October, 1303, he died from the excitement he had suffered. He had governed eight years, nine months, and eighteen days.

Boniface was a man of remarkable qualities. His character must not be judged by what French writers say. Both those of his time, and those who followed them, wrote under the guidance of unreasonable prejudices, because they knew only *French facts*, or were under the impression of some momentary quarrel with the Roman court. Many of the acts of Boniface may have been reprehensible, but those of Philip the Fair were no less so; nay, they were even so much more unjust and more violent as to cause the wrong-doing of Boniface to disappear.

Boniface showed himself to be a consummate jurisconsult, a man of elevated ideas, and an intrepid conservator of the rights of the Church. So Saint Antoninus describes him.

God deigned to vindicate the honor of this pope, that had been defamed by his enemies. It was affirmed that frenzied with grief he had gnawed his own flesh; but, on the 11th of October, 1605, three hundred years after his death, he was found in his tomb without the least sign of decomposition, and with the flesh entirely uninjured.

The Holy See was vacant eleven days. In the library of the *Gésu* at Rome there is preserved a manuscript in three volumes folio, the *Life of Boniface VIII.*, composed by Monsignor Christopher Gaetani, bishop of Fuligno.

A life of this pope, by John de Rossi, a Benedictine, was published in Rome, 4to, in 1651, under the title of *De Vita et Rebus gestis Bonifacii VIII.*, *Pars altera, altera defendit.*



196. BLESSED BENEDICT XI.—A. D. 1303.



BLESSED BENEDICT XI. was born in 1240, at Trevisa, and his original name was Nicholas Bonasio Bonasini. He is said to have been the son of a notary.

In his early youth Nicholas went to Florence, and being almost without resources, he became preceptor to the children of a knight of the Quirini family. He subsequently took the Dominican habit (he was the second pontiff of that order), steadfastly devoted himself to study during fourteen years, and became reader and general of the order. In the second year of his generalship, notwithstanding his opposition, he was created cardinal of Saint Sabina, by Boniface VIII. Having become bishop of Ostia and Velettri, he stood firmly by the pope during the day of the terrible assault on Anagni, standing unmoved on the right hand of the pontiff and gazing upon him with admiration.* The pope deemed him qualified for business and gave him many marks of confidence.

As it was settled that all usurpations were amenable to Rome, the pope sent Nicholas, as his legate, into Hungary to oppose the civil wars. A part of that country had elected, as king, Charles, son of Charles Martel, and nephew of Charles II., king of Naples. Another faction elected Wenceslas, son of the king of Bohemia.

Boniface having died in the Vatican palace, the law of Gregory X., confirmed by Boniface, was observed. The funeral ceremonies were celebrated during nine days (the same custom still obtains), and then the Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung. The sacred electors met on the 21st of October, and on the following day Nicholas was unanimously elected pope, in the first scrutiny.

He represented to the cardinals that he was not worthy of that honor, but his objections were repelled and he accepted the tiara. That feeling of humility and modesty by which we see that so many popes were animated, should always be remembered; it did honor to a very great number of those whose history we have undertaken.

* The painters have not yet thought of presenting that imposing scene of Boniface VIII. looking proudly upon Colonna and Nogaret. Should any artist repair that forgetfulness, and transmit that great pontifical scene to posterity, he should remember the cardinal of Ostia admiringly gazing upon the sublime pontiff.

Nicholas took the name of Benedict, the baptismal name of his benefactor, Boniface VIII., and he was crowned on the 27th of October by Napoleon Orsini, first of the order of deacons.

Frederic, king of Sicily, not having paid this year the accustomed tribute of three thousand ounces of gold, the pope declared that prince threatened with excommunication, and his kingdom was laid under interdict. But Frederic having protested, and given satisfactory explanations, the pope immediately reconciled him with the Church. The pope then issued a bull of excommunication against those who had stolen the treasure of Boniface VIII.

In 1304, Benedict, whose disposition was gentle and full of placability, restored to his good graces James Colonna, and Peter, his nephew, who had asked his pardon. Their property was restored to them at the same time.

Philip the Fair desired to be absolved from the censures that he had incurred. When excommunication is spoken of the popes are always brought upon the stage, and nothing is said about the strange hatreds that sharpened the agonies of an excommunicated prince. If it was easy for the conduct of kings and entreaties of their subjects to induce the popes to be but little chary of their interdicts, it must also be admitted that, when those hates and entreaties no longer acted against the crowned victim, the popes showed unbounded clemency. Philip the Fair had secured the neutrality of his neighbors, and when he had only the pope to conciliate, he immediately obtained from that beneficent father the oblivion of so many insults.

A bull of the 2d of April, 1304, granted entire absolution to Philip the Fair. On that subject Benedict said these touching words: "The guilty are so numerous! Where the multitude sins, rigor must be moderated."

We here are at the proper point of view from which to form a judgment upon the interdicts of the time. The popes seldom pronounced it on their own account, and they were always ready to pardon, sometimes even on promises that were not fulfilled.

We must notice the exquisite delicacy of Benedict. He wrote to Philip, and in his letter he made no mention of the censure, the interdict, or the excommunication. He simply resumed a friendly correspondence as though it had never been interrupted.

This unheard of clemency of Benedict reminds one of the coolness of an offended father, who, on the submission of a culpable child, is satisfied with the first penitent words, looks, and tones, and resumes where it had ceased the friendly and consoling tone of the parent who wishes to hear no more, and who restores between himself and his child those tender relations which nature dictates, and which no spirit of vengeance can ever alter.

Sciarra Colonna and Nogaret persisted in their rebellion, and their ex-communication was continued.

War ravaged Tuscany ; the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the Whites and the Blacks, all the parties that Dante so eloquently describes, declared a Carthaginian hate against each other. Benedict sent to them a Dominican cardinal, Nicholas di Prato ; but he was obliged to issue an interdict against the Guelphs and the Blacks, and the inhabitants of Lucca and Prato.

The ambassadors of James of Aragon swore faith and did homage for the kingdoms of Corsica and Sardinia, which James had received in fief from the Holy See, in virtue of a diploma of Boniface, dated on the 3d of April, 1297. Frederic, king of Sicily, also swore faith and homage for that kingdom. Boniface had given it to him by naming him king of *Trinacria*.*

While the Holy Father continued his apostolical labors in the convent of the Dominicans of Perugia, he was presented with some figs, of which he was very fond. They were brought by a young man disguised as a woman, who was supposed to come from the nuns of Saint Petronilla. The fruit was poisoned. Novaes names the presumed culprits. But great circum-spection† is necessary upon such subjects. No doubt the senders were enemies of Benedict, and perhaps to the Holy See. The consequences of so dastardly and horrible a crime remain to be seen.

The pope died shortly after eating the fruit. He had governed the Church one year, eight months, and a few days.

Benedict was at once holy and learned. He would not make his nephew a cardinal, though deserving of the honor. Still more ; his mother was one day presented to him, sumptuously dressed. He pretended not to recognize her, and said : " This person cannot be our mother, for our mother is poor and cannot dress in silks." She returned more humbly dressed, and was received with the most lively tokens of love and tenderness. This pontiff was beatified by Benedict XIV.

The Roman pontificate was vacant ten months and twenty-eight days, because the cardinals in the conclave of Perugia were divided into two parties. The heads of the first were Napoleon Orsini del Monte and Nicholas di Prato. They strove to elect a pontiff who would restore their kinsmen, the Colonnas, to their ancient condition. Moreover, they favored France, and they also desired to elect a cardinal who was not attached to the memory of Boniface VIII.

The heads of the other party were Matthias Rosso Orsini and Francis

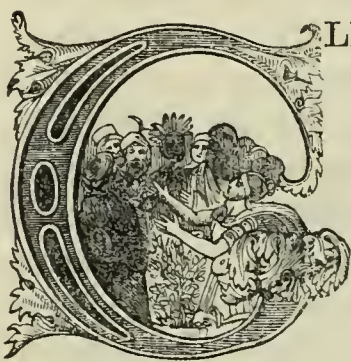
* Sicily was anciently called *Trinacria* on account of the three promontories which terminate it. *Trinacria* comes from the Greek words *τρία*, and *ἀκρα* ; the letter *n* is added for the sake of euphony.

† Platina does not mention this poisoning.

Gaetani, nephews of Boniface. The annals of the following pontificate will inform the reader how those differences were terminated.

Martenè gives the circular letter which Benedict wrote to the Dominicans when he was elected general of the order. This pope wrote commentaries on some books of the Holy Scripture.

197. CLEMENT V.—A. D. 1305.



CLEMENT V., known previously as Bertrand de Got, was born at Villandrau, in the diocese of Bordeaux. His father was a knight of the first nobility of the country. Bertrand de Got, having been made bishop of Comminges in 1295, was promoted to the archbishopric of Bordeaux in 1299.

The conclave, assembled after the death of Benedict, had already lasted nearly ten months, when the heads of the two parties adopted a measure which they believed calculated to put an end to the uncertainty. The Colonnas, persecuted by Boniface VIII., were interested in making an election that would be acceptable to France, and they proposed to the Orsini to make their own selection of three candidates, from among whom the opposite party should definitely select a pope. The Orsini named those candidates, among whom was Bertrand de Got, upon whom they thought they could rely most, because he was opposed to the king of France, who had greatly wronged the archbishop's family. Mention is made of a courier sent to the king, and advice given to that prince to ingratiate himself beforehand with Bertrand de Got. Six conditions are stated to have been imposed by the king, and accepted by Bertrand. Those anecdotes are given on the authority of Villani, a Florentine author, much interested in decrying the French popes, but whose statements later writers have copied without much examination. Some critics, such as Baluze, Fleury, Hardion, and Bertier have not quite such extensive faith in the veracity of Villani. Fleury remarks that the decree of election mentions none of the facts stated by that author.

On the whole, it seems to be proven that the cardinals, being divided into two nearly equal factions, and being unable to agree upon a candidate among themselves, preferred to make choice of a foreigner.

Feller says nothing about the six conditions, which would be six inexcusably simoniacal crimes. Novaes seems to believe that Villani is right. I

am sorry to see so safe a guide as Novaes so careless as to the truth in this instance ; for all those conditions are disgraceful facts which should not be lightly related ; and whatever may the vivacity of the judgment of some Romans upon the subject of *Gascon popes*, it still remains evident that it is not right to brand in a series of pontiffs some names which must appear less respectable than others. Novaes says, in a note : "The six promises are to be found in Rainaldi, under the year 1305. The Abbé de Bercastel, in his *History of the Church* (vol. xiii., p. 252 ; Maestricht, 1782), blames the torrent of Italian authors, without excepting Saint Antoninus, and many of the French, as Spondanus, Fagi, Dupin, Natalis Alexander, Daniel, and Fleury, because, deceived and seduced by Villani, the Florentine historian of those times, they have received and published as true those promises of Clement to the king of France. He grounds his opinion upon the authority of five authors of the life of Clement V., who are rather his panegyrists, and who, far from guaranteeing the tale of Villani, consider the election of Clement and the bull of the electing cardinals as an entirely simple matter, and accomplished in the settled forms. It is thus that Bercastel expresses himself ; but is this sufficient to overthrow the authority of the above-mentioned authors as to this statement ? Let my readers determine."

For my part, I do not hesitate to believe that it is time that *unjust* accusations against the popes should cease to be listened to. The present history shows to what dangers the popes were exposed in Italy. According to various authors, Benedict XI. was poisoned there. When it was the duty of a pope to brave such dangers, experienced men perhaps believed that the nomination of a foreigner would put an end to those troubles, and the nomination of Bertrand, as has already been said, seemed to be the only means of stilling the storm for a time.

Finally, the anecdote in itself is at once so complete, so mysterious, and so complicated, that it must be regarded rather as a fable than as a truth.

When Bertrand de Got accepted the tiara, he set out for Lyons, at the end of August, and was crowned on the 14th of November, in the church of Saint Juste, that hospitable church which was nobly generous to Gregory X., at the time of the council of the year 1275.

Cardinal Theodoric Ranieri had himself brought from Rome the papal crown which was placed on the head of Bertrand, who was recognized as pope under the name of Clement V.

The ceremony was very brilliant. King James of Aragon was present, as also was the king of France, accompanied by Charles of Valois, and Louis, count of Evreux, his brothers, and John, duke of Brittany. During the ceremony of the cavalcade, which took place in imitation of the Roman custom, an accident occurred. A wall fell down, and the pope's horse took fright. Clement fell, the tiara rolled upon the ground, and a ruby of great

value was detached from it, and vainly searched for after the accident John of Brittany, who held the bridle of the pope's horse, was knocked down, and perished during the tumult. The king and his brothers were themselves wounded.

On the 15th of December, the pope made a promotion of cardinals; nine were French, the tenth an Englishman; among the nine French, one was his nephew, and three were his relations. It was a very reprehensible act of double nepotism, *family* and *national*.

Clement, who had not as yet manifested any choice as to his place of residence, seeing that Italy was a prey to the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, declared that he established the pontifical See in the city of Avignon; and he appointed three cardinals, with the title of senators, to govern Rome and the pontifical possessions in Italy. Before the pope had made known his intention to be, in the words of Petrarch, *the first among the pontiffs to prefer the wild shores of the Rhone to the fortunate banks of the Tiber*, one cardinal had divined the pontiff's idea, the senior of the sacred college, Rosso Orsini, had said to Cardinal di Prato, who was so influentially active in the election of Clement: "You have obtained your desire; if I know the Gascons, you will very soon see the Rhone; nor will the Tiber soon see the popes again."

Yet it was one of those popes called Gascons, Gregory XI., who took back the authority of the Holy See to Rome. In so doing, Gregory XI. repaired the immense error of Clement V.

To restore peace among the French, for everywhere discord prevailed with impunity, the Holy Father gave some explanations upon the bull *Unam Sanctam*, attributed to Boniface VIII.; and he declared that, by that bull, the French and their kings were no more subject than before to the Roman Church. Subsequently, he revoked the bull *Olericis laicos*; and he re-established all that his predecessors had ordered in the Council of Lateran, and in other general councils, against laymen unduly exacting, from a church or an ecclesiastic, tributes or impositions of any sort whatever, or who give favor, counsel, or assistance in so doing.

That certainly showed a spirit jealous of the rights of the Holy See.

From Bordeaux, whither he had gone for his health, the Holy Father went to Poitiers, where there was a kind of political congress relating to the affairs of Syria. The king of France was at that city, with his four sons and two brothers.

The question was agitated, too, of the conquest of the empire of Constantinople, recovered by the Greeks, and fallen back into schism.

At that time the Holy Land also was the subject of debate. The pope had summoned into France the masters of the Temple, and the Hospitallers (order of Saint John of Jerusalem) who were in the Levant. To the latter,

he wrote: "We are powerfully incited to succor the Holy Land, the king of Armenia, and the king of Cyprus; we think of sending aid to them. To that end we have resolved to deliberate with you and the master of the Temple, chiefly because you can give advice more understandingly than any other, as to what should be done, qualified as you are by proximity of place, long experience, and reflection, but partly because, next after the Roman Church, you are principally concerned in this affair. We order you, then, to prepare to come as secretly as you can, and with few followers, as on this side of the sea you will find enough brothers of your order. But, take care to leave in the country a good lieutenant, and knights capable of defending it, so that no harm will be done by your absence, which will not be long. Bring with you, however, some persons whose wisdom and fidelity qualify them to join you in advising us."

The master of the Temple immediately obeyed the order of the pope, and proceeded to France. But the master of the Hospital, having set out for Cyprus, halted on the road to attack the island of Rhodes, occupied by the Turks, under the dependence of the emperor of Constantinople.* The Hospitallers there won much glory, and the title of the Knights of Rhodes, which they continually made more illustrious by victories at sea, where they destroyed many Saracenic fleets, and especially by their magnanimous defence of the city of Rhodes, which they lost only when there was but a handful of knights left in a condition to bear arms. We shall speak of that feat of arms in due time and place; it excited the highest gratitude of the Holy See.

Pope Clement, faithful to the spirit of conciliation, which animated the pontiffs, confirmed the peace concluded between the king of France and Robert, count of Flanders; and he advised that more attention should be given to that which was in preparation between France and England. He listened favorably to Charles II., king of Sicily, who owed large sums to the Holy See. The pope commenced by abandoning one third of that sum, gave a considerable time for the payment of the rest, and then assigned the whole to Robert, son of Charles, by virtue of a consistorial bull.†

The king of France demanded that Clement should condemn the memory of Boniface. The pope constantly refused, and, to persist in doing so more securely, he endeavored to leave Poitiers secretly for Bordeaux, but he was captured by the king's guards, and compelled to return to Poitiers. After an illness caused by vexations, Clement confirmed Charles in the possession of the kingdom of Hungary, which belonged to him by the right left to him by his grandmother, daughter of King Stephen, and sister of King Ladislas. Wenceslas, king of Bohemia, had been elected to the pos-

* Baluze, vol. i., p. 65.

† Ibid., vol. ii., p. 158.

session of Hungary, and Boniface decreed that respect should be paid to the right of succession, and not to the right of election. Clement commanded Wenceslas, on pain of excommunication, to quit the kingdom of Hungary, and at the same time gave him permission to give his reasons to the Holy See for the action he had taken.

In 1308, part of the Basilica of Saint John Lateran was consumed by fire. It spared only the chapel of the *Holy of Holies*, in which were deposited the heads of the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul.* The Holy Father sent deputies to Rome with a sum of money to commence repairs, and he requested the kings of Sicily and Naples to supply the wood necessary to restore the Basilica.

In 1309, the Holy Father went by way of Bordeaux, Toulouse, Carcassone, Montpellier, and Nîmes, accompanied by nine cardinals, to Avignon, where he lodged in the palace of the Dominicans. On leaving Poitiers, he declared that he would transfer the Holy See to a city devoted to the Roman Church; and four years after his election, he established his residence at Avignon. Settled at Avignon at the close of the month of March, the epoch from which the popes date their residence in that city, Clement, to comply with the request of the king of France, which was repeated at Lyons and at Poitiers with an impetuosity that savored little of religion, considering that Benedict XI. had reconciled that prince to the Church, the pope pronounced in full consistory that it was permissible to any one to institute proceedings against the memory of Boniface. Had Clement V. been in Italy, he would not so easily have been constrained to such a compliance. Three cardinals were named to receive the accusations. At the same time others were sent to Rome to hear such witnesses as should present themselves as accusers of Boniface. A scandal was about to recommence which had already occupied too large a space in history. William de Nogaret, William de Plessis, Peter de Gaillard, and Peter de Manosque, accompanied by a clerk, Master Alain de Lamballe, all five sent by the king of France, and certainly determined foes to Boniface, drew up an accusation in the form of a public document, and put it into the hands of Clement. This document is now in the archives of the Vatican.

On learning this, the king of Castile and the king of Aragon sent ambassadors to Avignon, and complained to the Holy Father of the great scandal which would be felt by all Christendom.† Those princes could not without

* Those relics now occupy the high altar of the Basilica. They were moved thither by Urban V., on the 16th of April, 1370. They are inclosed in two silver busts, each of which weighs more than seven hundred pounds. They are ornamented with all sorts of precious stones, given by the munificence of Charles V., king of France. Each of the busts had on the breast a large lily, ornamented with diamonds; owing to subsequent events, they are no longer there.

† Novaes, iv., p. 67.

grief and horror see that a sovereign pontiff was about to be accused of heresy. Clement, foreseeing that the Church could in no wise suffer, because the memory of Boniface would be justified, and persuaded that it was impossible that heresy could exist in one who, like Boniface, had confessed and confirmed the Catholic faith, insisted upon the deliberation being continued, and named, in 1310, criminal judges who were further to examine the witnesses and prepare all the details for the trial.

The calumniators of Boniface and the enemies of the Church might have replied that the witnesses, being under fear, could not speak freely; but the Holy Father gave leave to all to present their accusations to that tribunal, and menaced with excommunication all who should prevent the free rendering of testimony in the cause.

The pope had named twelve defenders of Boniface, at the head of whom was James of Modena. The Cardinals Riccardi and Petroni wrote in favor of the accused. An infinite number of theologians and jurisconsults from all parts of Christendom devoted their pens to the defence of this cause, the most celebrated of the past times; and two Catalan knights,* Carocci and William Deboli, repaired to Avignon and offered to fight, in open field, in defence of the memory of Boniface.

Foreigners, then, had to come into France to defend the memory of the pontiff, who had canonized the immortal Saint Louis, grandfather of the accusing king!† Oh, time of ingratitude!

However, Philip, becoming ashamed of that frantic hatred which transported him beyond all bounds where Boniface was concerned, consented that Clement should end the cause with his council of cardinals, without waiting for the deliberations of a council which was to assemble at Vienne.

In 1310, the pope declared Boniface innocent upon all the charges brought against him, recognized him as fully Catholic, and, consequently, true pontiff. No doubt it was a flattery to add that the king of France had had no part in the violences exercised against that pope, and that Nogaret and Colonna had committed them without order or incitement from the king. That prince paid to the apostolic chamber a hundred thousand florins for the expenses of that long trial.

The same year, the pope approved the election of Henry of Luxemburg, asking of the Romans, on condition, that the prince should repair to Rome to be there crowned as emperor. He was so, in fact, in 1312, not by the hands of the pope or by those of the cardinals of Ostia, to whom that honor belonged, but by the hands of the cardinal of Sabina, who was sent thither

* Fanton, *Hist. d'Avignon*, liv. ii., p. 158.

† See, above, the bull of canonization given by Boniface VIII. See the felicitations and benedictions addressed to the holy king.

by order of Clement, and who performed the ceremony in conjunction with four other cardinals.

The emperor, on his way to be crowned at Rome, was met at Lausanne by Baldwin, archbishop of Treves, and John de Molans, canon of Toul, who had both been sent by the pope. Between their hands he made, as he had already done at Avignon by his commissioners, the oath to defend the Catholic faith, to exterminate heretics, to contract no alliance with the enemies of the Church, to protect the pope, and to preserve the rights of the Holy See. He renewed and confirmed the donations made to the Church by Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Otho the Great, Henry III., and other emperors.

Having arrived at Milan, the prince and his wife were crowned king and queen of Lombardy on the 6th of January, 1311, by Gaston de la Torre, archbishop of Milan, commissioned to that end by the pope.

Here it must be confessed to the glory of the court of Avignon, that whatever were its errors in other respects, never were the rights of the Holy See better preserved at Rome itself. Unfortunately, Henry of Luxemburg did not keep his oaths, and he died, in 1313, excommunicated by Clement.

A circumstance which preceded the death of Henry shows us what excommunications had become; and here we must consider them only as political weapons, no longer exclusively in the hands of the clergy. Henry of Luxemburg, unable to find a pontiff or an archbishop willing to serve his resentment against Florence, which refused to recognize him, erected at Pisa an imperial tribunal, and he undertook to subdue by its sentences what escaped his victories. He condemned the Florentines to lose their privileges, their franchises, and their right to coin money; he would not recognize the head they had elected, and he removed their notaries and their judges, ordering the erasure from the register of the acts of the one and the ordinances of the others; he declared that King Robert had forfeited the throne of Naples, as guilty of the crime of high treason, *released that prince's subjects from the oath of fidelity*, and forbade them to obey a prince who was no longer their king. Then he allied himself with Frederic, king of Sicily, and won over the Genoese, who took up arms against Robert. He alone was able to defend the Florentines, blockaded on all sides; and these republicans, at first so animated, named him *governor-rector, protector, and lord of Florence*.

So, for those who now decide upon the doings of that long past time, and utter passionate words, as is conventional when the popes are in question, the popes would be blamed for pronouncing an excommunication, which is a separation from communion; and an emperor could politically excommunicate his enemies, weaken their power, and usurp, at least in words, a power then solely belonging to the Church!

Let us leave men's quarrels to transport them so unreasonably, and return to the annals of the pontiffs, which we must not interrupt.

In 1310, the Venetians had occupied the city of Ferrara, belonging to the Holy See; Clement excommunicated them, and sent an army against them, under Cardinal Arnaud, who gained a victory over the Venetians and recovered the city.

The Ferrarese then sent an embassy to the Holy Father. The embassy, in a public consistory, confessed that the city of Ferrara was a fief of the Church, and that if the Marquises of Este had subjected it to their jurisdiction, they did so by force and not by justice. Oppressed by the house of Este, the Ferrarese had recourse to the Venetians, in order to recover their liberty. But the Venetians had reduced the Ferrarese to the most desolating misery. So, they now as faithful vassals had recourse to the Holy See. Clement published a bull, in which he proved that Ferrara belonged to the domain of the Holy See from the time of Charlemagne, who delivered that city from the tyranny of Desiderius, king of the Lombards. The Venetians then asked for absolution of the evil that they had done at Ferrara, and they were released from excommunication on the 26th of January, 1313.

Clement, who had visited all the Venaissin province, gave it the title of a County. He had silver coined, on which he called himself count of the Venaissin; he selected a favorable locality upon that territory, and built a castle there. It was thence that, when consulted from almost all parts of Europe, he dated the pontifical decisions that were necessary to the due administration of ecclesiastical discipline, and the defence of the rights of the Holy See. In a second promotion of cardinals, Clement gave the purple to Frenchmen only: they were five in number. The Italians complained of this kind of forfeiture.

The pontificate of Clement was rendered celebrated by the fifteenth general council, held at Vienne. It commenced on the 11th, or, as some say, on the 16th of October, 1311, and closed, after three sessions, on the 6th of May, 1312. There were present at it many cardinals, two patriarchs, three hundred bishops, the king of France, and his three sons, who all reigned after him, Edward II., king of England, James II., king of Aragon, and many other illustrious persons. In that council means were adopted for maintaining the faith, weakened by frequent heresies, reforming ecclesiastical discipline, sending succor to the Holy Land, and examining the case of the Templars, who were accused by the king of a host of offences, on which the pope wished to ascertain the truth, the more especially as he thought he could perceive great exaggeration in the charges made against those religious.

Nine French knights, headed by Ugelin de Payens and Geoffroy de Saint Omer, instituted the order in 1118, taking between the hands of the pa-

triarch of Constantinople the vows of charity and obedience. They were to defend against the Saracens the pilgrims who should visit the holy places, and they took the name of *Templars*, from their habitation near the temple of the holy city. The knights, having been extremely useful during the times of the crusades, were enriched by the Christians. But, the wars ceasing, they lost their usual occupation, and sank into the evil habits which idleness so often engenders. The whole order was accused of committing the most enormous offences; among others, of denying Jesus Christ, and abandoning themselves to idolatry. Those crimes and others are detailed in Rainaldi (year 1308, number 5). In the Council of Paris, assembled in 1310, by the archbishop of Sens, fifty-four of the knights were condemned on their own confession, and burned by order of the secular judges. Subsequently, four, and then nine others of them, were condemned in the Council of Senlis, on the same charges; but in the Councils of Mayence, Treves, and Ravenna, held in the same year, they were declared innocent. It must be confessed that the case of the knights of that order is at present among the most difficult problems in ecclesiastical history. It is possible that their wealth, joined to much vice in individuals, and a vanity which made them odious, was their only crime. The vivacity with which they were attacked by their mortal enemy, King Philip, must not be overlooked. They were almost at the head of the revolution which was threatened when that prince sought to increase, by two-thirds, the nominal value of money. It probably was chiefly on that account that the king caused the arrest of those knights on the 13th of October, 1307.

Be that as it may, two thousand witnesses were summoned. A hundred and forty of the arrested knights made confessions; only three persisted in denial. The council condemned the order in the second session, celebrated on the 3d of April, 1312. The pope had already, in a secret consistory, on the 22d of March, abolished the order, but rather provisionally than by way of condemnation. Their immense wealth, except such property as they had in Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, was given to the knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, now called Knights of Malta. The personal property was almost all given to King Philip. Consult, on this question, the work of Pierre Dupuy, printed at Brussels in 1741, and the passages in which Bercastel discusses this most obscure question.

In our days, we can only with great circumspection speak of those terrible events, since Bossuet uttered these striking words: "*The Templars confessed under torture; they denied on the scaffold.*" All sentences pronounced in trials in which the examinations are made by torture, are sentences to be very circumspectly considered by posterity. Feller says upon this subject:*

* Feller, ii., p. 280.

"Clement joined Philip the Fair, in exterminating the order of the Templars. Various historians, we know, have pronounced different judgments upon that abolition; but it seems to be beyond doubt that the pope and the king were very wrong, at all events, in the manner of proceeding." In fact, it appears to be certain that had the pope been in Italy, the condemnation of the Templars might have taken place, but with different forms, more lenity, and a greater spirit of impartial justice; and that the trial would not have commenced by the preliminary tortures more terrible than death itself, which punishment was finally pronounced when it was thought that the cause had been *sufficiently tried*—that is to say, when they had extorted cries of agony.

Here another reflection presents itself. In an *evil, perverse, and perfidious* policy, it sometimes happens that to obtain a result opposed by grave obstacles and a sincere and generous spirit of equity, the *affair* is complicated by another accusation, invented in aid of the first, to be readily abandoned if the other completely succeed. For instance, in this case the councillors of Philip the Fair demand the *property* rather than the *life* of the Templars; then those councillors mingle with that *affair* of the goods, already vile enough, a demand for a condemnation against Boniface VIII. Could a pope grant that condemnation? No! I well know that he ought not to have granted either the *one or the other*. But in fact it happened that the councillors abandoned the second pursuit, holding themselves prepared to renew it, had the first demand been refused. Those times will teach nothing to the evil of our own day, said to be so skilled in evil. Far from being *laudator temporis acti*, a crier up of the *good old times*, I firmly believe that no one in our day has ever had so infernal an idea as that of demanding and obtaining the property of the Templars, to whom their life no doubt would have been left if the fourteenth century had not already learned that "*it is only the dead who never return.*"

The Council of Vienne condemned Jean d'Olive, a Franciscan apostate born near Beziers. He pretended that the evangelical life consisted in this: that it is necessary to possess nothing, even in common; and that all clerics, secular or regular, who so possess live in sin.

The council condemned the *fraticelli* or *bizochi*. Those heretics, corrupters of widows, wives, and maidens, attracted them by a feigned devoutness to nocturnal sacrifices. Their leaders, in 1294, were two apostate Franciscans, Peter of Macerata, and Peter of Fossombrone. Among other errors, they taught that the pope had not authority to interpret the rule of Saint Francis; that they alone formed the true Church; that, themselves alone excepted, no one could rightly be called pope or bishop; and that the churches and ecclesiastics could rightfully neither acquire nor possess any goods or property.

The council condemned the Dolcinists, founded towards the year 1305 by Dolcini of Novara, a disciple of Gerard Segarelli, a Parmesan. Under a religious and grave exterior they authorized the most abominable debaucheries, and pretended that their doctrine was the third law which perfected that of Christ.

The *Bégards* or the *Béguins* were also condemned. Their crimes were such that prudence forbade Clement to mention them in the bull of condemnation. These heretics took their name from a society of devout ladies instituted in the Low Countries, where they have subsisted to the general edification, even to our own days. They were not included in the sentence of the Council of Vienne, which expressly excepted them.

In that council the feast of Corpus Christi, instituted by Urban IV., was enjoined on all Christendom.

Then the laws of Gregory X., on the election of the popes, were confirmed.

On the 5th of March, 1313, Clement canonized Celestine V. Soon afterwards, the news from Italy became more afflicting. The Guelphs and Ghibellines maintained an implacable war. The pope speedily determined to go to Bordeaux, hoping that the journey would restore his health. But he grew so ill on the way that he could not proceed, and he died on the 20th of April, 1314, the very day on which, two years before, the grand master of the Templars had been burnt.* The same year King Philip died on the 29th of November.

Clement had governed the Church eight years, ten months, and fifteen days, and he was interred at Carpentras, and thence removed to near Bazas, in Gaseony.

The Holy See remained vacant two years, five months, and seventeen days.

* Platinas takes no interest in the Templars. He says: *Templarios sustulit in maximas errores prolapsos, qui Christum, scilicet negabant, eorumque bona Hyerosolymitanis militibus addixit*—"The pope abolished the Templars, who had fallen into great errors. They denied Christ, and he gave their goods to the knights of the order of Jerusalem." To deny Christ is more than an error, it is a horrible impiety. Fine latinity is a great merit in writing, in writing in the language of Suetonius, who uses the word *sustulit* when speaking of Nero's crime against his mother. But fine latinity does not dispense with that *care of expression*, that *study of shadings*, that *truthful logic*, in a word, with that *pictry of words*, in religious questions, which the ancients in their manner so well possessed, and of which they have left us such elegant models.



198. JOHN XXII.—A. D. 1316.



JOHN XXII., originally named James d'Euse, was born at Cahors, the son of Armand d'Euse, whom Saint Antoninus believes to have been a cobbler, whom Villani affirms to have been an innkeeper, but whom Albert of Strasburg, a contemporaneous writer, maintains to have belonged to a noble family. This is the most probable, for Albert was sent to Avignon by the bishop of Strasburg, in the time of Benedict XII. However it may be as to this last theory, which Baluze does not doubt, James was transferred from the bishopric of Frejus to that of Avignon by Clement V., who, in 1312, made him cardinal-bishop of Porto.

After the death of Clement V., six Italian and seventeen French cardinals shut themselves up in conclave in the palace of Carpentras. They were not, for the most part, determined to name a Gascon cardinal, as some of the cardinals of that province wished. Then the relatives of Clement V., as has been said, wearied by the result of the scrutinies, and the heat of the weather, set fire to the building, and the electors had to make a hasty retreat through an opening made in the wall of the palace. This occurred on the 23d of July, 1313, when the conclave had been three months in session. The inhabitants of Carpentras were much excited upon this subject; the servants of the cardinals had been exacting towards the inhabitants, who resisted unreasonable demands. The cardinals dispersed to assemble no more, and during that time the Church languished in a shameful anarchy. Philip, count of Poitiers, brother of King Louis X., whom he succeeded, compelled the cardinals to return into conclave on the 23d of June, 1316, the convent of the Dominicans at Lyons having been prepared to receive them. Forty days after, setting aside two cardinals, who each received the same number of votes, the electors created pope, James d'Euse, who took the name of John XXII. He was crowned in the city of Lyons, on the 5th of September, in the same year, by the Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, the dean of the order of deacons, and the same who had placed the tiara on the heads of Benedict XI. and Clement V.*

* It has been averred that the cardinals being unable to agree charged James d'Euse to name the pope, and that he said, "*Ego sum papa.*" This fable is no longer admitted by any writer; on the contrary, with the exception mentioned above, James was unanimously elected. Moreover, he would have said, *Nos sumus papa.* Falsifiers are always clumsy.

On the 17th of December he appointed eight cardinals, seven French and one Italian. This step, like the similar one in the preceding reign, produced an unfavorable impression even upon the inhabitants of Avignon. Among the French cardinals was Jacques de Voye, of Cahors, son of a sister of the pontiff. The Italian cardinal was Cajetan Orsini.

The king of England, Edward II., sent ambassadors to John XXII., to apologize for not having paid the tribute promised by King John, his predecessor, to Pope Innocent III. The tribute had not been paid for twenty-four years. The ambassadors alleged in excuse the exhaustion of the royal treasury. They brought the pope a thousand marks in payment for one year's tribute, and promised to pay in six years the arrears claimed by the Roman court.

James of Aragon also sent ambassadors to take the oath of fidelity in the name of that prince, tributary king of the kingdoms of Sardinia and Corsica, "in quality of gonfalier, admiral, and captain-general of the Roman Church." All those titles are recited in a letter preserved in the castle of Saint Angelo.

Philip the Long, brother of Louis X., the Hutin, having been crowned king of France, and subsequently written to the pope, promising constant readiness to serve the Church, the pope affectionately thanked him, and in a private letter afterwards made known exhorted him not to talk during the divine offices; to wear, like his ancestors, a long cloak; to prevent courts sitting on holy-days; to read for himself all letters sent by the pope, or by kings or princes, and to destroy them immediately, or at least to place them in safety. Had the king followed such advice, he would have avoided great dangers. The advice is singular, but it is probable that the king needed it.

At that period, domestic troubles having arisen at the court of Denis, king of Portugal, the pope had the satisfaction of appeasing them.

On the 7th of April, 1317, the pope canonized the son of Charles II., Saint Louis, bishop of Toulouse, who had been his disciple, and he erected the See of Toulouse into an archbishopric. John himself founded many bishoprics in France;—Montauban, Rieux, Riez, Lombez, Saint Papoul, Lavaur, and Mirepoix, all suffragans of Toulouse; then Limoux, which was transferred to Aleth; Saint Pons, near Narbonne; Castres, taken from Albi; Condom, which was an abbey like that of Tulle; Perigueux, taken from Sarlat; Saint Flour, Vabres, Maillezais, and Luçon.

John, seeing that in the kingdom of Aragon there was no other archbishopric than that of Tarragona, erected the cathedral of Saragossa into a metropolitan church.

Saint Bonaventure, in the General Chapter celebrated at Pisa, in 1263, while he was general of the Franciscans, ordained that the friars should,

at sunset, exhort the faithful by the sound of the bell to salute the Blessed Virgin with three *Hail Marys*, the Angelical Salutation having taken place, it was supposed, at that hour. . The church of Saintes, in France, having adopted that custom, John XXII. confirmed it by a bull of the 13th of October, 1318, and afterwards by another bull of the 7th of May, 1327. Ten days indulgence were granted to those who recited the salutation thrice, kneeling. It was also ordered that the pontifical vicar at Rome should prescribe the same custom there, granting the same indulgences.

Denis, king of Portugal, had founded the military order of Christ, to repress in that kingdom the depredations of the Saracens. John confirmed this order in the month of March, 1319, giving it for its first grand master Giles Martins, already grand master of the order of *Avis*.

The pontiffs were concerned in all political affairs. It will not be useless to prove that they thoroughly comprehended them, entered into them with zeal, and could, when necessary, give a good account of the negotiations of the entire world. Philip the Long showed some inclination to fulfil his vow to go to the Holy Land. John urged delay, for the following reasons: "The peace necessary for such an enterprise is almost banished from Christendom; England and Scotland are inflamed against each other; the princes of Germany are at war; the kings of Sicily and Trinacria have made a short-lived truce, and are not inclined to peace; and the kings of Cyprus and Armenia continually doubt and suspect each other. The kings of Spain have enough to do to guard their frontiers against the king of Granada; the cities of Lombardy are in arms against each other, and are in discord within themselves, filled with hatred and intrigues; and the country is full of tyrants, who with fire and sword persecute those who refuse to obey them. Genoa, that celebrated city and convenient seaport for movements on the Mediterranean, is itself desolated by strifes, and almost destitute of all aid. The sea is unsafe in those quarters, and by land the roads are not free. Finally, all those countries are more likely to harm than to help the enterprise. Finally, consider the miserable state of the Hospitallers, whose order is almost ready to fall to ruin, for it owes to two companies alone more than three hundred and sixty thousand florins.* And yet it was from that order that the most aid was expected." The crusade was deferred. It must be confessed that the nuncios of John were able and zealous men, as they kept him so well informed of the state of things in the Catholic world.

John was much attached to the order of Saint Augustine, of which he had been a member; and in token of his gratitude, he assigned to it three im-

* What had become of the immense wealth of the Templars, of which a great portion was to have been given to the Hospitallers? Often in a corner of history we find the explanation of that frightful iniquity, carefully as it was kept in the dark—*The Hospitallers never received it.*

portant offices in the Roman Church—that of sacristan, librarian, and confessor of the pope. They enjoyed those offices until 1472. Then Sixtus IV., having founded the Vatican library, took these offices from the Augustinians and divided them. Under Alexander VI. the Augustinians regained the office of sacristan, which was granted to them in perpetuity, and which they still possess. The other two offices are given at the pope's pleasure.

In 1320, there was no place in Europe that was not ravaged by war; the Holy Father spared no pains to appease men's excited minds; like his predecessors, he thought this the noblest mission of the popes. At the same time he advised Christians to spare each other, and to turn their arms against the enemies of Christ in Syria.

In 1320, there was a promotion of seven French cardinals; all men distinguished by their learning and piety. The appointment to the cardinalate of Raymond Ruffo, a Neapolitan by descent, but born at Cahors, was deemed a great concession. It was more than ever believed that, for the future, the sacred college should consist entirely of Frenchmen. It might be a great honor for France, but a great evil for Christendom.

A theologian of Paris affirmed that it was necessary for a Catholic to repeat to his parish priest the confession that he had made to a religious. According to him, the pope could not permit the faithful, at Easter, to confess to any one but their own pastor. The pope ordered this turbulent spirit to defend his doctrine in a consistory, where he was convicted of error. Then he was ordered to retract his doctrine, and he instantly showed an exemplary obedience.

An affair of great interest at this time called for all the attention of the Father of Christendom, and of the supreme head of all the orders of knighthood that were founded for the deliverance of the Holy Land. He had received complaints against the Teutonic knights. John wrote them a letter, which commenced by saying: "Gedemius, duke of the Lithuanians, informs us by letter, and by his ambassadors, that he desires to embrace the Christian religion, and begs us to send persons able to instruct and baptize him. We have received his request with great joy, hoping that his conversion may lead to that of a multitude of pagans in those parts."

The letter of the duke then complained of the Teutonic knights. He said that Mindouf, his predecessor, and all his subjects, had been converted to Christianity in 1255, and he added, "but they have returned to idolatry, in consequence of the insults and the violence of the Teutonic knights. They drive away missionaries, whether secular or regular, who labor for the conversion of the infidels, and refuse them safe passage over their lands. Far from encouraging the new converts to bring other pagans over to the faith, they reduce them to an insupportable slavery. They oppress even the ecclesiastics, maltreat and even kill them; despoil and pull down or burn

the churches; and after having thus treated the ecclesiastics, they compel them, by imprisonment or threats, to promise not to seek redress. They have caballed to weaken in the country the authority of the Holy See, and to prevent appeals to Rome. They usurp the rights of the archbishop of Riga and of his church; they plunder the citizens, close the ports, and obstruct the liberty of commerce. Finally, when any of their brotherhood are wounded by the enemy, they themselves put them to death."

The Teutonic knights were rich, and probably abused their wealth, but it is difficult not to perceive exaggeration in these complaints. The court of Avignon perhaps gave too much credit to these denunciations, but it had good reason to redouble its watchfulness. To settle the famous question raised in 1322, between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, as to the question of the poverty of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, John, in 1323, declared that the constitution in which Nicholas III. had granted to the Friars Minor the use of the things of which he reserved the property to the Roman Church, which constitution was explained and confirmed by Clement V., was not to be understood as to things which are consumed by use. The pope added, that those who affirmed that Christ and the apostles possessed nothing, individually, or in common, should be rejected as heretics. In 1324, he condemned those who ventured to contradict his decision.

In presence of so solemn a decision by the pope, Vitalius and Bertrand de la Tour, Franciscan cardinals, and some bishops of the same order, immediately obeyed. They had written books discussing the questions. But there was a dissident, Michael of Cesena, also of the Franciscan order, who was afterwards unanimously condemned by his own brethren as well as by his pupils. They had all embraced that side of the question, to pay court to Louis of Bavaria, in his celebrated controversy with Pope John. The controversy arose in this way. The Emperor Henry dying on the 2d of August, 1314, the electors of the empire assembled in the following year to elect a successor. Some elected Louis of Bavaria; others Frederic, son of Albert of Austria. Each supported his pretension by arms. The Holy Father seeing that the Bavarian caused himself to be treated as emperor, without awaiting the papal confirmation, begged him to remember that it was necessary that the matter of the election should be treated before the Holy See. The two competitors were cited, and called upon to show the reasons upon which they based their rights to the imperial crown. Louis would not submit to this judgment; and he even, on many occasions, defended those who were condemned for heresy. John ordered that there should be no communion with those who supported Louis as to what concerned the empire.

The Bavarian appealed to the pope better informed, and to a general council. Then the Holy Father deprived the prince of all rights, and ex-

communicated him as the patron of the heretical *fraticelli*.* Louis hired writers to draw up works in which they pretended that John was not a true pope. On the 20th of October, 1327, John excommunicated Louis, as having a court consisting of heretics, schismatics, and apostates. Louis declared that he would go to Rome, where some of the seditious promised him their aid. Some more faithful Romans had also called upon the pope to go to Rome, but he was sick, and eighty years of age, and could not venture upon such a journey.

Louis, having arrived at Rome, caused himself to be crowned king of the Romans, in the Vatican Basilica, by James Alberti, bishop of Venice, and Gerard Orlandini, an Augustinian bishop of Aleria, both already deposed and excommunicated. Louis then set a very scandalous example of contempt of Christian duty. He collected the accusations that had been brought against the pope, pronounced him degraded from the papacy, and condemned him to be *burned alive* as a heretic, and guilty of high treason, for having usurped the rights of the emperor, and for appointing vicars of the empire in Italy. Louis granted full power to the secular authority to punish John, and he caused the election of an antipope, Nicholas, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

The Holy Father, after ordering public prayers for the extinction of the schism, again condemned the Bavarian, and excommunicated the antipope, as well as all who had assisted in his intrusive election.

Louis continued his violence; he called the pope John of Cahors, and also gave him the title of *Prester-John*.

The pope, meantime, neglected none of his duties. He canonized the great Saint Thomas Aquinas, the immortal glory of the Dominicans, who died at the age of forty-nine, in the year 1274, as we have related, at the Cistercian monastery of Fossa Nuova, in the diocese of Terracina, while on his way from Naples to Lyons. Subsequently, Saint Pius V., of the Dominican order, by a bull of the 11th of April, 1567, declared Saint Thomas the fifth of the holy Doctors of the Church.

An attempt was made to raise new difficulties for the pope, because as a private doctor, and not as the Universal Doctor, he had appeared to believe that souls purged from all sin, and entering heaven, could not before the last day enjoy the sight of God. The pope, on his death-bed, declared, in the presence of the cardinals, that purified souls at once enjoyed the beatific vision. He protested that he had never intended to advance any thing contrary to the faith, and that if he had hazarded a proposition contrary to sound doctrine, he formally retracted it. Unfortunately, the document which by his order was drawn up on the subject, could not be completed

* See Life of Clement V.

in consequence of his death. But the successor of John, to reply to the calumniators, published a bull, on the 29th of January, 1336, in which he established the doctrine to which John was strongly attached before his death—namely, that souls purged from all sin, instantly enjoy the intuitive sight of God. The same bull forbade the teaching of the contrary, on pain of excommunication.

In his promotion of cardinals in 1331, John had given the purple to Talleyrand de Perigord, a French nobleman, of the counts of that name, and allied to almost all the princes of France. He was bishop of Limoges in 1324. In 1328, he was transferred to Auxerre: then, at the request of King Philip VI., created cardinal-priest of Saint Peter, *in vincoli*. He next became bishop of Albano. Being afterwards accused by Louis of Hungary of complicity in the affairs of the succession of the king of Naples, Talleyrand was declared innocent. Appointed in 1356 to restore peace between the kings of England and France, he was obliged to leave the latter kingdom. He was next named legate *à latere* for the Holy Land, but died before he could set out. Novaes (iv., p. 104) says that he was a cardinal of great authority; at Toulouse he had founded the Perigord college, and at Perigueux the famous Carthusian Vaclair (*Valle Chiara*).

We must here, in justice to John XXII., state that he had resolved to change the pontifical residence from Avignon to Bologna, as he often promised Cardinal Napoleon Orsini; but there was an obstacle. He was told that, before his departure, he ought to be assured that Philip de Valois had actually begun his march to the Holy Land. Philip having deferred, John could not accomplish his project, which was the more honorable to him because his great age rendered the design so perilous as to lead to the belief that he would not be able to accomplish it. This pope was born in 1244.

In 1334, the pope reformed (not *instituted*, as some authors have said) the tribunal of the *Rota*, so called because each member performed his duty in turn, *per rota*. The members were fourteen in number; Sixtus IV. reduced them to twelve;—three Romans, one German, one French, one Castilian, one Aragonese, one Venetian, one of Milan, one alternately from Florence and Perugia; one from Bologna, and one from Ferrara.

To John XXII. has been attributed the bull called *Sabbatine*, which commences thus: *Sacratissimo uti culmine*, containing indulgences granted to the Carmelites and their associates; but the document is disputed.* We shall speak of this bull again under the reign of Paul V.

John XXII. did not shrink from the most painful labors. He had pacified England, aided the king of Majorca against the Saracens, and sent

* Papebroke, Natalis Alexander.

missionaries to preach the faith to the infidels. The Eastern Church endeavored to triumph over the Turks. A league against them was formed by the kings of France, Sicily, Cyprus, and Armenia, and the Emperor Andronicus. The Venetians also promised their aid. All the princes had respectfully listened to the exhortations of John, but an outbreak in Bologna deeply excited his grief, and caused his death on the 4th of December, 1334. He is affirmed to have been ninety years of age. In the morning, having heard Mass and communicated, he felt weaker than usual; he sent for six cardinals, recommended the care of the Church to them, and added a few words about his relatives to whom he had given the purple, but whom he left poor.

"John," says Novaes,* "carried great constancy into his enterprises. He was low in stature, but he had acquired vast knowledge; his mind was profound and sagacious, his heart magnanimous, and his prudence consummate. He was known to be eloquent, sober, frugal, humble, and just. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he was lively and easily irritated; but his anger was of brief duration, and suddenly, in the midst of a fit of petulance, his countenance would become serene, and he would laugh at the excitement he had but just ceased to feel."

His body was found intact when, in 1759, his mausoleum was removed to another part of the cathedral. It was said that he left in the treasury twenty-five millions of florins in gold, eighteen in silver, and seven in gold and silver plate and jewels. Novaes believes that there is some exaggeration in this statement, reported by Villani, little favorable to the French popes.

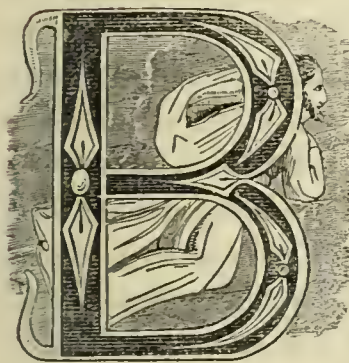
The Holy See was vacant fifteen days. Peter Corbario, in French Corbière, who was anti-pope under John XXII., had for forty years been a Franciscan in the convent of Araceli. He obtained the favor of Louis of Bavaria, and although as a *fraticello* he should have disdained honors, he surrounded himself with a pompous retinue. In order to maintain this magnificence, he sold the sacred vessels, dignities, and privileges, and, for money, annulled the privileges granted by the true pontiff. Abandoned at length by all, he went to Avignon and begged pardon from John, who treated him kindly, but would not restore him to the liberty which he might abuse. Corbario lived three years and one month under strict surveillance, and died in the month of September, 1333. He was buried in the church of the Franciscans, in their habit, and with proper honors.

During the reign of John XXII., Helyon de Villeneuve was named grand master of the Hospitallers by a chapter assembled at Avignon, under the very eyes of the pope. Foulques de Villaret, the previous grand master,

* Novaes, iv., p. 110.

and the conqueror of the island of Rhodes in 1310, had been intrusted by the court of Rome with a great secret. It was decided in the pontifical councils that the Hospitallers, in order that they might avoid the fate of the Templars, should become sovereigns somewhere, whence they could continue to protect the Holy Land. But Foulques thinking more of his own interests, perhaps, than of those of his order, and led by a foolish pride, excited a revolt. The pontiff thought that Helyon would be at once a more faithful depository of that secret, and a Knight Hospitaller disposed to love and care for his brethren without wishing to oppress them, and so it proved.

199. BENEDICT XII.—A. D. 1334.



BENEDICT XII. was originally named Fournier, and surnamed *De Nouveau*. He was the son of a miller, and nephew, on the mother's side, of Pope John XXII. He was born at Saverdun, near Toulouse.

After embracing the ecclesiastical life in the abbey of Bolbona, of the Cistercian order, he went to Paris to study, and was bachelor when he was elected abbot of Fontfroide, of the same order. He was bishop of Pamiers nine years, then of Mirepoix twenty-two months, and at length cardinal-priest of Santa Prisca. He owed this honor to John XXII., in 1327. He was called the *White Cardinal*, because he had been a Cistercian, and not a Carmelite, as some authors have said, who are refuted by Baluze.

On the 13th of December, twenty-four cardinals assembled in conclave at Avignon, under the care of the Count Monasi, seneschal to Robert king of Naples, sovereign of Avignon and of the county of Noailles, marshal of the Roman court, and governor of the county Venaissin. The pontificate was then offered to Cardinal John de Comminges, on condition that he would not return to Rome. He replied that such a compact would be prejudicial to the Church, and that he would rather be deprived of his red hat than obtain the pontificate on such unworthy conditions. He added, that such proposals prolonged the dangers of the Church, which was removed from its legitimate and natural seat. Then they began to speak indirectly of the *White Cardinal*, who was deemed the least important member of the sacred college. By degrees the cardinals thought more seriously

about him. Comminges was of opinion that all the votes should be given to the White Cardinal, who very soon, without a scrutiny, was unanimously elected.

All who had concurred in the vote were astonished at the result. No one more so than James Fournier himself. "What have you done, my brothers?" he said; "among all you have chosen the least worthy." But they insisted, and he accepted the tiara. He took the name of Benedict, in memory of the patriarch Saint Benedict, whose rule he had followed during many years, and was crowned on the 8th of January, 1335, in the convent of the Dominicans, by Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, who, as we have seen, crowned the three preceding popes.

On the following day, Benedict wrote a circular letter to all the bishops and to all the Christian princes, except Louis of Bavaria, excommunicated by John XXII., and Frederic, king of Sicily, who had refused to pay homage for that kingdom.

The cardinals were poor: Benedict gave them 120,000 gold florins to enable them to supply their needs; and he gave 50,000 more towards repairing the decaying churches and palaces of Rome.

He then sought means to eradicate simony, which continued its mischiefs, to make a wholesome reform in the religious orders, and to provide the churches with worthy pastors. He desired that the priesthood should be conferred only upon men of prudence, goodness, and learning, saying that he did not wish to *make mud splendid*. He ordered the bishops and abbots who were at Avignon to return to their residences. He condemned the custom of Clement V. and John XXII., of giving benefices *in commendam*, and only excepted those given to the cardinals and titular patriarchs of the East, who had no other resources. In a spirit of order, he suppressed the *expectatives*, by which benefices were conferred before they were vacant. France, England, and Germany abounded in these illicit favors.

He reformed the chancery, and established rules there which still subsist. Benedict had formed the design of returning to Rome, because upon that point he shared the noble sentiments of Cardinal Comminges. The Romans, by their ambassadors, entreated the new pontiff promptly to effect that return of the Holy See; but some cardinals, already accustomed to the air of Provence, were not of the like inclination, and under the pretext that the Bolognese, invited at first to receive the pope and his cortege, sent only dilatory replies, the same cardinals persuaded Benedict that the old pontifical palace at Avignon ought to be pulled down, and a new one erected on its site. Meanwhile Alphonso, king of Aragon, and King Robert, swore faith and rendered homage, and paid the stipulated tribute.

At this time the pope learning that men intrusted by the pilgrims to interpret to confessors the details of their sins and offences, had sacrilegiously

divulged the confessions, ordered that they should be punished, and it was then established that the penitentiaries should belong to various nations, and should speak the most generally diffused languages.

Louis of Bavaria at length deplored his excesses towards the Holy See. Benedict hearing of his repentance, encouraged him; but imprudent alliances contracted by that prince, threw him back into heresy, and he incurred new excommunications.

It was at this period that Benedict published the bull of which we have spoken above, in which he declared that the souls of the just, when scarcely freed from the body, if they had not to suffer the pains of purgatory, pass instantly to the heavenly beatitude, which consists in the sight of God.

In 1338, Benedict created six cardinals, five French and one Italian. Here was still the same favoritism. The Italians continued to complain, and the Bolognese would not submit. The pope revoked the privileges of the University of Bologna, and ordered the professors and students to leave it. It had thus lost its splendor and its wealth, and to get back their university, the Bolognese finally recognized the authority of the Holy See.

During the whole term of his pontificate, Benedict showed that he knew no kindred.

He died on the 25th of April, after governing the Church seven years, four months, and six days. He sometimes said that a pope had no family, and that the true priest, after the order of Melchisedech, ought to have neither father nor genealogy. Benedict had but one niece, and he married her to a trader in Toulouse, refusing her to high personages who earnestly sought her hand.

Benedict, though unacquainted with political affairs, had great knowledge, was full of holy intentions, and of great integrity of morals. God permitted miracles to follow the death of this pope. The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.

Benedict scarcely ever submitted to the will of the king of France.

Platina says that Benedict loved and sought out the good, but hated and repelled the wicked. Platina also said: "He intended to invite Zorus, a famous painter of that time, to paint the history of the martyrs in the palace he had erected." I suspect that there is an error of the press here, and that we should read *Zotum*, or rather *Joctum*,—that is to say, Giotto, a celebrated painter, who left such fine frescoes at Assisi, who had already painted at Avignon, and who died in 1336, two years after the election of Benedict XII.

Here is another pope born in an obscure rank, who, nevertheless, was one of the noble pontiffs of Catholicity. Nothing arrests the action of the papacy, even beyond its principal and first domain. Often represented by

men whom society condemns to a kind of nullity, the papacy seems to say that all elements, be they what they may, must obey it.

Thus far it has controlled the events of five centuries, from the time of Charlemagne. Let us still consider its power as immense. All is good in its eyes, the great and the small—the son of the prince and the son of a miller ; it must love, console, teach, and civilize ; it establishes academies, which, receiving pupils from all points, return with noble usury more than they have received. Among the universality of the various conditions, the papacy chooses with discernment : all that which is pious and learned becomes its ornament and glory. Human equality was invented and practised there before modern philosophers had begun to dream of it.

200. CLEMENT VI.—A. D. 1342.



CLEMENT VI., originally Peter Roger, was of the noble family of Beaufort, whose genealogy is given by Baluze. He was born in a village dependent on the castle of Maumort, diocese of Limoges, in France. At the age of ten he took the Benedictine habit, in the monastery of Chaise-Dieu, in Auvergne. At thirty-one years of age he was professor of theology at Paris, preceptor of Charles, marquis of Moravia, who was afterwards emperor under the name of Charles IV., and at length *proviseur* of the Sorbonne. Having become abbot of the monastery of Fecamp, in Normandy, he was sent by John XXII. as nuncio to London and Paris, to put an end to the war between those two capitals. He then became bishop of Arras, and at the same time keeper of the seals and chancellor to the king ; then, in 1329, he was archbishop of Sens and of Rouen. Benedict XII. gave him the title of cardinal of Saints Nereus and Achilles.

The second day of the conclave, in which there were seventeen cardinals (one being absent from an attack of gout), and thirteen days after the decease of Benedict XII., Peter Roger was elected pope, at the age of fifty, on the 7th of May, 1342. The pontificate had been predicted to him by Stephen Aldebrand, prior of a monastery, when Peter, leaving Paris to go to Chaise-Dieu, was plundered by robbers in the wood of Randan. The prior gave Peter clothes to continue his journey ; and Peter full of gratitude,

said to the prior—"And when shall I return this favor?" "When you are pope," replied the prior, with great presence of mind. And, in fact, when he was pope, Peter sent for the prior, made him chamberlain of honor, then archbishop of Arles, and afterwards of Toulouse.

The new pontiff took the name of Clement VI.; he was crowned on Whitsunday, the 19th of May, in the church of the Dominicans, which he quitted to traverse, in magnificent pomp, the finest streets of Avignon. John, duke of Normandy, heir to the crown of France, held the bridle of the pope's horse; and there were also present Philip, duke of Burgundy, and Humbert, the dauphin, duke of Viennois.

The pope made known his promotion to all the sovereigns of Europe, exhorting them to govern their people mildly, to maintain religion with all their strength, and to preserve the purity of the faith.

He ordered all the favors asked of him to be expedited gratuitously during two months. On this occasion, all the ecclesiastics of Europe rushed to enjoy the fruits of that new favor. Nearly a hundred thousand of them arrived, who returned to their own countries overwhelmed with favors and with gratitude. Benedict, from his strictness, left many benefices unfilled; Clement left none vacant. He made a great many reserves in the bishoprics and abbeys, disregarding the elections of chapters and communities; and when it was represented to him that his predecessors had not held the same course, he replied that "then they did not know how to be popes."

As soon as the news of the election of the pontiff reached Rome, the Romans, as they had done under Clement V., John XXII., and Benedict XII., dispatched eighteen ambassadors, six from each of the three estates, selected by the first families of Rome. At the head of the embassy were Stephen Colonna and Francis de Vico.

Then another embassy was sent; it included the celebrated Francis Petrarch, who the year before had received the poetic laurel crown. Both embassies were directed to insist upon the pope's return to Rome with his court.

The pope said that that was not as yet possible, and he gave as a reason the necessity of reconciling the Catholic princes; for the war still continued between France and England. He also alleged as a reason the necessity of remedying the evils of Spain, which was in an unfortunate condition.

Clement, after honestly alleging these motives, employed his utmost activity to destroy the scourge of war. He published a sentence of excommunication against whomsoever should arm a vessel to make a descent upon France, and against any one who should make an incursion into England. By these various means he produced an armistice for three years. At the same time he restored peace between Peter, king of Aragon, and James, king of Majorca.

In 1342, there was a promotion of cardinals, in which there were nine French cardinals, and one Italian. The majority of the French were blood relations of the pope. We shall henceforth abstain from all animadversion on that head. Apparently, the minds of the popes of Avignon were acted upon by a violent and fatal necessity.

On the 19th of January, 1343, Robert, surnamed the Wise, king of Naples, died, and left his States to Jane, daughter of his son Charles, and wife of Andrew, king of Hungary. The States were to be governed by a regency named by the king, until the young princess and her youthful husband attained the age of twenty-five years.

The Holy Father affirmed that he alone had the right to administer that kingdom, which was dependent on the Holy See, and he appointed Cardinal Aymery de Chastellux as governor, in his name, until Queen Jane attained her majority. The regents, appointed by Robert, themselves obeyed the orders of the pontiff, who, by his legate, tranquilly governed the kingdom.

The royal pair were about to be crowned, when, on the night preceding the day appointed for that ceremony, the unfortunate prince, Andrew, was found strangled.

Some traitors it was said, by the order of his own wife, had committed the crime. On hearing this, the pope sent to Naples Cardinal Bernard de Poyet, with instructions to follow the proceedings against the queen, suspected of having ordered the death of her husband, a young man only nineteen years old. She was never convicted of the crime, and in the following year she married Louis, prince of Tarento.

On the 27th of February, 1344, the pope gave the cardinal's hat to two Frenchmen.

Clement, in 1344, crowned as king of the Fortunate Islands (now known as the Canaries), Louis de la Cerda, count of Clermont, and prince royal of Spain, who took the oath to remain tributary to the Holy See, and pay the annual sum of four hundred gold florins. It now remained for the new king to gain possession of his kingdom, obtained on condition of establishing the Catholic faith there. The enterprise was executed by another. The descendants of La Cerda are now a part of the Medina Celi family.

Clement continued to invite the princes to hold themselves in readiness for another crusade, which he had published in 1343. In regard to this enterprise, he wrote to the grand master of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem a letter which is worth citing, as it refers indirectly to the Knights Templars.

Helyon de Villeneuve, grand master of the Knights of Rhodes, was thus remonstrated with :

"We learn from many persons of consideration that you and your

brothers make no good use of the innumerable possessions* that you hold on both sides of the sea.† Those who have the management of them can ride fine horses and make good cheer, are superbly dressed, and eat off gold and silver plate, keep dogs and falcons for the chase, amass great wealth, and dispense small alms.

“And then, they do not trouble themselves about the Christian faith, or the defence of Christian people, chiefly those beyond sea, for which defence *their great wealth was given to them*. For these reasons it has been debated whether it would not be well for the Holy See to create a new military order, to be endowed with a portion of this property of yours, so that there should be emulation between the two orders, as formerly there was between yours and the Templars.

“There is about to be another expedition, in which you are invited to partake. Many complain that you have great dissensions among yourselves, and that you do not pay your serving brothers and your priests.”

The reproof is bitter, but it was dated from near the spot on which Jacques Molay was burned.

Villaret had labored selfishly, and he was punished for it. Villeneuve looked only to the order and his own sovereign power. Some of the members took advantage of the virtues of their grand master. Villeneuve did no wrong, and he had to suffer for the misdeeds of others.

The Christian army set out, besieged and took Smyrna. The Hospitalers replied by their victories to the accusations which their enemies made against them to the pope.

Then the Holy Father granted to Otho, duke of Burgundy, and to John, duke of Normandy, as well as to Philip, king of France, and his queen, the privilege of communicating in both kinds. Those sovereigns made use of that privilege only on the day of their coronation and at the point of death.

Bercastle‡ says that communion under both kinds was the ordinary custom at the commencement of the twelfth century, but from the thirteenth century was exclusively reserved to priests, in the Latin Church. “But,” adds Novaes,§ “we find neither law nor constitution for the change, which was introduced insensibly.”

James being despoiled of his kingdom of Majorca by Peter, the king of Aragon, applied to the sovereign refuge common to all princes, and he obtained from the court of Avignon complete protection and reparation.

* The Knights of Rhodes had become rich, though they were so overloaded with debt in the reign of John XXII. Did the nuncios of that pope give less correct information than those of Clement VI.? (See our Life of John XXII.)

† Some Italian writers have pretended that the treasures of the Templars were confiscated to the treasury in France, and that a portion of the landed property had really been given to the Hospitalers.

‡ Novaes, iv., p. 134.

§ *Hist. de l'Egl.*, tome xiv., p. 111.

Louis of Bavaria did not return, as he endeavored to do, to better sentiments. The excommunication issued against him by Clement's predecessors was renewed. At the call of the pope, the electors assembled and named as king of the Romans Charles IV., of the house of Luxemburg, Marquis of Moravia, and son of John, king of Bohemia. He was crowned at Rome, and remained in peaceful possession of the empire after the death of Louis, which occurred in 1347. Then those great evils ceased which had caused so much disturbance in Germany and Italy.

We have now to give an account of the attempt made in 1347 by Cola de Rienzi. He made himself tyrant of Rome, persuading the populace that the ancient splendor of the Roman republic should be restored, and he declared himself the Tribune of the new republic. The pope's legate was not slow to profit by the faults of the senseless revivor of an authority which time and change had rendered impossible. After several months of tyranny (1348), he was excommunicated. He voluntarily resigned the insignia of his Tribune power, and fell into the hands of the agents of the Holy Father, who kept him prisoner. Under the reign of Innocent VI. we shall again have to make mention of Rienzi.

The same year, Clement canonized Saint Yvo de Treguier, and Robert, founder and first abbot of the monastery of the Chaise-Dieu.

It was in 1348 that the pope purchased from Queen Jane, of Provence, the city and dependencies of Avignon, for the sum of eighty thousand gold florins.

Villani says that the sum demanded was only three thousand, but a host of writers state it at eighty thousand. The Emperor Charles IV. confirmed the deed of sale by an edict of the first of November following.

The sect of the *flagellants*, which took its rise in Italy about the year 1260, was condemned by the pope in most severe terms. Those wretched people continued to teach, among other impieties, that no one could be saved unless baptized in his own blood, drawn from him by scourging. In their eyes, baptism by water was useless. Clement's bull especially condemned those who, coming from Hungary, scourged themselves publicly in the streets, thus giving a spectacle at once disgusting and cruel.

When Clement ascended the papal throne, the Romans asked him to do them three favors: first, to accept for life, not as pope, but as Peter Roger, the title of senator, captain, and of other charges of the city; second, to inhabit the Lateran palace, near the church, the mother of all the churches, and the peculiar See of the pontiff; the third, to reflect how few people could enjoy the jubilee granted centennially by Boniface VIII., and to appoint the jubilee for every fifty years.

Two months after, the pope replied to the first request, that he accepted the charges, which he well knew were rightfully his, and that he would des-

ignate persons who, in his name, should govern Rome, without prejudice to his pontifical authority.

To the second request, he replied that he would continue to inhabit Avignon, for the purpose of reconciling the Catholic princes, and more closely attending to the negotiations. This determination of Clement we have already mentioned.

To the third request, he replied that he willingly did what was agreeable to the Romans; the jubilee of the holy year should be celebrated every fiftieth year, and that the next jubilee should take place in 1350. The same constitution provided that to the visiting of Saint Peter and Saint Paul should be added the visiting of Saint John Lateran. Gregory XI., by his constitution *Salvator noster*, dated at Avignon, 29th of April, 1373, ordered that the visit to Saint John Lateran should also be made.

Cardinal Annibaldi de Ceccano, the legate at Rome, had orders to take all necessary measures to prevent the peace from being disturbed at the approaching jubilee, and for securing to the pilgrims the necessary aid, provisions, and protection.

From Easter to Christmas, twelve hundred thousand pilgrims were computed to have arrived, including personages of high rank; among them was Louis, king of Hungary.

At this time Florence solicited the privilege of erecting a university.

In the promotion of cardinals, in 1350, we find nine French; Capocci, a noble Roman, great nephew of Honorius IV., and Giles Alborno, a noble Spaniard, born at Cuenca, a relation of the king of Aragon. It was this cardinal, formerly a military man, who in less than five years reduced a great number of revolted principalities and cities to obedience to the popes. He had the keys of all the conquered cities delivered to him, and when he was afterwards accused of improper administration of the property of the Church, he presented to Urban V., who was then at Viterbo, several wagons filled with the keys of the castles and cities that he had recovered for the Holy See. Among the French cardinals we find a Montesquieu, born in the diocese of Auch, in Gascony.

Armenia, in 1351, governed by Leo, was a prey to disturbances which destroyed the faith, and encouraged the enterprises of schismatics. As was then the custom, for the good of the Church, and for both the morality and the interests of the nations, the pontiff interposed in questions of public order wherever they arose. As the history of the Church, touching such occurrences, was that of the world, it must be said that Clement determined to purge Armenia of many fatal and inveterate errors.

Fresh efforts were made to induce the Christian princes to send reinforcements and money to the Armenians, to enable them to resist their enemies.

Clement especially exerted himself to make known to the princes that

there was in Asia a people that held the Catholic faith. To assist them would be to diminish the expense of the crusades, as the crusaders would thus find on the spot friends and brothers who would render it easier for them to conquer the Turks. From the great number of missionaries whom he sent into those countries, Clement, better than any other prince in Europe, knew the extent of the evils and the kind of succor that was required; and he might hope for great success, facilitated by the enthusiasm and the gratitude of the Catholics of the country.

John Visconti, archbishop of Milan, had received investiture of that city and of its castles; but he had usurped Bologna, and that city, which had refused to receive the Holy Father, groaned beneath the yoke imposed upon it by the Visconti. As usual in such cases, Bologna recurred to her former master for deliverance. The pope repressed the invasions of the archbishop, and then, by virtue of arrangements provided for cases of tyranny, he granted the investiture of Bologna to that same prelate. This circumstance was due solely to the false position in which the popes were placed, in sometimes having more power at the courts of other sovereigns than in the cities which were the absolute and recognized property of the Holy See.

Some complaint was made against a portion of the constitution of Gregory X., concerning the conclave. A new bull allowed the sacred electors to eat meat, fish, herbs, eggs, and fruit, at the time when the use of such food is permitted.

This pope, who was indefatigable in labor, began, however, to lose his strength, and he died, almost suddenly, on the 6th of December, 1352. He had governed the Church ten years and seven months, all but one day. Before his death he recommended the interests of the Holy See to the cardinals.

His body was removed, in the following year, from Avignon to the abbey of Chaise-Dieu, where he had been made a monk.

Some time before his death, the pious and scrupulous pontiff had said in a constitution: "If, formerly, being in a lower rank, or since we were raised to the apostolic chair, we have, either in controversy or in preaching, said any thing contrary to Catholic faith or Christian morality, we revoke it, and we submit it to the correction of the Holy See."

We read in Feller: * "Fleury has drawn an unfavorable portrait of this pope, upon the simple authority of Michael Villani, who was a passionate historian, and the creature of Louis of Bavaria, and who is all the more to be distrusted in his account of Clement because he considered every thing in him odious, with the exception of his learning, which he endeavors to

* Feller, ii., p. 281.

underrate, while a host of other historians attribute to him superior enlightenment and learning, an extreme beneficence, and a fund of humanity, kindness, and gentleness, which caused Petrarch himself to say that never did any one more rightfully bear the name of *Clement*. The confident facility with which Fleury repeats Villani's calumnies, should suffice to keep the reader on his guard against the judgments pronounced by that historian of the Church upon many illustrious men, and especially upon some of the sovereign pontiffs." Our own opinion is already known as to most of Fleury's judgments.

Novaes* says: "Clement had profound knowledge, and so singularly faithful a memory that he never forgot what he had once read. He was mild, polished, courteous, and of agreeable aspect. No one saw him without loving him. Clement was magnificent and splendid in all his actions. he had a great number of attendants, and especially of physicians, whom he supported without needing them.

"He spent 100,000 florins upon the poor, and much more upon his relations, *of whom he was too fond.*" It has been said of him that he *humanized* the too strict virtues of Benedict XII.

Saint Peter Thomas of Aquitaine, of the order of the Carmelites, in twelve funeral orations, celebrated the merits of this pontiff, as is attested by Father Jacob in the Pontifical Library, lib. i., p. 55.

The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.

201. INNOCENT VI.—A. D. 1352.



HE name of Innocent VI. was Stephen Aubert. He was born at Brissac, near Pompadour (Limousin), of parents in middling circumstances. At first professor of civil law, he became, in succession, auditor of the tribunal of the *Rota*, and bishop of Noyon. After being translated to the See of Clermont, he was created by Clement VI. cardinal of Saints John and Paul; the same pope then named him legate to the courts of France and England, to negotiate a peace between those kingdoms, and, finally, bishop of Ostia and grand penitentiary.,

* Novaes, iv., p. 147.

In 1352, Stephen was elected pope on the 18th of December, twelve days after the death of Clement VI. Twenty-eight cardinals were in the conclave. The majority were inclined to give the tiara to John Birel, the holy general of the Carthusians; but Cardinal de Talleyrand,* who feared that he would be too strict, dissuaded them from so doing. Subsequently, Talleyrand, seeing the miracles wrought by that great monk, abandoned his prejudice, and acquired such esteem for the Carthusians, that he founded and richly endowed a magnificent monastery of that order in France. Cardinal de Couillac obtained eighteen votes, but nineteen being required, Stephen Aubert was very suddenly elected, because John II., king of France, was making forced marches upon Avignon, to compel the election of a pope to his own liking, which that king might well promise himself, as many of the cardinals were his own subjects.

The new pontiff took the name of Innocent VI., and was crowned in the cathedral church, on the 23d of the same month of December, by Cardinal Gaillard de la Mothe, first cardinal-deacon; but he would not have the customary cavalcade in the city after the coronation, declaring that he avoided the pomp of that ceremony in order to avoid the expense.

Innocent proceeded without delay to the reform of many abuses which were then complained of. He revoked the constitution by which Clement VI. had reserved to certain cardinals some dignities, and some benefices in cathedrals, as well as in collegiate and religious churches. He annulled the *commendam* of the churches and monasteries, excepting those which had been granted to cardinals. He enjoined residence upon the bishops, on pain of excommunication. He exacted it with equal strictness from the holders of benefices who had the cure of souls, and who rushed to the pontifical court to solicit more lucrative benefices. "The sheep," said he, "must be taken care of by their own shepherd." He reformed, beyond what had been done by his predecessors, the excessive luxury of the court, and retained, to the necessary number, those domestics who deserved it by their good conduct. He established a fixed salary for the auditor of the Rota, and ordered that thenceforth the priesthood and the benefices should be conferred only upon persons of great merit, saying that the ecclesiastical dignities were not the reward of high birth but of virtue. He firmly reformed the young cardinals who, under the preceding pontificate, had abused their rank and power. Finally, he annulled all the laws that the cardinals had established in the recent conclave.

The object of these laws was to limit the power of the pope. The substance of them was as follows: "The pope will create no cardinals until the number shall be reduced to sixteen; to those he can add only four, to

* Novaes, iv., p. 150.

form at most the number of twenty ; and he cannot create them without the consent of all the cardinals, or, at least, of two-thirds. He will not touch their property while they live, nor after their death.* He is not to alienate or unfief the lands of the Roman Church, in whatever province or place they may be, according to the privilege of Nicholas IV. No relation or connection of the pope shall have the office of marshal of the Roman court, or governor of the provinces and territories of the Church. The pope is to grant to no prince tithes or other subsidies, nor reserve them to the chamber, without the advice of two-thirds of the cardinals ; and he is to leave them freedom of voting in their deliberations. All the present cardinals swear that the one who shall become pope will invariably observe the foregoing, and any one elected pope or cardinal shall, on the same day, make the same promise."

Some of the arrangements in the above, those which relate to favors of nepotism, may be excused. The other articles of that law, calculated to introduce into the noble pontifical power a fatal aristocracy, must be censured.

On the 25th of December, 1352, the pope raised to the purple his nephew, Aldouin Aubert, who was bishop of Paris in 1349, and then promoted to the bishopric of Auxerre.† After receiving the purple, Aldouin Aubert was transferred to the bishopric of Maguellone. At that time, the cardinals bore the name of the bishopric each had filled. As Talleyrand Perigord and Pierre Courson had been bishops of Auxerre, in order to avoid a three-fold confusion the pope's nephew became bishop of Maguellone. Thus the confusion became only twofold, and then the family name was added, to establish a precise distinction between Talleyrand and Courson. It was in 1353 that, in order to make the pontifical authority respected in many parts of Italy, the pope sent hither Cardinal Giles Alvarez Albornoz, a Spaniard.‡

At this time a disturbance broke out in Rome. The people revolted against the senators Stefanello Colonna and Berthold Orsini, appointed to that dignity by the pope ; and Francis Baroncelli, notary of the senate, was made tribune of the city. The Holy Father ordered the liberation of Cola di Rienzi, who promised to restore quiet to the city. Baroncelli was rewarded with death for his senseless confidence in the people ; and Cola di Rienzi was named senator by the pope. Cola subjected to a stern justice the principal insurgents of the city.§ But in 1354, a conspiracy was formed

* Rainaldi, 1352, n. 26.

† Novaes, iv., p. 152.

‡ See *Life of Clement VI.*, p.

§ There is a life of Rienzi by Tomas Fortifiocca, scribe to the senate (Bracciano, 1624, 12mo ; reprinted at Bracciano, in 1631, without the author's name). The French jesuit Sanadon, translated that work, but the translation has not been published. Father du Cerceau wrote another life of Rienzi upon this first one, and with the testimony of more than forty authors. His work was published by another jesuit, Father Brumoy, in 1734. There is still another life of Rienzi by Boispreaux.

against Rienzi, and he was assassinated at the foot of the capitol. After these events, a great number of senators rapidly succeeded each other, and the people at length created *Bannerets*, about whom we shall speak hereafter.

Peter, king of Aragon, went to Avignon, and, as he had done in the reign of Clement VI., swore fealty and did homage for the fief of Sardinia and Corsica, conformably to the oath that he had taken between the hands of Boniface to make that oath to every pope the first year of his pontificate.

Innocent sent Guy, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina, to effect a peace between England and France, but, after the preliminaries, the negotiations were broken off by the French king, according to English authors, but according to French authors, by the English king. It is needful, therefore, to review at a later time the annals of the period, in order to do justice to each, and praise and blame where praise and blame are due. Probably both princes were in the wrong.

In 1354, Innocent granted to Germany and Bohemia the privilege of celebrating, on the Friday after Low-Sunday, the Feast of the Lance and the Nails, which were the instruments of the Passion of Jesus Christ.

The city of Rome showed signs of desiring internal peace. Albornozy was ordered to nominate magistrates and to receive with the customary honors the king of the Romans, Charles IV., who was about to be crowned as emperor.

The king arrived on Maundy-Thursday, 1355, under the strictest incognito, and visited the principal churches of Rome. On Easter-day, he was crowned emperor by the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, Peter Bertrand. Anne, wife of the emperor, was crowned as empress. She had come from Germany escorted by five thousand German cavalry, and more than ten thousand infantry, subjects of the emperor in Italy.

The emperor on the same day accepted a dinner given with great pomp by the cardinal in the palace of Saint John Lateran. The emperor then went to pass the night beyond the city limits, in obedience to the Holy Father, who had required that the emperor, when once crowned, should not remain a single day in the city.

The Emperor Charles IV. is the same who is called *the priests' emperor*,* on account of his union with the Holy See, and the respect that he showed to the popes. To him was owing the constitutive bulla which was formed by the famous Bartolus, and is known as the *Caroline*, or the *Golden Bull*, because it bore a gold seal. This bull served as the fundamental law in the election of the emperors.†

* Novaes, iv., p. 155.

† There is a treatise on this bull by George Theodore Dietrich, entitled, *Ad Bullam Auream* (Frankfort, 1558, 4to). There are other works on the same subject, which were printed at Heidelberg, Stuttgart, and Jena.

Queen Jane and her husband had not paid the tribute due to the Holy See ; but upon the pope making some rather sharp remonstrances, it was paid, and a good understanding restored between Naples and Rome. Innocent, feeling for the misfortunes of the Greek empire, and more than ever desiring the union of the two Churches, sent legates to Cantacuzenus, who governed the empire during the minority of John Paleologus. Cantacuzenus, who was no less skilful in theology than in the science of history and politics, believed that that union could only be effected by a general council at which the bishops of both Churches should be present.

When Paleologus ascended the throne and governed for himself, he bound himself by oath to obey the pope in the same manner as other Catholic emperors and kings, to render due honors to apostolic legates, and so to act as to cause the Greeks to recognize the authority of the Holy See. At the same time, Paleologus begged the pope to send an army to put down at once the Turks and the rebellious Greeks. A treaty was signed with the bishop of Smyrna, apostolic nuncio. Greek ambassadors went to Innocent, and he sent two bishops to Constantinople to strengthen the feeling of conciliation. But perceiving that this enterprise did not succeed, owing to the perfidy of some Christians who favored the Turk, he ordered the king of Cyprus, the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Knights of Rhodes, to get together in the port of Smyrna the number of galleys prescribed by Clement VI., to maintain the rights of religion. In order to bring about the difficult peace between England and France, Innocent sent Cardinals Talleyrand and Capocci. The Most Christian king drove Talleyrand away, with threats of death, and refused the good offices of the Holy Father. When, however, the cardinal learned that the king of France, John II., had unfortunately become a prisoner to the English, he redoubled his efforts with the emperor, and especially with the king of England, who, at the request of the pope, urged with much dignity by Talleyrand, treated his prisoner generously. Each in his turn experienced the beneficial effects of the conciliatory spirit of the popes.

Albornoz being called to Avignon, was received there with the greatest honors. The cardinals went to meet him, and the pope, in full consistory, called him *Father of the Church*.

The University of Bologna lacking a faculty of theology, Innocent founded one with the same privileges enjoyed by the other faculties.

There was a dispute between Peter, king of Aragon, and the senate of Genoa, relative to Sardinia and Corsica. John, marquis of Montferrat, having been named arbiter between them, decided in favor of Genoa. The Genoese immediately took the oath of fidelity for Corsica, which they occupied, between the hands of the pope's legate, Andrew, bishop of Rimini.

As though they could endure no authority, the Romans, after having

tried almost all, even that of Lelio *Pocadota*, a shoemaker, promised to be faithful to Innocent. He sent Hugh de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who was then at Avignon, to govern them. For a time that prince was respected, but ere long disturbances recommenced.

Innocent had a thousand times endeavored to restore peace among the princes of whom he was the common father. He had lavished generous aid during the plague of 1361, which carried off nine cardinals and a hundred bishops, and decimated the people. He had governed the Church nine years, eight months, and twenty-six days, when he died on the 12th of September, 1362. He was interred at Villeneuve, in the church of the Carthusians, a monastery which he had had built in 1356.

Innocent was a great canonist. He loved uprightness and justice. His own life was upright, and his zeal for religion was unalterable. He was rather too much attached to his relatives, but it must be added that all those he favored deserved it. He cherished men of letters, and granted them favors.

He founded, at Toulouse, the college of Saint Martial for twenty students from the diocese of Limoges ; and his nephew, Cardinal Peter de Monture de Donzenac, founded at the same place that of Saint Catherine. In Martene's *Thesaurus* there are some letters of this pope.

The Holy See was vacant one month and fifteen days.

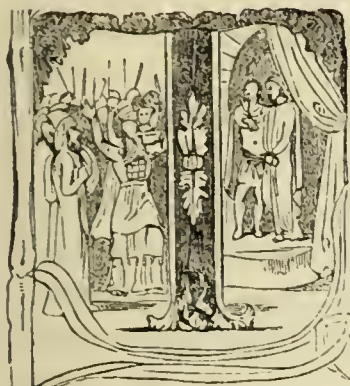
Under this reign, Marino Faliero, doge of Venice, was raised to that dignity at the age of seventy-six years. He formed the project of permanently keeping the power which had been intrusted to him only for a few months. The conspiracy was discovered, and he was beheaded on the 17th of April, 1355, at the age of eighty years.

The kingdoms usurped or legitimately conquered in the Levant, had disturbed all imaginations. The commandant of a town of a hundred inhabitants was sure to endeavor to render himself despotic.

The counterpoise of the good sense, the courage, and the firmness of the popes was therefore more than ever necessary : no voice was raised in Avignon to prevent the action of justice against the usurpers who had perverted authority to their own ends, and which they were bound to surrender at a given time.



202. URBAN V.—A. D. 1362.



HE original name of Urban V. was William de Grimoard. He was the son of the baron du Roure, and of Emphelise de Sabran, sister of Saint Elzear, and was born at Grisac, in the diocese of Mende in the Gévandans. Some authors, however, state that he was not born at Grisac.

Roderick Sanchez, a Spanish historian, calls him a Lombard; Thomas Walsingham says he was English; Anthony Yepes maintains that he was born at Toulouse; Bernadine Cori, that he was born at Sulmona; Matthew Villani thinks that he was born at Beaucaire; while Stephen Baluze declares that this pope was born at Limoges, and supports his opinion by reference to fifty-seven authors, and to an ancient inscription in the cloister of the Augustinian fathers at Toulouse. On comparing this opinion with that of many others, we may affirm that this pontiff, of Limoges origin, was born at Grisac in the diocese of Mende, in the county of Gévandans. At a very early age he entered a Benedictine monastery of the priory of Clairac, and became a very renowned professor at Montpellier, Toulouse, Paris, and Avignon, and then vicar-general to the bishops of Clermont and of Uzes. He was afterwards made abbot of Saint Germain d'Auxerre, whence he was sent to the abbey of Saint Victor of Marseilles.

Innocent VI. summoned him to Avignon, and accredited him to Queen Jane, at Naples, to assist her in governing her States, after the death of her second husband, Louis of Tarento, which occurred on the 26th of May, 1362; and he finally discharged the duties of papal nuncio to the Visconti of Milan. On the 22d of September, after the death of Innocent, twenty cardinals assembled in conclave. The conclave was divided into two parties; the Gascon cardinals, subjects of the king of England as duke of Aquitaine on the one side, and the French cardinals on the other. However, on the 28th of September they agreed to elect Hugh Roger, a Benedictine monk, and brother of Clement VI. But Hugh, with rare courage, and with uncommon modesty, refused the pontificate, and persisted in his refusal. Subsequently, William Grimoard was elected pope, on the 28th of October, at the earnest recommendation of Cardinal d'Aigrefeuille, although he was nuncio at Naples, and was not a cardinal. The author of the *Lives of the Popes of Avignon*, states that this election took place on the 27th.

The sacred electors dispatched to the nuncio the decree of his election : he received it secretly, as some say at Florence, and others at Marseilles, on his way back from Naples, whence he had been summoned on pretext of consulting him upon the differences of opinion in the conclave. The partisans of Grimoard kept the election secret, lest the Italians on learning it should throw obstacles in the way of the new pope's arrival, or that he should refuse the tiara. The election, therefore, was not made public until he reached Avignon, on the 31st of October.

On that day he was enthroned, consecrated on the 6th of November, and crowned by Cardinal Aldouin Aubert, bishop of Ostia.

Every thing was prepared for the ceremony of the cavalcade, but the pope refused thus to show himself in public, for two reasons ; he had a horror of pomp, and then, from a sentiment of noble pontifical modesty, he regarded the papacy as being exiled, as long as it remained at Avignon.

In 1362, and in 1363, Urban condemned Barnabo Visconti, usurper of many of the Church territories, as infidel, heretical, atheist, and impious, and he declared war against him. If, in 1364, Barnabo appeared to repent, it was not long before he yielded to the fury which rendered him one of the most abominable princes of that time.

We will now glance at the principal labors of Urban. He organized a crusade against the Saracens ; it was to be headed by John II., king of France. Cardinal Talleyrand, bishop of Albano, was named papal legate for the expedition. The cares of the pope and his Christian watchfulness prevented a war breaking out between the Genoese and the Venetians. The Genoese were incited to new combats by the Candiotas, then in revolt against Venice. Skill and prudence extinguished the discord between the archbishop of Salzburg and Rodolph, duke of Bavaria. All the princes of Germany had taken a part in it, each in his own interest. Timely representations caused the delay of the hostilities which were in preparation between Charles V., king of France, and the king of Navarre, on the subject of the duchy of Burgundy, that John had given to Philip, while the king of Navarre affirmed that it was his inheritance.

Meanwhile the king of Aragon, ungrateful to the Holy See, appropriated to himself the funds received by the Roman exactors ; and he also usurped those of the cardinals and of the bishops who resided away from their churches, even with the permission of the pope. Urban, not willing to allow ecclesiastical liberty to be oppressed, exhorted the king, in paternal letters, to restore what he had forcibly taken. He conjured him, also, to revoke an edict which enjoined the disposal of the property of the absent clergy. The king replied that he had acted on the advice of wise men ; and the pope then cited the king to appear before the Holy See. Urban also

demanded the payment of the tribute that had been agreed upon, which was now ten years in arrear.

Following the example of the kings of France, of Denmark, and of Cyprus, the Emperor Charles IV., in 1365, paid a visit to Urban.

The pope celebrated Mass solemnly on Whitsunday. The emperor was present, wearing the imperial cloak, with his crown and sceptre.

Charles, in a numerous assemblage of crowned heads, deliberated with Peter de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, upon the means of re-establishing the Catholic faith in Asia, and of extirpating in France and Italy certain bands of adventurers and assassins who threatened to approach Avignon, and threw the court into such consternation that the pope was obliged to purchase his liberty with a large sum of money.

The leader of these assassins, called Arnaud of Servola, vulgarly known as the *archpriest*, was invited to enter Avignon, and he was received there with as great honors as though he had been a son of the king of France. He had the honor to be seated at the table of the pope and his cardinals; and after giving proofs of respect, he departed with the absolution which he had asked and merited by promising no longer to annoy the papal court at Avignon, and to renounce his depredations, which would have drawn down upon him the indignation of the king of France.

It was then that the famous Petrarch strongly urged the pope to leave France, and to restore to the people of Rome the presence of the Holy See.

It is certain that before that event, so well calculated to excite terror in Avignon, which saw itself on the point of being pillaged, the pope had formed the design of at least visiting the holy places of Rome. Cardinal Albornozy had caused the roads to be repaired, and had re-established the influence of the pontifical authority wherever the pope was to make a halt.

In 1366, Urban created two cardinals—the first was Giles de Grimoard, his brother, born at Grisac, a canon-regular of Saint Augustine. The second was William Sudre, a French noble, born in the diocese of Tulle, a celebrated monk of the Dominican order, then bishop of Marseilles, and subsequently of Ostia.

The pope could not forget the great business of reuniting the Latin and Greek Churches. He dispatched legates to Michael Paleologus to hasten its success.

At the same time, Urban made public his great desire to return to Rome.

He set out accompanied by five Venetian galleys, three Pisan galleys, and many other vessels of the Genoese navy, on the 20th of May, 1367, notwithstanding the representations of many sovereigns, some cardinals, and almost all the courtiers. Four days afterwards he was at Genoa.

We now revert in succession to several of the past events. Clement V., in 1305, was the first to remove the Holy See into France; Urban V. was

the sixth pope who resided at Avignon. After Clement V., and before Urban V., John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., and Innocent VI., had continued to impose upon themselves that voluntary exile, far from their capital and flock.* Indeed, these pastors had established themselves at Avignon, as though they were never to leave it. They had purchased the sovereignty of it from Queen Jane, countess of Provence; they built palaces there; they showed great affection for that abode, amidst a people without turbulence and a nobility without ambition. They were more desirous of festivals and pleasures than of religious ceremonies; yet, was it prudent to yield to enervation, and thus to abandon Rome, even in real fear of persecution? The subjection in which France and England at times sought to keep the popes, excited the complaints of Christendom; but there was no reproach due to the reigning pontiff. Urban had set out for Rome.

He entered Genoa, where he was received by the nobility in a splendid palace.

On the 11th of June the pope reached Corneto, where he was met by Cardinal Alborno, and a great number of prelates and noble Romans.

From Viterbo, the pope set out for Rome, where he made his entrance sixty-three years after the death of Benedict XI. He was received with all the honors due to a sovereign and the head of the Church; and he was visited by the Emperor Charles IV., Peter, king of Cyprus, and Queen Jane, of Naples. The emperor had advanced to Viterbo to meet the pope. When Urban entered on horseback, the emperor and the count of Savoy walked beside him, holding his bridle. The empress arrived a few days later, and the pope crowned her on All Saints' day; at Mass the emperor is said to have served as deacon,† but he did not read the Gospels, which he could only do on Christmas-day.

Wishing to avoid the heat of Rome, the pope left there on the 11th of March, 1367, and took the road for Viterbo, where he decided in favor of the Dominicans, in a cause which they maintained against the Franciscans, relating to the body of Saint Thomas, which the latter possessed at *Fossa-Nuova*, whence the sacred remains were transferred to the church of the Dominicans at Toulouse, as the Bollandists state.‡

The order of the Jesuats had been founded in 1360, by the Blessed John Colombini, a noble of Sienna, formerly filling the post of Gonfalonier, the highest dignity in his republic. After separating from his wife, by mutual consent, the founder, at the head of sixty of his companions, crowned with olive leaves, met this pope, who approved the order, placing it under the rule of Saint Augustine.

The pious founder died on the 31st of July, 1367, the same day on which,

* *Italy*, p. 136.

† *Biog. Univ.*, xlvii., p. 195.

‡ Vol. i. of March, p. 725.

subsequently, died Saint Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits. The order of the Jesuats was extinguished by Clement IX., on the 6th of December, 1668. Colombini was placed by Gregory XIII. in the Roman martyrology.

On the 5th of April, 1369, Urban canonized Saint Elzear, count of Sabran; then he went to Viterbo, to avoid the heat. There the Perugians, who wished to shake off the authority of the Holy See, declared war against him. They made raids up to the gates of Viterbo, carrying fire and sword wherever they appeared. The Holy Father perceiving how much these attacks strengthened the party of those who wished to return to Avignon, published a crusade against the Perugians, and succeeded in reducing them to order.

This year, 1370, Paleologus, persuaded of the benevolent intentions of the Holy Father, repaired to Rome. He prostrated himself at the feet of the pontiff, who received him with nearly the same honors that were rendered to the emperor of Germany. There, in the church of the Holy Ghost, Paleologus abjured the schism; he swore that the Holy Ghost proceeded from both the Father and the Son, that the Eucharist might be celebrated with unleavened bread, and that the Roman pontiff had the primacy over all the Churches of the world. The oath was drawn up both in the Latin and the Greek languages. The emperor sealed it with a golden seal, and delivered it to the pope, that it might be kept in the archives of the Church.

On the 21st of October, the emperor went to Saint Peter's. The pope, in his pontificals, received him at the head of the steps. The emperor knelt and kissed the feet of the pontiff, then rose and kissed his hand and mouth. They entered the church together, where Urban intoned the *Te Deum*, and celebrated Mass, and afterwards gave a magnificent repast.

In 1370, Urban had the satisfaction to learn that the Greeks began sincerely to recognize the supremacy of the Roman Church. The Princess Clara, widow of Prince Alexander, chief of the Wallachians, had embraced the Catholic faith. One of the daughters of the prince of Bulgaria followed that example. The Moldavians, the Albanians, the Russians, and the Georgians, all at once returned to the faith.

The war between the kings of Aragon and Navarre, and between the French and English, and perhaps also the revolt of the Perugians, witnessed by the pope himself, induced some cardinals, who loved the pleasures of Provence and the peace which they enjoyed among a people so gentle, and already lovers of art, to represent to the pope that he ought to return to Avignon. Urban yielded, but he now perceived the magnitude of his error in naming so many cardinals belonging to France or Aquitaine.

The tears of the Romans, who certainly had given the Holy Father no cause of complaint, had no effect. The pope contented himself with declaring that he and his court were sensible of the marks of respect that

they had received, and that the pope had no other motive for leaving them than the new needs of the Church, and the continued state of hostility prevailing in a great part of Europe. Peter, prince royal of Aragon, and a friar of the order of Saint Francis, one of the friends of the Holy See, who had most earnestly urged Urban to return to Rome, now implored the pope not to go back to Avignon, and declared that his doing so might produce a schism, in which a host of innocent Christians would perish. Finally, Saint Bridget told the pope that she had had a revelation from the Blessed Virgin, that if he went to Avignon he would die almost as soon as he arrived, which was actually the case.

Nothing, however, could detain Urban; he persisted in his dangerous determination. He had inhabited the ecclesiastical state three years and nine months. On the 26th of August he set out from Montefiascone, embarked near Corneto on the 5th of September, 1370, on a fine ship, escorted by many vessels of various nations. He entered Marseilles on the 16th of September, and saw his palace at Avignon on the 24th of that month. Urban had commenced writing touching letters, recommending peace, when he was attacked by a continual fever, during which he would not lay aside his religious habit.

The disease constantly grew worse; then he had himself removed from the pontifical palace to the palace of his brother, the cardinal of Albano, where he died on the 19th of December, at the age of sixty-one years.

Urban had governed the Church eight years, one month, and twenty-three days.

He was at first buried, dressed in the habit of his order, in the chapel of John XXII., forming a part of the church of Saint Mary *in Dompnis*.* The last day of March, 1371, he was removed to Marseilles, where he was interred in the church of Saint Victor, of which he had been abbot. Gregory XI., his successor, ordered ten cardinals to accompany the body, and to honor the funeral pomp that he himself had ordered.

Urban was adorned by the finest virtues, and with all which befitted his supreme dignity. The kings of France for a long time exempted from taxation the place where he was born. Waldemar, king of Denmark, in view of the miracles wrought by this pope after his death, continued during five years to urge Gregory XI. to canonize him. Urban held great pomps in contempt. He was a patron of men of letters. He instituted the academy of Cracow, in Poland, and increased the privileges of that of Bologna. He founded at Montpellier a college for twelve youths of the city and of the diocese, where they were to be instructed in the science of medicine. He also, at his own expense, kept other students in several universities. He

* Note to Dr. Nelligan: *sic in orig.* I suspect a misprint

was very liberal to the poor, and especially to the rich who had fallen into poverty from unforeseen misfortunes. He was inimitable in works of piety. It was he who caused the heads of Saint Peter and Saint Paul to be sumptuously encased in the church of Saint John Lateran. Cancellieri, in his history of the *Possessi*, has given an exact description of those two cases. In the revolutions since then, part of the rich ornaments of the busts have disappeared.

Urban granted favors to his relatives with moderation. He promoted none of them excepting on the ground of great personal merit. He enriched none of his lay relatives, and from respect to the pontifical dignity he ordered his father to give up a pension of six hundred livres allowed him by the king of France. He had only one nephew, whom he married to the daughter of a merchant in Marseilles, whom the nephew would not have sought had the uncle been less modest.

He well remembered the insults he had received while in a private station, but he never avenged himself for them. William, archbishop of Sens, had treated him with some severity about a contribution which was not due, and which Abbot Grimoard therefore declined to pay; and the archbishop had gone so far as to say: "You will avenge yourself when you become pope." Having become pope, Urban sent for the archbishop and said to him: "We do not intend to take any revenge for an outrage which doubtless you have not forgotten; on the contrary, we shall promote you. You have now but one cross, you shall have two, we name you patriarch of Jerusalem." The pope, moreover, secured to the archbishop the revenues he previously enjoyed.

The Holy See was vacant ten days.

203. GREGORY XI.—A. D. 1370.



GREGORY XI., originally named Peter Roger de Beaufort, was son of William, count of Beaufort, who, during his life, saw his brother and his son become pope, and another brother, two nephews, and five cousins, become cardinals.

Peter Roger was born at Marmont, an estate in the diocese of Limoges. He was, successively, canon of Paris, archdeacon of Rouen, and apostolical notary. He was a man of excellent disposition, who distinguished himself by great application to study, especially that of legislation. It is

said that in the University of Perugia he studied under the celebrated Peter Balde, of whom he thought so highly that he consulted him on important business.

When scarcely seventeen years old, he was created cardinal by his maternal uncle, Clement VI., and received the title of Saint Mary Nuova, on the 29th of March, 1348; then he became cardinal-archpriest of the Lateran Basilica.

On the 30th of December, 1370, he was against his will elected pontiff, by the nineteen cardinals who were assembled with him in conclave.

He was only thirty-nine years old, but of very matured intellect.

Cardinal Guy de Boulogne, bishop of Porto, ordained him priest on the 4th of January, 1371. On the following day he was consecrated bishop and solemnly crowned.* After that ceremony came that of the cavalcade in the city of Avignon. The duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V., king of France, held the bridle of the pope's horse.

By his first constitution,† the pope, who had taken the name of Gregory XI., declared that the Basilica of Saint John Lateran was the principal seat of the sovereign pontiff, and the first in dignity of all the churches.

Following the traces of his predecessor, Gregory undertook to restore peace between the kings of France and England, but all his efforts were vain. The two legates employed on that mission do not seem to have sufficiently seconded the views of the pope. The legate to Paris, Cardinal de Dormans, had been chancellor of France, and considered only the interests of that court. Cardinal Simon de Langham, formerly archbishop of Canterbury, and legate in England, had cause of complaint against King Edward. This double partiality defeated the negotiations.

Other legates, who were sent to Henry, king of Castile, to Peter, king of Aragon, and to Ferdinand, king of Portugal, were more successful, and concluded truces of some years. Ferdinand, king of Portugal, ceased for some time to retain the free domain of many cities in the archbishopric of Braga, and Amadeus, count of Savoy, promised to desist from all spoliation of the bishop of Geneva, till then recognized as the lord of that city.

In 1371, about the 6th of June, Gregory made at Avignon a promotion of twelve cardinals. One of them was a Spaniard; one belonged to the family of the counts of Geneva. This was Raoul, afterwards anti-pope, who took the name of Clement VII.‡

* Novaes, iv., p. 193.

† *Super universas Bullas*, tome i., p. 203. See Cherubini.

‡ Fleury says: "Robert of Geneva, brother of the count of the same city, afterwards Pope Clement VII." We are at the year 1371, and it should be said that there was no true Pope Clement VII. until the Cardinal de Medicis, created in 1523, the predecessor of Paul III., Farnese. These allegations of Fleury can only lead into error the young seminarians who read a statement so completely heterodox. However, I do not deny that the false Clement was recognized by France. It was one of the errors of Charles V. (See Fleury, vi., p. 214, edition of 1840-44.)

The ten others were French, and five of those were from the province of the Limousin, and countrymen or relations of the pope. Novaes (iv., p. 197) says that Gregory acted thus in order to counterbalance the authority of the old cardinals, who, knowing Gregory's gentle and modest disposition, had undertaken to govern him imperiously.*

In the year 1372, Gregory first ordered the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary to be celebrated in the West on the 21st of November. Peter, king of Cyprus, sent to the pontiff the office of that solemnity, set to music, as chanted in the East. Gregory approved it, and had it executed in the church of the Franciscans of Avignon, whence it spread throughout the West. This feast, inasmuch as it did not date from a very high antiquity, was subsequently suppressed by Saint Pius V., in the Breviary; but the Jesuit Father Francis Turriano having proved, by various testimonies from the Greek and Latin Fathers, that it was anciently celebrated, Sixtus V. replaced it in the calendar.†

Barnabo Visconti continued to invade the territories of the Church, and to excite the most violent hatred at Milan.

This monster,‡ unworthy of the name of man and Christian, endeavoring to terrify his enemies by such tortures as before him no one had ever thought of, ordered, by an edict which is given literally by Peter Azario, notary of Novara, that the execution of *State criminals* should be prolonged through forty-one days. The tortures were to be inflicted only on alternate days. On the first, third, fifth, and seventh days the condemned were to be five times beaten; on the even days, second, fourth, etc., they were left to a frightful rest; on the ninth and eleventh days they were forced to drink water mixed with chalk and vinegar; on the thirteenth and fifteenth days the skin was taken from the soles of their feet; on the seventeenth and eighteenth days they were deprived, one after the other, of an eye and a foot. And finally, if at the forty-first day, after a series of other atrocities, any life still remained in the mutilated trunk, it was broken on the wheel.

When sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Barnabo, there was not one voice in Europe to object to it.

Civil war still desolated Italy. It was at this period agreed that when a treaty had been subscribed, if any conditions of peace were contravened, the pope should judge the case, and the infractor should be subject to excommunication and interdict.

Here we have excommunication and interdict formally recognized by the

* See Bercastel, *Hist. of the Church*, tome xiv., p. 228.

† See Spondanus, *Annales Ecclesiast.* ad an. 1372, No. 9; Lambertini, *De festis B. Mar. Virg.*, pars 2, No. 181 and 182. Also Sandini, *Hist. Fam. Sacræ.*, cap. 3, de Maria Virgine.

‡ *Italy*, p. 133.

secular power as a legal chastisement which they agree to suffer in case of perjury. The question of excommunication is here settled; it was part of the legislation of the time, and an indispensable part when such as Barnabo were in power.

Although the Emperor Paleologus had returned into the bosom of the *mother Church*, there yet were numerous Greeks who persisted in their old errors. Gregory thought fit, in 1373, to send two nuncios to them;—one of the order of Saint Dominic; the other of the order of Saint Francis. The pope exhorted the people and the clergy of Constantinople to condemn absolutely and forever the schism which they still maintained.

Then, to defend the Catholic religion and bridle the pride of the Mussulmans, he had a crusade preached in Germany and other countries, granting indulgences to all who took up arms against the enemies of the Christian name. At the same time the continuance of the complaints against the barbarities of Barnabo Visconti, having excited universal indignation, Gregory, on the 7th of March, cited him to appear before the Holy See, to hear the sentence pronounced upon him, according to the canons against sacrilege, assassins, the persecutors of the Church and of ecclesiastics, and, finally, the inventors of punishments unknown in history. The citation was supported by an army under the command of Amedeus, count of Savoy, brother of Cardinal Robert.

The ceremony of the jubilee was at hand; the pope ordered that in addition to the visits to the Basilicas of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, beyond the walls, Saint Mary Major should also be visited.

In the year 1375, while the jubilee was celebrated, Gregory, by a bull, on the 29th of March, ordered all prelates to repair to their churches. He had already often recommended this since his elevation. The patriarchs, the archbishops, the bishops, abbots, and other superiors of religious, were within two months to return to their churches or monasteries, and not cease to reside there. This order was not to apply to the legates, cardinals, the four patriarchs of the East, the nuncios, and other officers of the Roman court.

At this time, the pope one day met in Avignon a bishop, and said to him: "What are you doing here? Why do you not return to your church, which you should love as your spouse?"

The bishop as boldly as justly replied: "And you also, Holy Father, why do you not return to your spouse, infinitely more illustrious and attractive than mine?"*

The freedom of this reply only served to confirm Gregory in the resolution

* Baluze, *Lives of the Popes of Avignon*, tome i., p. 479. Bercastel, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, xiv., p. 242.

he had long since made to put an end to that widowhood which so afflicted the Roman Church, transported from its natural abode.

Moreover, the Holy Father was continually exhorted to return by Peter, the infante of Aragon, that holy personage who had made so many efforts to retain Urban V. at Rome.

The pontiff had often, too, to reply to the entreaties of Saint Catharine of Sienna and of Saint Bridget, who incessantly repeated that the pope ought to return to Rome.* It is certain that, independent of those solicitations, the Holy Father had received an embassy of the Romans; they had secretly determined that in case of the resistance of the pontiff, their fellow-citizen,† the abbot of Monte Cassino, should be elected,‡ as he had promised never to abandon Rome. Then Gregory declared his intention to depart; in fact, he announced it officially to the emperor, to divers other sovereigns, and to the lords and all the people of Italy.

Scarcely was that positive resolution of the Holy Father made known to the king of Castile, when that sovereign, because the neighborhood of the pope was an encouragement to making war upon the Saracens, wrote an urgent letter in deprecation of his departure. Gregory replied that having before God considered the benefit that would result to the Church from that return of the authorities to Rome, he was obliged to perform his promise, but that he should not cease to feel deep interest in the king and his subjects. At the same time, he offered all the apostolical favors in his power.

Charles V. also made various efforts to detain Gregory. The care of those negotiations was intrusted to the duke of Anjou, brother to that monarch. The duke represented that his departure alarmed the king, and that the Holy Father would run great risk in returning to ungrateful Rome, which could render the pope's residence there insupportable.

Some of the cardinals added their complaints to those of the two mon-

* Novaes, iv., p. 202. The same Novaes, without fearing to weaken what he has previously said, adds, in a note to the same page: "Gerson (in *Tract. Examinatione Doctrinarum*, p. 11, consid. 3) says that Gregory, when about to die, and having in his hand the body of Jesus Christ, conjured all who were then present to be upon their guard against certain men and women who, circulating under pretext of religion the visions of their own imaginations, had deceived him into neglecting the prudent advice of his own counsellors, and who would thus have involved the Church in the danger of a schism, if her spouse, Jesus Christ, had not provided against it." Novaes continues: "Spondanus (*Annal. Eccles.*, ann. 1378) also believes that those words of Gregory were pointed at the solicitations of Peter of Aragon, Saint Catharine of Sienna, and Saint Bridget. But Natalis Alexander, in the life of that pontiff, thinks, with more reason, that the statement of Gerson is false. Moreover, Gerson named neither Saint Catharine nor Saint Bridget. He who did name them, in order to breathe a greater scandal upon the canonizations of the saints, was the apostate Mark Anthony de Dominis; various authors refute the idea of the perfidious archbishop of Spalatro." See Lambertini, *On the Beatification of the Servants of God*, last chapter n. 16; and Jerome Gigli, in *Epist. S. Catharinæ Senensis*, pars ii. Ep. 9, p. 59.

† Novaes, iv., p. 203.

‡ Baluze, 1195.

archs; then came the pope's own relations, wearying him with their interested murmurs: relatives have easy access to the courts of princes, and can harass wavering minds by their reiterated croakings.

Gregory remained inflexible, and replied that he could not forget his word; that he had made a vow to God, and that he would keep the promise which no one could cause him to break.

The author of the fourth life of Gregory, in Baluze, further states that Gregory's mother, kneeling in front of the palace, endeavored to delay the departure of her son. But that is not true. We are writing of what took place in 1375, and Gregory's mother died in 1346.

However, the pope deemed that he ought to grant some delay to the two princes, the king of Aragon and the king of France, who so indiscreetly begged him to prefer their isolated, and, as it were, personal wishes to those of all Christendom. France and England were about to sign a treaty of peace, under the pontifical mediation. Gregory consented to defer his departure for a few months; and during all that negotiating he had the happiness, on occasion of various hasty executions of some convicts, to obtain a rule that thenceforward, in France and elsewhere, the old rule should no longer be enforced, of refusing sacramental confession to the condemned, to whom it was always refused, even when solicited with all the signs of a sincere repentance. It was not until later that those noble and generous souls, those true children of Jesus Christ, who abound among the French clergy, had permission to accompany, even in the fatal cart, the condemned to the very last moment of their life. Foreigners have often told me that the sight of the worthy priest, pale and tearful, offering the condemned the crucifix to kiss, while the executioner and his assistants were beside him waiting for their prey, presented a spectacle which they never could forget.

On the 20th of December, 1375, Gregory made a promotion of cardinals, the last that took place in Avignon. It included seven French, one Italian, and one Spaniard. We have often enough spoken of that fatal partiality of the popes of Avignon.

In 1376, the Holy Father excommunicated the Florentines, convicted of having ill-treated the apostolical legates. The Florentines then sent Saint Catharine of Sienna as their ambassadress* to offer fitting satisfaction to the pope. He accepted it, and reopened the bosom of the Church, but the peace was of no long duration.

On the 10th of September, in the same year, the pope, with a cortege of cardinals, left Avignon. Six cardinals remained there; among them was Jean de Blandiac, who received the quality of vicar to govern the Venais-sin State.

* Novaes, iv., p. 207.

On the 12th of October, His Holiness embarked at Marseilles on board the Capitana, of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, at the helm of which was the grand master of the order, Ferdinand Heredia, whose skill and experience saved the pope from a threatening danger on the always somewhat tempestuous coast of Provence. Gregory disembarked at Genoa, remained there for a few days, and sailed again on the 28th of October for Leghorn. There he received from the Pisans all the provisions and refreshments that he required. Another tempest cast the pope upon the shores of Piombino, and at length he disembarked near Corneto, where he celebrated Christmas. In the month of January, 1377, after new perils, which he surmounted with great courage, Gregory entered Ostia, ascended the Tiber, and finally disembarked near the gate of Saint Paul, at Rome.* The magistrates of Rome† received their sovereign with great demonstrations of respect, joy, and affection. The solemn entrance took place on the 17th of January.

Thus did Gregory restore to the desolated city of Rome‡ the Apostolic See, which had been exiled at Avignon during seventy-one years, seven months, and eleven days; that is to say, from the 5th of June, 1305, the day on which Clement V. officially established himself there, to the 17th of January, 1377, the day of Gregory XI. entering Rome.

He was on horseback,§ accompanied by thirteen cardinals, followed by a

* Peter Amelio, an Augustinian, Bishop of Sinigaglia, wrote a detailed account of the voyage; he was in the suite of His Holiness. Alphonsus Chacon has inserted it in his *Vit. Pontif.*, and Muratori in his *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tome iii., part ii., p. 690.

† Novaes, iv., p. 208.

‡ In our day (1851), the population of Rome is about 167,121 souls; under the reign of Innocent III. it was reduced to 35,000. That pontiff, in his work *De Contemptu Mundi*, cap. ix., p. 298 (see Life of Innocent III. in this work), says that few of the inhabitants then reached forty years of age, and a far smaller number reached sixty. When Gregory XI. returned from Avignon, the city of Rome numbered scarcely 17,000 souls. It was completely dismantled. The celebrated physician, Monsignor Lancisi, in his book, *De Nativis deque adventitiis romani cœli qualitatibus* (p. 120, Rome, 1745), assigns the principal causes of the depopulation to the long residence of the Popes in Avignon. He adds a statement drawn up from the year 1800. In 1800, the population was 153,000; in 1801, under Pius VII., and in the spasmodic state in which the battle of Marengo left Italy, it was only 146,000; in 1802, it was 144,000; in 1803, 140,000; in 1804, 136,000; thence to 1809 it remained almost stationary. In 1810, after the kidnapping of Pius VII., it fell to 123,000; in 1811, it ascended to 128,000; in 1812, it fell again to 121,000; and in 1813, to 117,000. We shall now see the effect of the restoration of 1814. Then the population rose to 120,000; in 1815, to 128,000. There was not much difference in 1816; France was occupied by foreigners, and the war might recommence. In 1817, we find 131,000; in 1818, 133,000; in 1819, 134,000; in 1820, 135,000; in 1824, 138,000; in 1827, under Leo XII., 140,000; in 1828, 142,000; in 1830, 147,000; in 1831, 150,000. Thence to 1834 the population diminished. In 1835, it was 152,000; in 1836, 153,000; in 1837, 156,000; in 1838, it diminished by 8,000; in 1841, it rose again to 158,000, and, as we have already stated, it is now, in 1843, under the paternal government of Gregory XVI., 167,121, and it is anticipated that in 1846 it will exceed 170,000 inhabitants.

§ Spondanus, *Annal. eccles. ad ann. 1377*, No. 1.

great multitude of the people of Rome, but more especially of the environs and from the river-side. In the evening, amidst universal applause, he visited the Church of Saint Peter, which was brilliantly lighted up by torches and many-colored lamps.

One of the first cares of the pope, on his recovery from the fatigues of his travel, was to attend to the heresy of Wyckliff, and he wrote as follows to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Bishop of London :

“ We learn with grief that John Wyckliff, doctor in theology, and rector of Butterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, maintains and publicly preaches many false and erroneous propositions, some of which relate to the errors of Marsilius of Padua, and John of Jaudun, the fraticelli, and others condemned by our predecessors. You should feel shame and remorse of conscience that you have thus long tolerated those errors. We therefore order you to inform us whether it is true that Wyckliff has maintained the propositions of which we send you a copy.”

Another bull directed the same prelates to communicate this matter to King Edward, his children, the princess of Wales, and the nobility of England. A third bull was addressed to the University of Oxford, and contained similar reproaches upon the conduct of the doctors for their tardiness in repressing the errors of Wyckliff, whose progress the Pope ordered them to oppose.*

The errors of Wyckliff had already spread in Great Britain. The heresiarch attacked the Church, the pope, and the religious orders ; he showed no respect for the sacraments or the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For a time, Wyckliff seemed to abjure his blasphemies, but ere long he loudly defended the doctrine of Berengarius, the Waldenses, and the Albigenses ; he put no limit to his fury, and, being supported by nine powerful nobles, inveighing against the dogma of the omnipotence of God, he endeavored to introduce idolatry and atheism. We shall see at a later period the Council of Constance condemn those pernicious errors.

Before the bulls of Pope Gregory could reach England, King Edward was no more. He died on the 27th of June, 1377, having reigned nearly fifty-one years. His successor was Richard II., son of Edward, prince of Wales, who died in the previous year. Richard was only eleven years old. He was crowned at Westminster on the 16th of July, and reigned under the guardianship of his uncle, John, duke of Lancaster. The duke of Lancaster and Henry Percy, marshal of the kingdom, supported Wyckliff.

Gregory, fearing the summer maladies of Rome, resolved to go with his whole court to Anagni, and he took up his abode there until the end of November, 1377.

* Fleury, vi., p. 26.

The pope began to be tormented with the idea of returning to France, and the French cardinals daily renewed their entreaties to that end. Consequently, wishing to provide for the election of his successor, he signed a bull on the 19th of March, 1378, in which he made some important arrangements. In case of the death of the pontiff, the cardinals who should then be in Rome, or a majority of them, might, without summoning the absent, or waiting for them, choose, either in or out of Rome, a place to assemble in conclave. Notwithstanding the opposition of a minority, the majority could act, and disregarding the law requiring a two-thirds vote, the election could be made by a simple majority of the cardinals present,—for instance, a majority of seven to six. The election thus made was to be valid for that time, and whoever should be elected, even though there was a very strong minority, should be the true pontiff, and pastor of the Universal Church.

But death came before the pope could effect his return. He observed* that Rome was no longer a fitting place for him, and that the Romans despised his decisions, while they were received with respect by all Catholic potentates.

One of the circumstances which most afflicted the pope was that of the disobedience of the *banderesi* (bannerets), who had laid at his feet their banners, the symbol of their authority, and had taken them up again to continue to govern independently. Gregory found himself obliged to yield to their prepotence, otherwise he would have had to fear violence.

Further, some rebellious cities had promised submission; but, far from acting upon that prudent determination, they excited to revolt the *comuni*, who had remained faithful. Everywhere petty tyrants sprang up who insulted the pontifical dignity; and the Florentines (all Guelphs as they were), that is to say, professedly protectors of Rome, supported the resistance of the refractory *podestats*. Afflicted by so much disorder in public affairs, and no longer able to bear the tortures of the gravel, which extinguished all his strength and courage, Gregory became seriously ill, and died on the 28th of March, 1378, at the age of forty-seven years, lacking a few days, having governed the Holy See seven years, two months, and twenty-eight days, as well at Avignon as at Rome. Novaes cites the judgment of Bercastel upon the pontiffs of Avignon, and adds his own opinion.†

“Gregory XI.,” says Bercastel,‡ “was the seventh and the last of the pontiffs whom for a period of over seventy years the Church of France consecutively gave to the Universal Church. Although these pontiffs were all, without exception, illustrious for their knowledge and talents, and though most of them were also distinguished for sanctity of life, and though some

* Novaes, iv., p. 211

† Ibid., iv., p. 212.

‡ *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome xiv., p. 251.

of them even had the gift of miracles, their names are not in high repute in the Roman Church, which makes them responsible for fatal disturbances, and the desolation that she suffered during more than a century. The strange translation of the Apostolic See into France stamps on their nation a stigma which the brilliancy of their talents and much virtue have not been able to efface, and which, even centuries hence, will at most be only weakened." Novaes then adds: "Thus in our time writes a Frenchman, who observes in his own countrymen, as well as in the Italians, a blind partiality when they treat on this subject. This Frenchman, holding himself between the two parties, nevertheless shows how deserving of reproach is that translation to Avignon of the Chair of Saint Peter, thus taking from Rome that to which it was for so many reasons entitled, to remove it to a place which for so many reasons was unfit for it. I cite this French writer upon this point because he treats it with judgment and experience in the thirteenth and fourteenth volumes of his history."

The opinion of Bercastel appears to me to be sound and judicious; it is calculated to destroy, partly at least, those recriminations which are the more useless, because the evil is now remedied. Novaes, who accedes with courtesy, reserve, and yet with a very complete determination to the dictum of Bercastel, seems to me to speak like a man of peace, conciliation, and order. Novaes also mildly, yet firmly, blames that usurpation which was undoubtedly culpable. Constantly restrained within the limit of consideration, and calm, but of a calm that does not always sleep, I too believe that pardon should be granted. But it should be one of those conditional pardons that do not allow of a relapse into the same offence. Who knows whether the bitterness of exaggerated rancors, whether the obstinacy which defends misunderstood rights, whether the ignoble misapprehensions which in every quarrel spring up from reciprocal denunciations—who knows whether all those circumstances, mischievous to both Rome and France, may not sometimes have postponed peace and concord? These should never cease to exist between the mother, who has all the rights, and the daughter, whose love so greatly aids the mother, and whose hate or indifference can bring so many troubles upon the metropolis of Christendom. In truth, over-timid pontiffs erred, no doubt, in quitting Rome, and in seeming to advise their successors to abandon that city. Clement V. set an example which produced great evils, but his successors should more warmly have demanded their country, for every pontiff, in whatever country born, became Roman on the day of his consecration. The error was serious on the part of the French popes; it was no less so on the part of the French sovereigns, disposed to believe it useful to have a pope always at hand, or, as we may say, under their thumb. Those sovereigns, it must be remarked by my readers, had occasion to learn that those same French pontiffs them-

selves sometimes resisted that monarchical nepotism, more perilous than any family nepotism. There are some Avignon bulls which seem to have been signed in Roman independence. There were also emperors who met with refusal, and were irritated at their own miscalculations. I need not mention instances, we have seen them accumulate in these annals for the period to which they belong.

Every important capital, every cabinet which desires success in its affairs, if they are just, grossly blunders in attempting snares, falsehoods, threats, when it imprisons the high pontifical power so deeply rooted in Rome, binds it in perfidious fetters in order to extort compliances, abandonments, and hollow benedictions. Is it not very dangerous for one power thus to endeavor to oppress the religious polity of another? The designs of God are impenetrable. He may permit here or elsewhere displacements which disturb the equilibrium; he can bring back weaknesses, proud impulses, the vociferations of declaimers, armed sophisms, and forgetfulness of all human dignity. Those fallibilities of reason, that brutishness, are well known to us. So in the case that must be supposed that Rome would be a stubborn field to Saint Peter, the true course must be this: the happiness that she should try to misunderstand and cast from her should be restored to her *in spite of herself*; she must not be permitted to disorganize that immense Christian worship which does so much good, and which can and ought to continue to do it. If kings knew how easy it is for them to obtain from the Holy See, each for himself, what is useful and salutary; if kings knew that each commands in that *city of all*, but commands only on condition of demanding only his own, without seeking to despoil his neighbors; that when they keep within that law of right that the wisdom of Rome indicates, if they do not see very clear, they yet will promptly obtain by abstaining from that fury which is always hurtful in affairs;—if kings knew all this, they would not make so many blunders.

Not in vain has Rome for so many centuries been the city of negotiations, of treaties, of skilful reconciliations; there, without fortune, and almost without salary, lives a race of sagacious men who find, in the chanceries which abound in the secrets of all the world, explanations and counsels which, clothed in a noble Ciceronian latinity, they send to you for your chart and your compass.

This digression naturally finds its place at the moment of the disappearance of the last Avignon pope. Unfortunately, we shall still have to tell of political disasters which followed the death of Gregory XI. That pontiff at least repaired, as far as he could, the evils which he partly caused; for, in fact, schism—odious schism—was planted in the soil of the Church, and its numerous branches were thrown abroad like those of the upas of Borneo. But let us draw the character of this pope, who, on many occasions,

apart from the question about Avignon, deserved well of Christendom. Gregory was one of the most learned men of his time, celebrated for his knowledge of canon law, easy of approach, and gentle in manner, with much of that peculiar courtesy which so well becomes princes. In all the actions of Gregory we see traces of his modesty, his benevolence, his prudence, his frankness, and his natural liberality. He cheerfully gave proofs of patronage and generosity to the learned. It must be admitted that this pope was too partial to his relations, but he would not aggrandize them more than they had been by his uncle Clement. Upon that point, Father Berthier, in the *Ecclesiastical History of France*, says: "This pope constantly had with him his father, his brothers, and his nephews; and at their solicitation he granted favors which were not always wisely bestowed."

Gregory was interred in the church of Santa Maria Nuova, the old title, but commonly called Santa Francisca Romana. There terminated the *novendiali* (nine days' funeral rites), which were commenced at Saint Peter's.

In 1584, the Roman senate* placed on his tomb an epitaph, which Father Jacob gives in his *Bibliothèque Pontificale* (page 97), and which is also given in the *Lives of the Popes of Avignon* (page 522).

The French historians of that time have, in general, spoken favorably of this pope, because he was the first to restore the Holy See to Rome; and he is in no favor with the Italian historians, because, in the peninsula, he was constantly at war and in dispute with most of the governments of that country.

The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.

204. URBAN VI.—A. D. 1378.



HIS pope was originally named Bartholomew Butilli Prignani; he was of an illustrious family of Naples, and archbishop of Bari, whither he was transferred from the bishopric of Acerenza by Gregory XI. Although it was known that he was not decorated with the purple, he was unanimously elected pontiff, at the age of sixty years, on the 8th of April, 1378, by sixteen cardinals who were in Rome, and formed the conclave there. Among those cardinals four were Italian, eleven French, and one Spanish. The sacred college consisted

* Novaes, iv., p. 213.

† Ibid., iv., p. 214.

of twenty-three cardinals. Six had remained at Avignon, and one, John de la Grange, was legate at Florence. We shall enter into some details upon this election.

On the 7th of April those sixteen cardinals were assembled in conclave. A *caporione* (chief of the quarter) of the *banderesi*, who governed the municipal quarters or divisions of Rome, presented himself with a message from the Romans, informing the electors that the people desired a Roman pope. He reminded them that before the death of Gregory the cardinals themselves had determined that it should be so, that the pontiff might no more retire from Rome, which his departure would plunge into ruin and desolation. Cardinal de Glandeve replied that they would choose a worthy man, capable of rightly governing the Church, and the *caporione* took his leave, saying: "God grant that you give us a Roman; if you do not, you will repent it!" He had scarcely gone when they unanimously elected the archbishop of Bari, upon whom they had fixed their choice even before they entered into conclave. His election, entirely free and exempt from all violence, was the sole work of the Holy Ghost. Such was the language in which the sixteen electors described that election to the cardinals who had remained at Avignon. Their letter is in the *Lives of the Popes of Avignon* (page 338). A vague rumor announced this election in Rome. The Romans, who would fain have seen the tiara on the brow of Cardinal Orsini, although the *caporione* had not said so, and who had forgotten that this one of the two Roman cardinals was too young to be elected, rushed to arms, and began to assault the Vatican, exclaiming, "*We will have a Roman! we will have a Roman!*" Now, besides Cardinal James Orsini, who was too young, there was but one other Roman, Francis Tebaldeschi, cardinal of Saint Peter's, who was very old, and of obscure condition. He was called cardinal of Saint Peter's because he had been the senior canon of that basilica. In reality, he should have been styled cardinal of Saint Sabina, as that was his title. The cardinals, with Tebaldeschi's consent, published that he was the elected pontiff, and that he was a Roman. The good cardinal lent himself to this feint. He was attired in the pontifical habits, and the populace hastened to pay their homage to him. All this appeared easy, because the really elected pope was absent, so that it was not necessary that two cardinals should combine to mislead the populace.

Meantime the sacred college secretly made known to the archbishop of Bari his own legitimate election.

The "cardinal of Saint Peter's," quite decrepit with age, could not any longer endure the pain that he felt as often as the populace came to kiss his hands, which were swollen and stiffened with the gout. At length he tried, with all the strength that was left in his voice, to make the people understand

that not he but the archbishop of Bari was the newly elected pope, elected by his—the cardinal of Saint Peter's—and his colleagues unanimous votes.

As soon as the populace confusedly understood his words they burst into a terrific fury. They rushed hither and thither about the Vatican, threatening to kill the cardinals if they would not elect a Roman. But the cries of the people were only in vain; there were only two Roman cardinals, one too old, who would not be elected, and the other too young, who therefore could not be.

The cardinals were then shut up in conclave, when they simply confirmed the election already made; then they dispatched Agapetus Colonna to tell the populace that they might kill them, but that they were all determined to make no other choice. Colonna was also to point out that the electing cardinals had favored none of themselves, but that their choice had fallen on an absent archbishop.

The fury of the Romans began to calm down. It was therefore resolved, in the conclave of the 9th of April, to attire the new pope (who chose to take the name of Urban VI.) in the pontifical habits, to place him in the Chair of Saint Peter, and to go through the usual ceremonies. The cardinals, who had retired, to conceal themselves from the fury of the populace, again assembled to the number of twelve, and they were enabled to proceed, with some quietness, to the exaltation. On the 10th, Easter-day, Urban was crowned by Cardinal James Orsini. The four absent cardinals, who had been sheltered in Zagarolo, a fortified castle, took part in the ceremony; and the same day the pope was enabled to take possession of Saint John Lateran.

Scarcely two months had elapsed, when the cardinals perceived that Urban showed small respect to them. He had determined to reform some abuses. Moreover, he did not agree with them on some most important questions. Most of the cardinals were for returning to Avignon, to which Urban would not consent. Eleven of the cardinals, those who were French, and the Spaniard, de Luna, under the pretext of the excessive heat, retired to the city of Anagni, while Urban, with the few Italian cardinals, went to Tivoli. The opposing cardinals, secure of the protection of the king of France, denounced the violence that the Romans had exercised towards them. Evil counsels then prevailed, and that part of the sacred college had the audacity to depose Urban from the pontificate—that same Urban whom they had all freely elected, with even a resolute and courageous firmness, in presence of the fury of the Roman populace. The pope, deposed by them, was also declared contumacious. After such a decision, those cardinals knew no feeling of moderation; they went to Fondi, a city subject to Count Honorius Gaetani, at a short distance from Gaeta, with the permission, and even at the earnest request, of Queen Jane, who pretended that she also had

reason to complain of Urban. There they brought into their party three other Italian cardinals, which made the number of the opposition fifteen. On the 20th of September, they elected Robert of Geneva, of whom we shall speak by and by, and who thus became antipope.

Let us speak plainly. These cardinals had no just reason for deposing Urban, who had been very truly elected without any symptoms of violence, while they resorted to violence for the destruction of their own work. Let us give a summary of the facts. The Romans had besieged and maltreated the cardinals to make them elect a Roman, and the cardinals had elected one who was not a Roman, and had done so in spite of the clamor of the inhabitants of Rome. The tumult being appeased, those cardinals, with their own hands, had clothed Urban in the pontifical habits. Did they not, by that very act, ratify freely the election they already had freely made, and *validate* it, even had it not been, as here we must see that it was, legitimate throughout?

Nay more, the cardinal of Limoges, John de Gros, hearing that his brother Pierre de Gros, chamberlain, had asked the bishop of Cassano, who states the fact, whether the archbishop of Bari was the legitimate pope, replied, taking a missal in his hand, "I swear by these Holy Gospels that Monsignor of Bari is truly pope, elected by all of us cardinals unanimously, as truly as Saint Peter was the veritable pope and vicar of Jesus Christ."

Peter de Luna, Spaniard, who also became antipope, and who prolonged that schism of which we now see the inception, being questioned on the same occasion, replied, swearing (as was his fatal habit), "I swear, and I believe, that from Saint Peter to the present time there has never been a truer pope in the Church of God, nor one more legitimately or more unanimously elected, both before and after we went into the conclave."

Letters from the cardinal of Geneva, afterwards an antipope, affirmed the same legitimacy. They were addressed to the Emperor Charles IV., to the Count of Flanders, and to the Duke of Burgundy. Subsequently, those princes, learning that that cardinal had changed his opinion, read again the letters which they had received, and held in contempt the contrary opinion, which he sought to advance. There is also extant another letter, written by the sacred college to the Emperor Charles; it was sealed with the imperial seal and with that of five barons of the empire, and it was published by Henry de Knigton to confound the apostacy of the rebellious cardinals. Still another letter is extant from the sixteen electing cardinals to the cardinals who remained at Avignon, who at once recognized Urban as the true pope.

Notwithstanding so many proofs, taken from the signatures and the words of the rebels themselves, they persisted in the act of deposition that they had settled. And thus commenced the twenty-second schism of the Western

Church, at once the longest and the most pernicious, for it lasted fifty-one years, from the 20th of September, 1378, to the 26th of July, 1429. At this latter period, as we shall see, Clement VIII., the antipope, submitted to the true pontiff Martin V.

Let us return to the period which immediately concerns us.

The faithful, during this time, knew not who was the true head of the Church whom they should obey. For, if Saint Catharine of Sienna; if Peter, prince-royal of Spain, a Franciscan friar, illustrious by his virtues, and honored as possessing the gift of prophecy; if Alphonso, the Spaniard, who from the bishopric of Jena had gone to a solitary and apostolical life, and was the companion of Saint Bridget in her pilgrimages; if Saint Catherine, who was the daughter of Saint Bridget; if such personages, I say, sustained the side of Urban VI., Robert of Geneva, called Clement VII., was supported by Saint Vincent Ferrer, the oracle of Spain, confessor of the archbishop of Bari before his pontificate, and by Peter of Luxembourg, the model of holy prelates:

Pope Urban VI. was obeyed by Italy, England, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, and Friseland. On the other hand, Robert, called Clement VII., was recognized by France, Spain, Scotland, Cyprus, Sicily, Naples, and by many provinces that changed their fealty as often as they deemed it to their interest. Others remained neutral until a council should decide. Urban returned from Tivoli to Rome, escorted by the troops of Queen Jane, who ere long declared against him. From Saint Mary Major he went to the palace of Saint Mary in Trastevere, and on the 18th of September he made a promotion of twenty-six cardinals, but three of them declined to accept the dignity.

On the 6th of November, in the same year, 1378, the pope deposed and deprived of the purple and of ecclesiastical benefices, and inflicted other penalties, on the antipope Clement VII., as well as the principal authors of the schism. On the 29th of the same month he condemned the abettors, clerical or lay, of the same Clement. With the other cardinals he dissembled, especially with the three Italian deserters, in order that he might ascertain if by forgiveness he might not bring them back to obedience. But in this he did not succeed. Among the twenty-six newly promoted cardinals there were three French:—Philip d'Alençon, of the branch of the Valois, bishop of Beauvais, then patriarch of Jerusalem, and bishop of Ostia; Rainulph de Gerza de Monture, near Limoges, bishop of Sisteron; and Elzear de Sabran. Another cardinal, Eston, was English, born at Hereford, in England, of mean condition; a Benedictine monk, of vast erudition, and very pious—he had merited the dignity of bishop of London. Another of those cardinals, a religious of the Order of Mercy, was a Spaniard. The other twenty-one were Italians, from various parts of the peninsula.

In 1379, the antipope sent an army against Urban; but the generals commanding for the latter beat the antipope's troops, and made their general a prisoner. As a result of this victory, the French, who occupied the castle of Saint Angelo, were obliged to deliver it to the Romans, who, irritated against the foreigners, dismantled the place and carried away the marbles and other valuable objects. Fortunately, Boniface IX. restored that fortress, to which he added some outworks beyond the mausoleum of Adrian.

The schism would now have come to an end had not Queen Jane given an asylum to the antipope. She had written to Saint Catharine that she would rather lose both kingdom and life than remain in schism, and she aided Clement.

The Bolognese having revolted against the temporal delegates of Urban, Clement thought there was a good opportunity of bringing over that city to his side; but he was told in reply that, notwithstanding their revolt, they would remain faithful in their present obedience, until it should be fully decided who was the true pontiff.

Urban made a second promotion of cardinals. It included one Bohemian, John Oczko, secretary to Charles IV., and bishop of Olmutz; and two Hungarians, Demetrius, ambassador to Rome from King Louis I., and Valentine, bishop of Funfkirchen (Five Churches), also ambassador to Urban from the same prince.

The pope, in 1380, ordered proceedings to commence against Jane, queen of Naples, and he declared her schismatic, heretical, and guilty of high treason. He deposed her, deprived her of the kingdom that she held in fief from the Holy See, and he invited to the possession of those states Charles Durazzo, prince of Hungary, son of the count of Gaeta, and then a general in the service of Louis, king of Hungary, Jane's nearest relation.

Charles arrived in Rome in 1381. Having taken before Urban the oath of fidelity, he was raised to the rank of senator, and received the crown of the kingdom of Naples. The Holy Father advanced him 80,000 golden crowns to enable him speedily to conquer the kingdom.

The new king ratified the gift made to Francis Prignani, nephew to the pope, of several provinces which his uncle had secured to him. On this occasion Urban was as imprudent as censurable in his nepotism.

Charles Durazzo having presented himself before Naples, experienced no resistance, and made prisoners of Queen Anne and her husband, Otho of Brunswick. But as soon as Charles, who was styled Charles III., had taken possession of the kingdom, he refused to dismember it in favor of the nephew of Urban, and declared that it was unjust to do so, and a bad example to set before the other nephews of the pope. From this resulted wars between the king, who broke his word, and the pope, who had so much desire to aggrandize his family.

The gift of the pope to Prignani included the principality of Capua, the duchy of Amalfi, and the county of Caserto, with Fondi, Minervino, Altamura, Aversa, Gaeta, Capri, Sorrento, Nocera, Somma, and many other cities, as well as castles and fortresses. Amidst these possessions Naples remained isolated, almost blockaded by the sea, and it was not difficult to drive Charles III. out, and thus almost entirely deprive him of the whole of the kingdom.

In the Ember-days of Advent, in the year 1381, Urban made a promotion of cardinals, among whom he included the archbishops of Cologne and of Treves, but both refused the dignity; most of the other cardinals belonged to Italy. This time there was not one Frenchman—a very fitting abstinence.

In 1382, the Romans, under various pretexts, revolted against the pope and the cardinals. The latter hid themselves in various places, but Urban, in full pontificals, courageously faced the populace. Carrying the cross in his hand, he looked so stern and angry that the revolted fell on their knees and asked pardon, which he granted.

However, Louis of Anjou, having been adopted by Queen Jane, seized upon Provence.

Louis of Anjou, son of John, king of France, brother of Charles V., and regent of the kingdom at the commencement of the reign of Charles VI., threatened Charles III. with a terrible vengeance, because the latter had strangled Jane, whose states he occupied. Louis advanced towards Italy to reconquer the kingdom of Naples and to depose Urban.

The pontiff declared Louis and his abettors schismatics, apostates, sacrilegious, and guilty of treason to the pontifical majesty, and at the same time ordered a crusade against the army of Louis. The French prince ventured to enter the Abruzzi. Charles III., after evacuating Naples, commenced a defensive war, more prudent than that of Manfred and Conradine, and waited for the climate and the fevers to make the usual havoc in the ranks of the French. His anticipation was realized; Louis of Anjou died of disease at Bari on the 10th of October, 1384, and his army voluntarily disbanded.

The pope, who had previously thought right to go to Naples, was kept prisoner there by Charles; but after various vicissitudes they became reconciled. Unfortunately, the question still remained about the investitures that Urban had granted to his nephew Prignani.

Peter of Aragon, who had as yet seemed to be neutral between Urban and the antipope, sent ambassadors to Urban, begging him to grant him the province of Naples, to exempt him from the annual tribute for Sardinia, and soliciting such a host of other favors as proved that his accession to Urban's side must be dearly paid for. But Urban refused all these con-

ditions, and Peter, in a spirit of disappointment and vengeance, then declared against the legitimate pope.

The relations between Urban and Charles became more and more embittered every day. Then the king and some of the cardinals formed a conspiracy against Urban, who had retired to Nocera.*

He had become odious to the cardinals, because he had exposed them to a thousand dangers, because he would not return to Rome, and because he refused to make peace with King Charles. On these grounds several abandoned him; others seemed to think that they could not yet quit him. Of these latter the Holy Father caused six to be arrested, on the charge of having conspired against him. It is affirmed that Cardinal Thomas Orsini revealed the conspiracy. The names of those arrested were Cardinal Gentil de Sangro, Louis of Venise, Adam Eston, Bartholomew, archbishop of Genoa, John Doria, archbishop of Corfu, and Marinus del Giudice, archbishop of Tarento.

Urban blindly followed the counsels of his infuriated nephew Prignani. The latter demanded the deposition of the six cardinals, and had them put to the torture. Novaes fails to describe the frightful torments they endured, for it would be to confess that the fourteenth century was no less abominable than the tenth. We have already made a sad comparison between the latter and the twelfth, and accordingly Novaes refers us to Bercastel. The conspirators, who were not in the power of Urban, held him besieged in Nocera, where he obstinately defended himself. Being unexpectedly relieved, he wandered about for a long time in the kingdom of Naples, at Messina, at Corneto, and near Rome. At length he reached Genoa, having with him the six captive cardinals, as Richelieu had proudly conducted his prisoners upon the Rhone. Prignani, who, in his frantic desire to reign, had occasioned so much mischief, was in the power of Charles, and that nephew could no longer be charged with the treatment endured by the six prisoners. At length those unfortunate cardinals, with the exception of the English cardinal, were put to death in their prison at Genoa. Monsignor Bechetti gives the history of this tragedy in his *Ecclesiastical History of the Western Schism* (vol. i., page 209). It seems that Cardinal Eston, so eminent for his piety and his learning, obtained his life, and at length his liberty, on the demand of Richard, king of England. Authors friendly to Urban have held that the other five cardinals only perished because their friends attempted to poison the pope. What odious crimes each party charges upon the other! Fatal nepotism, what infamies you then caused!

At this time news was received of the death of Wyckliff, but the state of

* Novaes, iv., p. 240.

the Church forbade attention to any other events than those which immediately concerned her in the person of the pope himself.

The Genoese refusing some honors to Urban, he left their city and repaired to Lucca, and thence to Perugia, Tivoli, and Ferentino; and having no longer an asylum, he accepted the generous invitation of some Romans, and repaired to Rome.

On arriving in that city, he ordered the jubilee to be reduced to thirty-three years, in memory of the years of the life of Jesus Christ, and that the next jubilee should be held in the year 1390. He instituted the festival of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, become so celebrated, with the double rite; on the day following the octave of Saint John the Baptist, with vigil and octave, and the office composed by Cardinal Eston; and decreed that Corpus Christi might be celebrated, notwithstanding the interdict. He also granted an indulgence of a hundred days to all who accompany the Holy Viaticum from the church to the abode of the sick, and thence back to the church.

At length, Urban enjoyed in Rome that peace which he had vainly sought in so many of the cities of Italy, and amidst the terrible vicissitudes of his disputed pontificate, but a violent poison was administered to him. He suffered frightful pains, and died on the 15th of October, 1389, aged seventy-two years. He had governed eleven years, six months, and eight days, in a time of schism, of a thousand objects of terror, and of ferocious horrors committed and retaliated. The right-minded now hoped that those evils would cease, as the motives that had produced them no longer existed. "But that disturbed state," says Novaes,* "was still long to continue ere the faithful would fully recognize all the value of Catholic unity." "And that is not to be wondered at,† if we compare the frailties of that pontiff with those which he lacked to cause him to be loved."

Urban was of low stature, and corpulent; his dark countenance had a somewhat stern expression. It is conceded that he was an excellent writer on canonical science. The qualities of his heart may be considered under two aspects, as we learn from contemporary writers. Before his pontificate, he loved justice, and the purity of language; he hated simony; he was favorable to the good, and unfavorable to the evil; he gave a good reception to the learned, and was fond of solitude. He was humble, pious, tractable, patient in his own adversity and compassionate of that of others.

It is urged that all those virtues disappeared when he attained the pontificate, and that losing then all his advantages, he was assailed by imprudence, hardship, and haughtiness; especially caused by the facility with which he listened to flatterers and inconsiderate advisers.

* Novaes, iv., p. 247.

† Ibid.

Let us conceal no portion of the truth.

Urban would have been the worthiest of the papacy, had he never become pope; and one of the popes most deserving of praise, if he had been more gentle, more docile, more tranquil, and less eager for the advancement of his family, who, however, after his death, could not retain all the honors that he had heaped upon them.

His nephew, Francis Prignani, who, despairing of the life of his uncle, had taken refuge in the March of Ancona, where he had some castles, fell into the hands of his enemies, and was thrown into prison at Perugia. There, in order to regain his liberty, he surrendered his fiefs. Under the following pontificate, he went to Rome. Poor and abject, and finding himself despised by all, he went to Apulia. At the end of about six years, he determined to go to Venice, and on the passage, during a terrible storm on the Adriatic, he perished miserably, together with his mother, his sons, and his servants.

With him ended the family of Urban, which had been so unjustly enriched by the favors of the pontiff.

The Holy See was vacant seventeen days.

The antipope, called Clement VII., was son of Amadeus, count of Geneva, and of Matilda of Boulogne. The male line of that family ended with the Robert of whom we speak, and the county passed to the count of Savoy.

Robert was lame from his birth, but otherwise enjoyed good health. He had at first been prothonotary of the Holy See, and then the forty-fourth bishop of Terrouan, a See since transferred to Boulogne; subsequently ecclesiastic of Cambray; and finally, named by Gregory XI. cardinal-priest of the Holy Apostles. The same pontiff created him, in 1376, legate and commandant of an army sent from Avignon into Italy.

He was thirty-six years old when he was named pope at Fondi, by the eleven French cardinals, and the Spanish Cardinal de Luna, the enemy of Urban.

Although the French cardinals had seduced to them three of the four Italian cardinals, who had remained faithful to Urban, by promising their votes to each of the three, yet the French cardinals gave their votes to no Italian cardinals, and did not oppose Clement, who was crowned on the 21st of September, in presence of Otho of Brunswick, and of the ambassadors of Queen Jane. The ceremony took place six months after the election of Urban VI.

Clement, after the rout of an army which he had opposed to that of Urban, retired to Splonata, near Gaeta, and thence to Naples, where the queen received him with honors. But the Neapolitan people, better advised than their queen, would not lend themselves to the intrigues of an intruding

pope. He was therefore obliged to retire to Gaeta, and thence to Avignon, which latter he entered on the 20th of June.

There he pretended to establish his pestilential chair, in which he was recognized by the countries that we have already enumerated. After many wrongful proceedings instituted against Urban, he published decrees against that pontiff's successor, Boniface, and at the same time he crowned as king of Naples, Louis, duke of Anjou, son of him who had died in Apulia. Charles V., king of France, was present at that ceremony, and presented the basin to the celebrant, whom he was unfortunate enough to recognize as legitimate.

While the doctors of the Sorbonne, among whom were then included Peter d'Ailly, and other eminent personages, proposed, after the death of Urban, some means of putting an end to the delusion, an endeavor which incensed Clement, that perverse prelate, after a schismatic government of fifteen years, eleven months, and twenty-eight days, died on the 16th of September, 1394, of an apoplexy, caused by his anger at the opinions of the Sorbonne, and was buried in the cathedral of Avignon, whence, on the 17th of September, 1401, he was transferred to the church of the monastery of the Celestines, which he had founded.

Clement was of so unamiable a disposition, that Saint Antoninus compares him to Herod and Nero. He is accused of sanguinary cruelty when he commanded the pontifical army. He was succeeded in the *anti-papacy* by Benedict XIII., of whom we shall speak hereafter, and who must not be confounded with Benedict XIII., the *true* pontiff, who was created in 1724.

205. BONIFACE IX.—A. D. 1389.



BONIFACE IX. was originally named Pietro Tomazelli. He belonged to a poor but noble family of the city of Naples, the stem of which was the Cibo family of Genoa. Pietro was born at Carasanello, an old fief of his family. At first a canon of the cathedral of Naples, he went to Rome, where, by the purity of his morals and his attention to his duty, he gained the esteem and the confidence of Urban VI., who nominated him apostolic prothonotary, and, in 1381, created him cardinal. Scarcely fifteen years before, Peter went into Rome an exceedingly poor cleric, utterly destitute of resources.

It is only at Rome that such changes of fortune can be seen.

He was thirty years old, according to Platina, Bury, and Tursellini; thirty-four according to Buoninseguì and Saint Antoninus; and forty-five according to some other writers, when he was elected pope, on the 2d of November, 1389, by fourteen cardinals of the party of Urban VI. He was crowned on the 9th of the same month.

A few days later, on the 10th of September, he created four cardinals; two were Neapolitans, one Paduan, and one Roman. Among the Neapolitans was Cosmo Migliorati, who succeeded Boniface under the name of Innocent VII.

In the same consistory, the pope restored the hat to four cardinals who had been deposed by Urban; and among them was Adam Eston, bishop of London, one of those who had been kept captive by Urban, and who owed his life to the courageous interference of Richard II., king of England.

One of the other restored cardinals was named Pileo, of the family of the counts of Prota. He was born at Concordia, in Friuli, and was bishop of Trevisa, of Padua, and of Ravenna. From that time he was surnamed *de tre capelli*—the thrice-hatted, because he had been made cardinal by Urban, who afterwards imprisoned him; by Clement, who, being master at Avignon, received Pileo, when he escaped to that city. This hat, given by an intruder, did not satisfy Pileo, who declined it. The hat which he received from Boniface was the third, and from these circumstances he obtained his singular surname of the THRICE-HATTED.

In 1390, the Holy Father invited all bishops and princes to endeavor to put an end to the schism.

Soon after his accession,* he carefully considered the situation in Italy. Charles III., king of Naples, who had also caused himself to be named king of Hungary, had been poisoned on the 3d of June, 1386. His wife, Margaret, remained at Naples, as regent for her son Ladislas, aged nineteen. But the nobility of the city gave its full confidence to a magistracy independent of the crown, under the name of the eight of *buon governo*, an aristocratic magistracy that disputed the authority of the queen. The opposite party had proclaimed as king, Louis II., the son of Louis of Anjou, under the regency of his mother, Mary. Thus there were two minor kings, and two regents, but of unequal degrees of legitimacy.

Boniface declared in favor of Ladislas, and caused him to be crowned king of Naples, in the month of March, 1390. That prince, by an authentic act published at Gaeta, on the 22d of March, declared that he had received his kingdom from the Holy Church, and he swore constantly to give aid to the Holy See against the antipope and the *false cardinals*. Moreover, the

* *Italy*; 1835, Firmin Didot.

compacts were renewed that had been signed by Charles, his father, or revoking the donations made to Urban's nephew, Prignani. The partisans of Louis of Anjou, having taken up arms against Ladislas, the pope sent cavalry to his assistance, and endeavored to get the money necessary for him to keep up the war.

In the same year, the pope celebrated the jubilee to which Urban had called the faithful. According to Thierry de Niem (lib. i., cap. 68), a great number of pilgrims attended, but no French, nor any of the inhabitants of any of the countries that acknowledged Clement.

The pope granted to some of the cities of Germany the power to enjoy the jubilee, on condition of visiting their churches and subscribing towards the restoration of the churches of Rome. Some offences were committed in the matter, and Boniface ordered the punishment of the guilty.

In 1391, the pope, learning that some Sicilians had sent aid to Louis of Anjou against Ladislas, king of Naples, ordered the archbishop of that island to excommunicate the supporters of Louis. Unfortunately, in England, the king's ministers, infected with the errors of Wyckliff, engaged their sovereign to renew the laws of the first two Edwards, which authorized the conferring of benefices and bishoprics without the sanction of the Holy See, and declared any one who appealed to Rome on the subject guilty of a *præmunire*. Boniface, by a diploma of the month of February, in that year, 1391, annulled these laws, as well as others which were contrary to ecclesiastical liberty.

In the same year, he canonized Saint Bridget, the foundress of the order called of The Saviour, and gave the constitution of the new university of Ferrara. Subsequently, that constitution not appearing to Clement XIV. to be adapted to the new state of things, he reformed its statutes by a new constitution, published in 1771. The Ecclesiastical States were then ravaged by war, but Boniface, being a man of courage (*uomo di petto ch' egli era*), did not fail to find a prompt remedy, and endeavored to reduce the revolted to obedience.

The Perugians, weary of the divisions which so strongly animated the *Beccarino* and *Raspante* parties, solicited Boniface to lend them the aid of his presence. He was at that time displeased with the Romans, whose *caporioni* had become insolent. He therefore resolved to comply with the request of the Perugians, and reconciled them to the Roman Church. The *Raspani* had obtained, by the intercession of Boniface, permission to return to that city; but they showed themselves ungrateful. Boniface, leaving the two factions to their own devices, and learning that the Romans desired his return, because, as soon as the pontiff left that city, it was desolated by famine and murders, returned to Rome on the 15th of September in that year.

In 1394, Peter de Luna, a Spaniard, succeeded the *antipope* Robert. On that occasion Boniface endeavored to recall all the schismatics.

Incorrigible Rome was afflicted with new troubles. Some called for Louis, the rival of Ladislas; others were for a personal and local authority. Boniface summoned up all his great courage, and it may be affirmed that he was the first pope who exercised *absolute* temporal power in Rome, and in the Patrimony of Saint Peter. He took away all usurped authority from the Romans, and declared that the government of the country belonged to the pontiffs; that the people should not at its own pleasure elect the magistrates, and that the *banderesi* were suppressed. He named as senator Malatesta, son of Pandolfo of Pesara, a man distinguished for virtue and ability. He in great pomp restored the castle of Saint Angelo, which became a fortress, and which the Romans themselves had partially destroyed. To the mole he added imposing bulwarks, which were afterwards kept up and added to by Nicholas V., Alexander VI., Pius IV., Urban VIII., Clement X., and Innocent XI. In addition, Boniface fortified the capitol and the weaker portions of the pontifical palace.

Ladislas no longer held Naples, but the aid of the Holy Father enabled him to conquer a portion of the surrounding country. In those times it occasionally happened that the princes either awakened or encouraged in the bosoms of the popes an inclination to nepotism. Ladislas gave to the nephews of the Holy Father the county of Sora, with other territory, at the moment when the wreck of the family of Prignani, the nephew of Pope Urban, so miserably perished.

However, Peter de Luna, who had taken the name of Benedict XI., had organized a conspiracy against Boniface. A faithless governor had promised to give up to Martin, king of Aragon, the city of Civita Vecchia for twelve thousand crowns, and the count of Fondi undertook to make the pope prisoner on the appearance of Martin's army. But the conspiracy was discovered before it was executed.

In 1399, Boniface determined to punish Honorius, count of Fondi, the principal abettor of the schism. He declared him guilty of apostacy, outrage upon the pontifical majesty, and rebellion.

In 1400, the Colonnas and Honorius Gaetani again attempted to seize the person of the pope, but the guards at the capitol repulsed the rebels at their first attack. In the same year Boniface had the satisfaction to see Ladislas at length master of Naples and of the kingdom, and showing his affection for the Holy See.

In the following year the electors of the empire having deposed Ladislas, king of the Romans, and elected in his stead Robert, duke of Bavaria, surnamed the little, Boniface, in 1403, confirmed that election.

It is affirmed that Boniface established the *perpetual annates*—i. e., one

year's revenue of each bishopric, to be paid to the Roman court. Benedict XIII. having written a letter to Boniface proposing means of reuniting the Universal Church, Boniface was greatly annoyed, because he knew that Peter de Luna was not sincere. Boniface was seized by a violent fever, and died on the 1st of October, 1404, after governing the Church fourteen years and eleven months.

The physicians, to cure him of the gravel,* proposed a remedy, efficacious perhaps, but certainly shameful, and he preferred death to a breach of chastity. This pontiff possessed distinguished qualities which made him worthy of his supreme ministry. With a handsome person, he had an imposing countenance; he was well skilled in the chants of the Church and in grammar,† although little addicted to higher studies; he was affable, modest, able, prudent in temporal government, and courageous in defending his authority. Nevertheless, being but little acquainted with the peculiar style and business of the Roman court, he signed, without reading them, the replies sent by his ministers, and sometimes blindly decided in accordance with the reports of his officers.

The disastrous time in which he lived prevented him from achieving all the glory that might be hoped for from a great pope.

The necessity of disheartening the antipope, and of recovering the maliciously usurped territories of the Church, compelled him to seek money by every means. But it must be added that in this he was not urged by avarice, for at his death only one golden florin was found in his possession. Besides, he knew not how to resist the solicitations of his mother, brothers, and nephews, whom he enriched beyond measure. But the whole family, after the death of the pope, was reduced to beggary, that by their example (says Saint Antoninus)‡ others might learn not to seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the goods of the Crucified.

The Holy See was vacant fifteen days.

Benedict XIII., the antipope, Pierre de Luna by real name, belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Aragon. He abandoned jurisprudence for the career of arms. After a few years he resumed his studies, and became professor of canon law in the university of Montpellier, archdeacon of Saragossa, and provost of Valencia.

On the 28th of September, 1394, he was elected at Avignon, to be opposed to Boniface IX., by twenty cardinals of the obedience of the false Clement VII.

On the 3d of October, Cardinal Guido, bishop of Frascati, ordained him pope; on the following day he celebrated Mass, and was consecrated on the 11th, and crowned by the Cardinal-deacon Hugo, and afterwards made his solemn cavalcade in Avignon.

* Novaes, iv., p. 263.

† Novaes, *ibid.*

‡ In Chron., part iii., tit. 22, cap. 3.

He several times swore that he would give peace to the Church by his renunciation, if he should ever be elected. That promise blinded those who gave him their votes. His insincerity was soon discovered, as well as the tergiversations with which he tried to impose upon the ambassadors of Charles, king of France, who, in the year 1395, begged him to resign the pontifical insignia, in order that the Church might at length be restored to peace.

The kings of France, Castile, and Naples suspended obedience in 1398, but the French renewed it to him on the 28th of March, 1403, after keeping him imprisoned five years in the castle of Avignon. In the time of Gregory XII. Benedict again promised to resign, but did not. In 1407, the king sent ambassadors to him at Marseilles, where he then was, to entreat him to refuse the title of pope, assuring him that otherwise he would be abandoned by the whole kingdom. I dwell upon these particulars in order to show that the French indirectly renounced the schism before it was at an end. Benedict received that threat haughtily, and issued a bull excommunicating all who separated from his obedience. The Sorbonne having published firm opinions on that subject, Benedict was unconcerned, and quite coolly beheld himself declared heretical, schismatic, and a disturber of the peace of Christendom. It was replied that he ought not to be called either pope or cardinal, and that he and all his abettors ought to be punished with all the severity of the canons.

France seemed determined to deal more sharply with him; a council was to be assembled at Pisa. Benedict escaped, first to Callioure and then to Perpignan. In 1408, he assembled a council of bishops of his party, who advised him to give peace to the Church by refusing the papacy. He gave fair words of promise to comply with that request, but he had not the courage to yield, and continued obstinate. Peter de Luna excited universal indignation. Gerson, punning upon his name, which is Latin for moon, said, "Nothing but an eclipse of the moon can give peace to the Church." It is affirmed that when Gregory XI. gave him the deaconry of Saint Mary in *Cosmedin*, he said to him: "Take care that your moon does not suffer an eclipse." But it is now considered that that saying is only based upon that of Gerson.

At length a council was convoked at Pisa, in which, in spite of themselves, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. were both deposed.

We shall see more details in the article on Gregory XIII. The persistency of the obstinate Benedict induced the Emperor Sigismund to make a journey to Spain to endeavor to obtain from the intruder the much-desired renunciation, but the prince was unsuccessful. In the council of Constance Benedict was deposed, and deprived of all his grades, titles, honors, and dignities. He was also excommunicated as a *scandalizer* of the Church, a

promoter of the old schism, a disturber of the universal peace, schismatic, heretic, and a pertinacious breaker of the article of faith, *Unam sanctam ecclesiam*.

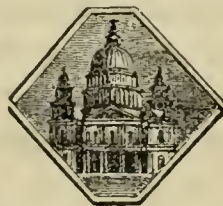
He lost the friendship of all the princes, except Alphonso, king of Aragon. As a last blow, he was given up by Saint Vincent Ferrer, his former confessor and defender, who at last denounced him as a perfidious deceiver of God's people, and a perjurer, who deserved the contempt and indignation of the faithful.

Still, however, he had with him four cardinals, with a physician, and a Jew who had become a Catholic. Obstinate in the schism, Benedict died, in the ninetieth year of his age, on the 29th of November, 1424, at Peniscola.

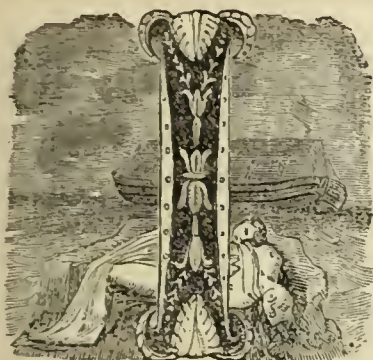
He was a dangerous man, who braved six pontiffs and two councils. Bercastel allowed him virtues, but they were obscured by the thirst for greatness and the passion for governing. Avignon, Avignon, behold the fruits of the fatal hospitality which too timid popes received from you! You are not guilty of these things, no doubt; but certainly you must not boast of them. To these remarks let us address one fact. The city of Avignon, though no longer the abode of the popes, continued to belong to them; and was still a devoted and faithful city. In the convulsions of the French revolution it was torn from its masters. When Pius VII. passed an hour there, the most sincere respect was paid to him. Then, without disdaining its new country, it did not cease to show itself profoundly Catholic. That loving city, which deserves also to be beloved, contains a host of distinguished and generous men, who, with its delicious climate, present an assemblage of qualities and virtues that render it an ever desirable abode. The wit and the odors of Provence abound there, and any sovereign losing such subjects might justly envy the good fortune of him to whose lot it fell to gain them.

Glen thus positively speaks of Boniface IX.: "By his great courage he transferred to the papacy all the power of the Roman people, and created magistrates depending on himself."* The preceding facts sufficiently prove that Boniface was right thus to quiet the ever rising troubles in that unquiet and discontented capital.

* *Histoire Pontificale*, by F. John Baptist de Glen, prior of the Augustinians of Liege. Paris, 1615. 4o



206. INNOCENT VII.—A. D. 1404.



INNOCENT VII. (Cosmas Migliorati) belonged to a respectable but not important family of Sulmona, a city of the Abruzzi, in the kingdom of Naples. After being a notary at Capua, he went to Bologna, to study law, and having attended the lectures of the famous John de Lignano, was made a doctor. John, having been sent by the commune of Bologna on a mission to Urban VI., strongly recommended Migliorati to the pontiff, who, on ascertaining his virtues and talents, retained him in his service. The new retainer of the pope was named auditor of the Rota, and then clerk of the chamber, and was sent to England as collector of the rents of the Roman Church. Returning to Rome in 1386, he obtained the bishopric of Bologna, but, the inhabitants of that city showing some resistance, Urban promoted him to the archbishopric of Ravenna. Boniface created him a cardinal, and intrusted him with the most important affairs. On the 17th of October, 1404, Migliorati was elected pope by seven cardinals, who had been in the obedience of the deceased pope.

On the 11th of November, he was solemnly crowned, and on the same day he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

Ladislas, king of Naples, having learned that Innocent had promised to abdicate the pontificate, if that was necessary to the putting an end to the schism, and fearing that at the conclusion of a general peace he would lose his own ill-secured crown, induced the pope to publish a constitution declaring that he would consent to no treaty of peace, unless it were established as a preliminary that Ladislas should remain in peaceable possession of his State. This favor of the pope which preferred private interest to the weal of the Church, could not be accepted by the French cardinals. Such a circumstance made it difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to put an end to the schism. It did not even prevent Ladislas, always miserably alive to his own interests, from invading the properties of the Church, and committing acts which Innocent endeavored mildly to reprove. In vain he remitted the tribute, many years due, from the kingdom, and even waived it for three years to come; these favors apparently only increased the perversity and ingratitude of Ladislas. While pretending personal regard for the pope, this perjured prince aspired to rule absolutely in the Pontifical States. The Romans were excited by this revolt, long familiar to them, and

their demands became so unreasonable, that the pope one day said : " Do you wish also to wear our vestments ? " He thus declared that he would sooner lose his pontificate than tolerate such insults as were offered him.

On the other hand, Alberic Barbiano, constable of Naples, and feudatory of the Holy See, breaking his promise, suddenly occupied some portion of the territory of Bologna, and even endeavored to seize upon its capital. To repress the insolence of the constable, Innocent wrote to all the governors of the Ecclesiastical States, ordering that, on pain of excommunication, no one should give assistance or encouragement to Barbiano, and that all the inhabitants should take up arms against him at the first call of the cardinal legate.

By the death of Francis Ordelaffi, who left no children, Forti and Cesena, of which he was lord, returned to the Holy See.

When the cardinal legate, Balthazar Coscia, tried to take possession, he was opposed by some of the people of Forli, and thus new embarrassments sprang up to torment Innocent.

On the 12th of June, the pope created eleven cardinals, six of whom were Romans. He hoped thus to increase his party in Rome, and to destroy the influence of the faction sustained by Ladislas.

But this concession to the Romans did not quell the spirit of revolt. They endeavored to seize upon the Ponte-Molle, over the Tiber, which was occupied by a detachment of the pontifical troops, but they were fortunately repulsed. After that check, the Romans began to treat. Then occurred an accident which disturbed the pope's council and embittered the malcontents. At the moment when two of the seven governors of the city were returning from an audience given to them by the pope, Louis de Migliorati, nephew of Innocent, without the knowledge of the pope, seized the regents and the distinguished citizens who were with them, and ordered them to be put to death in his own palace. The Romans were scarcely informed of this perfidy, when the bell of the capitol rang, and the citizens rushed to arms and imprisoned some of the most respectable ecclesiastics.

Innocent relying but little upon the fidelity of Antonio Tomazelli, the commandant of the castle of Saint Angelo, who was in correspondence with Ladislas, thought fit to go to Viterbo. While he was on his way thither, the heat was so oppressive that many persons in his suite died of thirst.

The pope remained in that city seven months, and was then recalled by the Romans, who, though always ready to revolt, were always brought to a better way of thinking by the sufferings which revolt always brought upon them. They bethought them of the indignation with which he deplored the crime of his nephew ; but why had the pope a nephew ?

The Holy Father, when thus recalled, consented to return. He had

possession taken of the city, the capitol, all the gates, and the castle of St. Angelo, and then re-entered Rome.

Further hostilities having been committed, he excommunicated Ladislas and deprived him of the kingdom of Naples. The effect of that terrible chastisement was what might be expected. Ladislas, as indefatigable in perfidy as in dastardy, solicited his pardon. Innocent was a compound of kindness, sincerity, and benevolent credulity. He pardoned Ladislas, and thereby made the bad man worse than ever.

After governing two years and twenty-one days, Innocent died at Rome, of apoplexy, aged sixty-eight years, on the 6th of November, 1406. He was buried in the Vatican, in the chapel of St. Thomas.

Innocent was tall, and one of those handsome Neapolitans such as are still seen. He was known to have great legal science, and was intimately acquainted with all the relations between the Holy See and Europe. But he could not well attend to them, embarrassed as he was by Ladislas and the turbulent Romans. He was everywhere praised for his affability, good nature, and piety, and for his patience in giving audience. He had a horror of haughtiness and of simony. He desired to do good to all. He so admirably united these qualities, that he would have been an irreproachable pope, had such a prodigy been possible in such a time as that he lived in.

Innocent did not look upon the abdication of his throne with the same eye with which he looked upon it when Cardinal Migliorati. When he became pope, therefore, he believed that he could absolve the cardinal from the oaths he had taken in the conclave. Yet these oaths bound him to sacrifice, if necessary, his own greatness to the peace of the Church.

The Holy See remained vacant twenty-five days.

207. GREGORY XII.—A. D. 1406.



GREGORY XII., originally Angelo Carraro, was a patrician of Venice, of the family now known by the name of Correr. Angelo, famous as a theologian, and praised as such by Saint Antoninus, Leonard d'Arezzo, Biondi, and Sanders, at first a canon-regular, became, in succession, bishop of Venice, bishop of Chalcis, in the island of Negropont, and then titular patriarch of Constantinople, still retaining the see of Chalcis.

In 1399 he was sent to Naples as pontifical nuncio by Boniface IX., to

recall that city to its due obedience to King Ladislas, whom it had deserted to follow the party of the count of Anjou.

Innocent VII. had subsequently sent Angelo to the Marches, as legate, and then, in 1405, named him cardinal-priest of Saint Mark. Fourteen cardinals who had adhered to Innocent, and who were at Rome when that pontiff died, created Angelo Carraro pope, on the 1st of December, 1406. He was then nearly eighty years old,* though Saint Antoninus and various other writers give him a less advanced age.

On the 19th of December he was solemnly crowned, and on the same day he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

When the cardinals entered the conclave, on the 10th of November, they had well considered the evils of the Church, and subscribed an oath, already without effect, which bound each of them, if elected pope, to hold himself ready to renounce the pontificate, if his doing so could extinguish the schism and restore peace to the Church.†

Gregory ratified the oath with such appearance of sincerity that he often said, "If for the union of the Church we should lack other means or horses to our carriage, we would walk staff in hand to establish that union; and if no galley could be had to take us across the sea for that purpose, we would take the first fishing-bark we could get."

Accordingly, on the 10th day of his pontificate, he wrote to the antipope Benedict, and to the cardinals who obeyed him, offering to lay down the pontificate if Benedict would do the same, in order that both colleges should unite and elect a single pontiff, thus extinguishing a pernicious schism.

On the other hand, the antipope, Benedict, on the 31st of January, 1407, wrote a letter to Gregory full of sentiments of peace and concord. Benedict declared, however, that previous to laying down the pontificate he wished to meet Gregory in friendly conference. Gregory therefore sent nuncios to Marseilles to treat about the place, time, and etiquette; and on the 20th of April it was settled that Gregory and Benedict should meet at Savona, a city of the republic of Genoa. But the States of that republic were then in the power of France. At the latest, the meeting was to take place on St. Nicholas' day, in the month of September, 1407. Gregory ratified that agreement on the 30th of July, and accordingly commenced his journey on the 9th of August. He proceeded to Viterbo and thence to Sienna, which he entered, surrounded by twelve cardinals, on the 4th of September. He was about to continue his journey, when events occurred which prevented him from leaving Sienna, where he remained till the end of the year 1407.

* Fleury, v., 496.

† The form of that oath is given in Rinaldi's continuation of Baronius, year 1406, No. 11.

At the end of January, 1408, he went to Lucca, where he made a promotion of four cardinals. The events which had disquieted Gregory looked still darker. He had assured the possession of Naples to King Ladislas. That king, fearing that in the congress at Savona resolutions fatal to him might be adopted favorable to his rival, Louis of Anjou, excited disturbances in the Ecclesiastical States, hoping that he might succeed in seizing them. Then he advised Gregory to take the government of the Marches from Louis Migliorati. This perfidious advice being followed, Ladislas offered his support to the dispossessed governor, and thus indirectly aimed at getting possession of the Marches. He then put a Neapolitan garrison in Ascoli and Fermo and dispatched a body of soldiers to Rome, who made a breach by razing a portion of the walls. Cardinal Annibaldeschi and Paul Orsini, who commanded in the name of Gregory, were obliged to consent to an occupation of the city. The language of the general led to the belief that the occupation would be but brief.

On the other hand, Gregory, while at Lucca, near to Savona, to which he was about to proceed, saw that the French were concentrating troops in the latter city, and that Benedict was trying to ensnare him. Between the embarrassments raised at Rome, and the entreaties of Benedict, who was well known as an inflexible Aragonese, Gregory could not make up his mind to travel the short distance that separated Lucca and Savona, and he guarded himself and his cardinals with great vigilance. At length he determined to inform Benedict that for many prudential reasons, and for their mutual interest, the place of the congress must be changed.

Benedict, seeing that his designs were penetrated, addressed a reproachful letter to Gregory, and asked him why he had increased the number of his cardinals. Gregory had, in fact, engaged to create none, except in case of being required to do so by the necessity of making his cardinals equal in number to that of his adversaries. Unfortunately, he seemed to have forgotten that engagement. Among the cardinals who obeyed him were some old ones who did not love him, and he had therefore created some on whose fidelity he could rely. It was said that that creation did not contravene the oath, and had been necessitated by the new state of affairs.

Moreover, those new cardinals passed for men whose merits made them worthy of that honor. The first of them was John de Domenico, since declared Blessed, son of Branchini, a Florentine artisan. Having entered the order of the Dominicans, he acquired immense renown for learning.

The second was Antoine Corraro, patrician of Venice, and the pope's nephew, and one of the founders of the congregation of Saint George *in alga*, who died in 1445, dean of the sacred college.

The third new cardinal was Gabriel Condolmieri, a Venetian patrician. For a moment we leave *family* nepotism for *national* nepotism. But let us

endeavor to excuse Gregory. Nearly eighty years of age, he more than others needed the solicitude of a relation. Pursued by rivals who were laying plots for him, he endeavored to aid his policy by Venetian experience, the Venetian policy being considered the most skilful in Italy.

The fourth new cardinal was James of Udina, in Friuli, whose family name has not been ascertained. From the medical profession he passed to the ecclesiastical state. He died in 1410, at Rimini, leaving the reputation of a learned and profoundly religious man. We have given some detail upon these facts, because of their melancholy consequences.

The old cardinals, irritated at the promotion which they could not prevent, promised each other not to recognize their new colleagues as true cardinals. On the 4th of May, Gregory having forbidden his whole sacred college to have any communication with the French ambassadors there, the malcontents resolved to abandon the pope. The cardinal of Liege was the first to execute that fatal project. On the 11th of May, he escaped from Lucca to Pisa. Pursued by Paul, a nephew of Gregory, the cardinal used such diligence that he could not be overtaken. On the 12th of May, six other cardinals—Cardinal d'Aquilea, bishop of Palestrina, Cardinal Malte Conrad, Francis, cardinal of Bordeaux, John Orsini, Renaud Brancacci, and Otho Colonna (afterwards Martin V.)—also fled.

Those six cardinals, finding themselves in safety, avowed, on the 31st of July, a resolution to constrain Gregory and the antipope to resign the pontificate.

Manifestoes were published on both sides. Those of the cardinals did not bear the calm character of fidelity, and of grief for the ills that afflicted the Church. The pope, in his turn, showed the injustice of those who had deserted him, and who accused him of being unwilling to restore peace to the Church.* He did not refuse the medium of a council, on the eve of still more threatening troubles. He rightly maintained that the cardinals could not convoke that council. The election of the pope had been legitimate and canonical. Consequently, it was indubitable that it belonged only to the pope to convene general councils. He determined that he would convoke it to meet at a place in the patriarchate of Aquilea, to be named by the cardinals themselves. Finally, Gregory, in the most courteous terms, exhorted them to return to him, and promised them entire pardon of the past.

At that moment, three other cardinals joined the malcontents. Henry, bishop of Frascati, Angelo, of the title of Saint-Pudenziana, and Landolpho, of the title of Saint Nicholas *in carcere*. The first two had been with the pope in Lucca, the third was at Perugia, of which he was governor.

Gregory, learning that the cardinals were about to assemble a council at

* Novacs, v., p. 601.

Pisa, declared that it would be of no force, because the convoking cardinals were from that moment deposed from the cardinalate.

Here it is opportune to glance at what the Aragonese who styled himself Benedict XIII. was doing. For some time he had hoped for the constant protection of Charles VI., king of France. But that prince's council knew that such a character could never be maintained in the papacy, and that to treat with him was only to invite him to revolt; and it was in that sense that the French ministers finally acted with his envoys. As though he had not yet shown sufficiently how fiery and unusual his acts could be, the antipope Benedict gave way to an act almost of frenzy, and addressed a bull to Charles VI.

On the 14th of May, 1408, Sancho Lopez, watching the opportunity of finding the king unattended by any prince of the blood, presented, on the part of Benedict, a sealed letter to the king. It was addressed to the king, the princes of the blood, and to the members of the council.* The king said to Sancho: "Those to whom this letter is addressed are not here at present, but I will send for them: they will open the letter, and give you an answer to-morrow." Accordingly the following noblemen assembled in the king's presence: Louis of Anjou, king of Sicily (the rival of Ladislas); the dukes of Berry and Burgundy; Peter, brother of the count of Navarre; the count de Nevers, brother of the duke of Burgundy; and the brother of the queen of France, the fatal Isabella of Bavaria.

The bull was opened, and contained, in substance, these five propositions: 1. Pope Benedict (*antipope*) excommunicates all those, of whatever rank, even kings and princes, who reject the means of a conference to arrange the affairs of the Church. 2. Also all those who approve the means of an abdication of the pontificate. 3. All those who hold an opinion contrary to that of Benedict. 4. Those who withdraw from obedience to him, or refuse the levies of Peter's pence, or the collation of benefices. 5. In case of any one leaning to a contrary opinion, if within twenty days he do not restore things to their first state, he pronounces a general interdict, *suspense* against the beneficiaries, and gives a dispensation of the oath of fidelity made to the king and the other princes.

Could the acts of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. be parodied with worse taste, or with such an ill-timed audacity? And it was a man without rights, an Aragonese *full of himself*, that spoke thus in his own cause, which for a long time had ceased to be that of the Church.

On the 21st of May, Benedict received this reply: "Peter de Luna appears to be a schismatic, obstinate, and even heretical, a disturber of the peace and union of the Church. He ought no longer to be called Benedict,

* Du Boulay, vol. v., p. 158.

nor pope, nor cardinal, nor any other name of dignity, and no one ought to obey him." Benedict then thought best to hide his shame in Perpignan, on the frontier of Catalonia, where he pretended to assemble a council. Warned in time of that fact, Gregory felt his courage revive, but his position, on account of the desertion of the cardinals, was none the less painful. He had taken the road to Aquilea, and had already reached the Marches. His friend, Charles Malatesta, sent him an express, announcing that that road was not safe, as Cardinal Balthazar Coscia lay in wait to take him prisoner. At that news the pope took refuge in Sienna, and deprived Coscia of the government of Bologna, where he constituted himself a kind of tyrant.

One misfortune often produces another. At Sienna, Gregory found himself obliged to create nine cardinals, in order to oppose them to those who were endeavoring to convene a council at Pisa. Only two of the new cardinals were Venetians. There were one English and one Pole, named Matthew Cracow,* one Spaniard, and four Italians from various parts of the peninsula. One of the four was from Lucca, that city which had afforded the pope a generous asylum.

After a stay of three months at Sienna, Gregory departed for Rimini, where his friends, the Malatestas, lords of the country, awaited him. From Rimini he sent the bishop of Porto to Rupert of Bavaria, king of the Romans, to ask that prince to oppose the celebration of the council of Pisa. During that time three of the dissenting cardinals departed, one to France, another to England, and the third to Germany. Their errand was to induce the sovereigns of those countries to repulse every solicitation that Gregory might make.

Notwithstanding the repugnance of the true pontiff, and the obstacles which he naturally raised, they commenced on the 25th of March, 1409, at Pisa, that council which the venerable Bellarmine† says was neither approved nor reprobated.

After twenty-three sessions, it ended on the 27th of August, in the same year. There were present twenty-two cardinals of the two parties of Gregory XII. and the antipope, the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, a hundred and eighty bishops,‡ two hundred and eighty doctors, and three hundred regular prelates, besides the ambassadors of France, England, Portugal, Poland, Cyprus, and Bohemia. Rupert, king of Germany, sent ambassadors, but not being satisfied with the replies to several

* Not *De Cracovie*, as several authors have mistakenly said.

† *De Conc.*, lib. i., cap. 8. Saint Antoninus, in *Chron.*, part iii., tit. 22, cap. 5, paragraph 2, calls it *conciliabule*, because it was assembled by none of those who were treated as popes in different countries.

‡ Novaes, v., p. 24.

doubts that he had expressed as to the legitimacy of the council, he withdrew them.

The cardinal of Pavia, the dean of both colleges, presided. On the 5th of June, in the fifteenth session, the council deposed* Gregory XII., and him who styled himself Benedict XIII., and on the 26th of June, in the nineteenth session, elected Alexander V., as we shall hereafter see.

The faithful flattered themselves that this would put an end to the schism, but they soon perceived their mistake. In fact, instead of the single pope they wanted, there were now three, for Gregory, Benedict, and Alexander were all treated as popes.

Saint Antoninus† thus judges the event.

Novaes here says, in a note, that according to Rainaldi, Azorio, and Natalis Alexander, the council and the pope elect were, and should be considered, legitimate.

Gregory, relying upon the protection of King Rupert, at first thought of convoking a council at Civald of Austria or Friuli, to oppose that of Pisa; and on the 6th of June he really celebrated the first session of that council, still maintaining, as he was undoubtedly right in doing, that to the pontiff alone belonged the power legitimately to convoke a general council. But he could only assemble at Civald a small number of prelates. Then, on the 6th of September, he, by a public document, promised to divest himself of the pontifical insignia if he who was called Alexander V. and the pretended Benedict XIII. would do the same; so that, by the creation of another, the schism would be terminated. To that end Gregory deputed Rupert, king of the Romans, Sigismund, king of Hungary, and Ladislas, king of Naples, to agree with the princes of the other party in the council in the choice of a place where another council should afterwards be assembled. For the same end Gregory sent legates into all Christendom; but very shortly afterwards, instead of obtaining what he desired, he found himself abandoned by the senate of Venice, by the Hungarians, and by the Bohemians, in such wise that he was in some personal danger; while the patriarch of Aquileia, whom he had deposed, tried to have him captured by armed men. Warned by friends, he put off his pontifical attire, and caused a man in his retinue to assume them. The man was arrested, on the supposition that he was the pope. Accompanied by two secretaries, and vainly pursued by his enemies, he arrived at the port to which Ladislas had sent galleys; thence he went to the Abruzzi, then to Ortona, Fondi, and, finally, Gaeta. The king of Naples, who, in appearance, had become faithful, impatiently awaited him there. But the fidelity of the king was more than doubtful. He hoped, by this mask of friendship, to obtain the domination of Rome,

* Novaes, v., p. 24.

† *Chron.*, part iii., tit. 22, cap. 5, parag. 2

where the fugitive pope would have appeared less like a sovereign pontiff than a hopeless exile.

In 1410 Gregory dispatched John, archbishop of Riga, into the northern parts of Europe, to confirm those people in their obedience to him. He also created, as legate of the Marches, Angelo, cardinal of Saint Stephen *in Monte Celio*; and, by a letter of the 18th of November, having given the government of Fermo to Louis Migliorati, he declared him general of the army of the Church, and ordered him to act with the troops of Ladislas.

Gregory, still defended by Ladislas in the ramparts of Gaeta, published, it is affirmed, in 1411, according to the ritual and the customs of the Roman court, the bull entitled *In Cena Domini*, against heretics and schismatics. On that head he excommunicated, by name, Louis d'Anjou, calling himself king of Naples, Peter de Luna, antipope, and Balthazar Coscia, claiming to be John XXIII., as well as the cardinals who adhered to this last-named.

In 1412, to support his adherents, who daily decreased in numbers, Gregory sent out several legates, especially into Germany, and published bulls, chiefly against those who molested the Margrave Hermann, who was constantly obedient to Gregory.

Subsequently, Ladislas, who seemed to be still attached to Gregory XII., yielded to the entreaties of John XXIII., and basely deserted the legitimate pope. Then Gregory, having learned that two Venetian vessels had chanced to run into Gaeta, went on board one of them, accompanied by his two nephews, Carraro and Condolmieri, and by Barbarigo; and at length reaching the Adriatic, he was able to get to Rimini, that old shelter which he had already found with his incorruptible friend, Charles Malatesta.

John XXIII., elected instead of Alexander V., who only reigned ten months, having, in 1413, convoked the Council of Constance, Gregory was informed that if he really desired the union and the concord of the Churches and of all Christendom, he and his cardinals were requested to be present at the council. The result showed that he really did desire that union and concord; but, fearing the plots of his enemies, who repaired to that council, he endeavored to show that it was assembled without legitimate authority, because he, Gregory, was the only true pastor of the Church. He complained of Sigismund, king of Hungary, who had recently embraced the party of John. He sent to that prince the cardinal of Ragusa, a Dominican, and the patriarch of Constantinople, to show the justice of his cause; and he ordered the same cardinal of Ragusa to defend, in the council, the interests of the legitimate pontiff.

The cardinal arrived at Constance, and immediately put up before his palace the armorial bearings of Gregory; but the same night they were torn down. Proceedings were taken on that matter, and the decision was

that the arms ought not to have been put up in a city which recognized John and not Gregory. This sufficed to show that the assembled bishops were little inclined to defend Gregory. Consequently, the cardinal lost all hope of bringing them back to Gregory XII.

The cardinal knew that Sigismund was in the same mind. That monarch reproached Gregory for not going to Constance, saying that he ought to have done so in order to put an end to the schism in the Church. The pope replied that he had not refused to recognize the council, but that he blamed a congress which was convoked by John, who was not the Vicar of Jesus Christ, successor of Saint Peter.

All these unfavorable circumstances being well understood, Gregory, who strongly desired the peace of the Church, wrote, in 1415, a letter in which he gave to the cardinal of Ragusa, and others in obedience to the true pope, full powers to declare in his name the congress of Constance a legitimate general council, but not as being convoked by Balthazar Coscia; and with the express condition that the said Balthazar should not preside there, or even be present.

At length a constitution was published, in which it was declared that the Church had no longer more than one head, and that the faithful who had obeyed Gregory and John would recognize only that head. Gregory dispatched from Rimini his plenipotentiary, Charles Malatesta, lord of many cities; and in the fourteenth session, on the 4th of July, 1415, by the said Malatesta, he renounced the pontificate and declared that Gregory XII. would become Angelo Carraro again. Having learned what had taken place at Constance by his orders, Angelo became Gregory XII. once more for a moment, assembled a consistory, and appeared in it in his pontifical habits. He approved all that had been done by his *locum tenens*, Malatesta, laid down the tiara and other insignia of his dignity, and protested that he would never resume them. This took place at Rimini.

Malatesta, empowered to consummate that abdication at Constance, was placed there on a throne like that which would have been raised for Pope Gregory XII., and after having finished the declaration before the council, descended from the throne, and, no longer representing the pontiff, seated himself as an ordinary spectator.

The council then, to show its sense of Gregory's conduct, made him bishop of Porto and perpetual legate of the Marches, and further recognized him as the dean of the sacred college.

Moreover, all his former acts were confirmed, and a constitution was published stating that the determination of the council not to re-elect Gregory XII.* was no sign of depreciation of him, but had for its absolute and

* Novæes v., p. 29.

sole object the restoration of peace to the Church. The same constitution expressed that the things done by Gregory during his pontificate should never be brought against him, and that he should never be called upon to defend himself concerning them. Other honors were at the same time granted to him, which he only enjoyed for two years, for he was over ninety years old. He had governed the Church, up to his deposition at Pisa, two years, ten months, and three days, and, up to his free and true renunciation at Constance, eight years, seven months, and five days.

On the 4th of July, 1417, he died at Recanati, and was buried in the cathedral, where a tomb was raised for him. In 1623 that tomb was opened when repairs were being made in the church, and his body was found in preservation, and still clad in the pontifical habits.* Let us do full justice! Whatever criticisms have been heaped upon the memory of this pontiff, he was endowed† with a sanctity so sublime, that Saint Antoninus, speaking of the constancy of that pope amidst so many adversities, compares him to the martyred Saint Stephen.‡

To that sanctity, so worthy of admiration, Gregory XII. joined learning, experience, and piety.

The vacancy of the Holy See after the renunciation, continued twenty days.

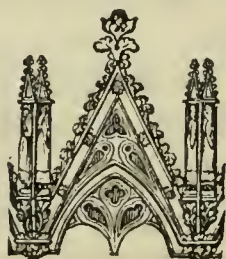
The article devoted to this reign by Platina§ is entirely insufficient; he has given no detail of that noble act of renunciation which has immortalized Gregory XII. That great pope defended his rights foot by foot; it is to him alone that Christendom owes the commencement of the calm resulting from the re-establishment of universal peace in the Church.

* Vittorelli, in his *Addit. to Chacon*, tome ii., p. 754. See also Quirini, *Porpora e Tiara Veneta*, p. 3.

† Novacs, v., p. 30.

‡ Saint Anton., *Chron.*, part iii., tit. 22, cap. 5. See also Leonard d'Arezzo, in *Commentar., rer. gest. in Italia, apud Muratori*, tome ix., p. 936.

§ Platina, p. 541.



208. ALEXANDER V.—A. D. 1409.



ALEXANDER V., originally named Peter Philarchus, was born in the island of Candia. At an early age he became a Franciscan friar (he is the second pope of that order). He was sent to Oxford and to Paris to study philosophy and theology. He became so able that he was called *il doctor refulgido*. From Paris he went into Lombardy, where John Galeas Visconti, lord of Milan, considering him a man of distinguished intellect and great learning, named him professor at Pavia, court theologian and privy councillor, and promised him further honors.

Peter was successively bishop of Placenza and of Vicenza, and archbishop of Milan.

Visconti sent him to Bohemia to Wenceslaus, to obtain from that prince the title and insignia of duke of Milan, and at his death left him as guardian of his two minor sons. Innocent VII. created Peter a cardinal on the 11th of July, 1405.

He was elected pope on the 16th of June, 1409, at the age of sixty, or, as some say, seventy, in the nineteenth session of the Council of Pisa, by twenty-three cardinals, of whom thirteen were of the Roman party, and ten of the party of Avignon. He was publicly crowned on the 7th of July in the cathedral of the city, whence he made the solemn cavalcade, thus imitating the *possesso* of Saint John Lateran.

In the same council of Pisa, Alexander, for the peace of the Church, accepted and admitted into the sacred college nine cardinals who had been created in the unhappy times by the antipopes Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. Alexander, finding himself recognized by the greater part of Christendom, applied himself to the task of recovering the States of the Church and expelling Ladislas. The duke of Anjou promised on that subject his whole support to the pope, who gave him the title of king of Sicily, and made him gonfalonier (standard-bearer) of the Church.

From Pisa, Alexander went to Prato, and then to Pistoia. There he published a bull on the 25th of December, 1409, to prevent the progress in Bohemia of the errors of Wyckliff, which had been introduced there by John Hus. The pope was about to visit Rome, where the inhabitants only awaited his arrival to restore him all his authority; but Cardinal Coscia

urged His Holiness first to visit Bologna. Alexander had scarcely reached the city, when he fell sick, and he died on the 4th of March, 1410, after reigning ten months and eight days. He was interred in the church of the Conventual Franciscans.

He was a personage of great prudence, constantly mild and gentle, liberal to the poor, and distinguished by eminent qualities; an eloquent orator, a consummate theologian, and worthy of all the praise that numerous authors have bestowed upon him. The cardinals, on electing him, exclaimed that the Christian world would not fail to do them justice, as they could not possibly have made a better choice. Unfortunately, this pope shaped his measures too much according to the advice of the Cardinal Coscia, the same who succeeded him under the name of John XXIII.

Some bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices were imprudently distributed. As regards nepotism, this pope used to say, that being raised to the papacy he had not been tempted to enrich his relations, inasmuch as he knew of none. His generosity often reduced him to a kind of distress; and, accordingly, he sometimes remarked—*We were a rich bishop, a poor cardinal, and now we are a mendicant pope.*

The Holy See was vacant thirteen days.

209. JOHN XXIII.—A. D. 1410.



JOHN XXIII., originally named Balthazar Coscia, or Cossa, was born at Naples, and was son of John, count of Traja and lord of Procida. After being archdeacon of Bologna, auditor of the Rota, and bishop of Ischia, he was created cardinal in 1402. The conclave consisted of only sixteen cardinals, seven being absent. He was elected pope on the 7th of May, 1410. On the 24th of the same month he was ordained priest by the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, then consecrated in the basilica of Saint Petrona, and afterwards crowned by the Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci.

At the time of the election there were some prejudices against choosing him. He was said to have governed Bologna tyrannically, and to have led a worldly life there. Saint Antoninus describes him as a person capable

of great things in temporal affairs, a skilful politician, and an audacious and warlike man, who, in his youth, had even been a corsair; but at the same time, as a priest, but ill calculated to make himself a reputation in spiritual affairs. It is certain that the two successors of Boniface—Innocent VII. and Gregory XII.—had much reason to complain of the conduct of Coscia, and Gregory had even deprived him of the purple, as having usurped a despotic authority at Bologna; but Alexander V. restored him the cardinalate and the legation of Bologna, and added that of the Marches and the presidency of some other provinces.

It was at this precise period that Rupert, king of the Romans, died. A successor had to be named. John wrote to the electors, to induce them to name Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary, son of the Emperor Charles IV., and brother of Wenceslaus. He was a prince of great prudence, firm, magnanimous, pious, liberal, well read, master of several languages, of good person and a majestic bearing. The city of Rome was again upon the point of falling into the hands of Ladislas, king of Naples. The pope, in 1411, resolved to go in person to the defence of his capital. He commenced by declaring that the kingdom of Naples rightfully belonged to Louis of Anjou, and he joined that prince to march upon Rome by way of Florence and Sienna. At length the pope appeared among the Romans in a sort of triumph, Louis of Anjou holding the bridle of the pontiff's horse. John, formerly a warrior, knew that celerity is sometimes necessary in military expeditions. He added to the army of Louis some troops commanded by Paul Orsini, general of the Church, by Francis Sforza, and other famous captains, who, encountering Ladislas on the 19th of May, at Roccasecca, boldly dispersed his troops, and would have taken the throne from him, had they not been prevented from continuing the attack by their desire for plunder. On the other hand, on the 9th of December, John excommunicated Ladislas, deprived him of the kingdom of Naples and Jerusalem, released the Neapolitans from their oath of fidelity, and published against that prince a crusade, to which he called nearly all the States of Europe.

Ladislas, pursued by his enemies, thought it time to abandon the cause of Gregory XII. and submit to John. That pope, contented with this victory, received Ladislas into his good graces, and by caprice, or in the desire to augment his own power, being tired of his relations with Louis of Anjou, he restored the kingdom of Naples to Ladislas, created him general of the Roman Church, and even furnished him with an immense sum of money. But Ladislas, who had already deceived so many popes, only sought to lead John into a snare. He secretly approached Rome, entered by breaching the walls, forced the pope to fly, and ravaged the city.

John then resorted to the power of Sigismund. The pontiff and that prince had an interview, to consult upon the means of pacifying Christen-

dom. They visited, together, Parma, Placenza, and Cremona. In this last city, which had always been Guelph—that is to say, of the party sustained by the pope, the party that protected true liberty in Italy—the emperor, who was the head of the Ghibelline party, thought it advisable, in order to win that *commune* over to his interests, to grant privileges to Gabrino Fondolo, who had made himself be considered a kind of master there. Let us now see how the head of the Holy See, the bold protector of the city, and the emperor, his new benefactor, were on the point of being rewarded. They had both ascended the tower of Cremona, whence all Lombardy and the majestic course of the pope could be seen.* Gambrino Fondolo, who only by perfidy had obtained the sovereignty that he enjoyed, had for an instant the idea of hurling both pope and emperor from the top of the *campanile*, or bell-tower, and thus to cause in Christendom a sudden revolution, out of which he could obtain profit to himself. Eleven years afterwards, when that same tyrant was condemned, at Milan, to be beheaded, by order of the Duke Philippe Maria, he declared before his execution that he only regretted that he had been cowardly enough to abandon that idea.

The troubles of the Holy See were complete. Sigismund afterwards had the idea of referring the important affairs of the Church to a council, to be assembled at Constance. Some cardinals of the pope's party received from the emperor a communication stating that if John would go in person to Constance, he should there without opposition exert the supreme authority, receive all the honors due to the sovereign pontiff, and leave the city when he chose.

Ladislas died on the 8th of August, 1414. Italy enjoyed apparent calm.

Shortly after, John had the affliction of learning that in the marquisate of Misnia some heretics had been discovered, who called themselves the Brothers of the Cross, and pretended to base their doctrine upon a writing laid by angels at the foot of the altar of Saint Peter, at Rome, about the year 343, apparently in the time of Julius I.

“It is since that time,” said they, “that we go about the world scourging ourselves. God has abolished the law of baptism and instituted baptism in our own blood.” To those perverse inspirations they added, that flagellation with conviction sufficed for salvation. The insensates also maintained that no feast ought to be celebrated excepting Christmas and the Assumption,† which were to be celebrated on Sunday. These

* Italy, 163.

† This idea of only celebrating Christmas and the Assumption was borrowed in 1801 from a citation of Fleury's (Fleury, liv. 100, vi., p. 339), and urged when the concordat was being discussed. It was seriously proposed to suppress all holidays except the two that we have mentioned. But that proposition, so odious to Catholicity, was courageously repulsed.

heretics were condemned, but their adherents appeared again in other provinces.

John still feared to go to Constance, thinking that he would leave it not as pope but as a private person. However, stimulated by the entreaties of the cardinals, and by the assurances given to him by Sigismund, he at length resolved to go. He entered Constance on horseback, attended by his court of nearly six hundred persons. He advanced sadly, like a victim adorned for the sacrifice.

By his own consent he opened the sixteenth general council, known as that of Constance, on the 5th of November 1414. That solemn assembly lasted four years. It was attended by about a thousand fathers, among whom were twenty-nine cardinals, four patriarchs, and three hundred bishops. The emperor Sigismund was present. All the princes of Europe had sent their ambassadors ; and there were besides above thirty-two thousand persons drawn thither by the immense interest of the greatest event of the fifteenth century : for two popes renounced their authority ; the third also retired, and a new one was elected who was recognized by all Christian nations.

The council had forty-five sessions. At the first two John XXIII. presided. Pierre d'Ailly, cardinal of Cambray, presided at the third ; Jordan Orsini, cardinal of Albano, at the fourth and at the fifth. John de Brogni, cardinal of Viviers, presided at all the following sessions, until the election of Martin V. in the forty-first. The last four were presided over by the new pope elect. In that assembly the errors of Jerome of Prague and his disciple John Hus were proscribed. Some authors, even Catholics, have been of opinion that the condemnation of those sectaries, though substantially just, was perhaps too hasty, and led to fatal consequences.

The Emperor Sigismund was accompanied by the Empress Barbara de Cilley, his wife ; by Isabella, queen of Bosnia ; Rodolph, elector of Saxony ; Frederic, burgave of Nuremberg, afterwards elector of Brandenburg ; Louis, count palatine of the Rhine and duke of Bavaria ; the archbishop of Mentz, and many other illustrious personages.

At the Mass which was celebrated by the pope on Christmas day, Sigismund, attired as a deacon, and having a drawn sword in his hand, sang the Gospel—*Exiit edictum a Cesare Augusto—There went forth an edict from the Emperor Augustus* ; and the count de Cilley, the emperor's father-in-law, held in his hand the golden apple, or imperial globe.

In the second session, held on the 2d of March, 1415, John swore to renounce the pontificate, if Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. did the same ; he himself, after celebrating in the cathedral the Mass of the Holy Ghost, pronounced in the midst of that imposing assembly the oath. Having descended from the throne, he knelt before the altar, and with his hand upon

his heart said : "*Spondeo, voveo, et juro, Deo—I promise, Lord, and I swear to God.*" The emperor was so touched by the humble and solemn tone of the pope, that rising suddenly from his throne, and taking off his crown, he knelt at the feet of the pontiff to thank him, and manifested his joy at the generous resolution, as honorable for the pope as for the council. Unfortunately, that good resolution of John did not long continue. Some time afterwards he refused to give his sanction for the drawing up of the Act of Renunciation, pretending that he wished to make it in person.

Being then informed that he would be compelled to sign the power, and not doubting that he would be arrested, he fled in the disguise of a merchant, and with the aid of Frederic, duke of Austria, who protected him. That prince, to favor the departure of John, gave a tournament against the count de Cilley, the brother-in-law of the emperor. In the confusion attending that kind of exhibition, the pope quitted Constance, and went to Schaffhausen, Lauffenburg, and then to Friburg. No one now knew who was the true pope. Fifty-five heads of accusation were drawn up against John, which had been read before him with all formality. Finally, the council pronounced the definitive sentence against him on the 25th of May, 1415—that is to say, five years and thirteen days after his elevation to the pontificate.

For the first time, then, a pope was suddenly deprived by those who had recognized him as supreme pontiff.

Such were the operations of the Council of Constance. The first personage in the Church was reduced to a private station, and destined to the rigors of a prison. For, being stopped at Friburg, he was betrayed by his protector and friend, the Duke Frederic, who cared only for his own interest. John, at the commencement of June, was sent prisoner to Heidelberg, escorted by the guards of Louis, count palatine and duke of Bavaria, and thence to Munich, where for four years he was strictly kept by Germans, who did not understand his language ; neither did he understand theirs.

If John was guilty of the faults which have been charged against him, they deserved an eternal oblivion, for his humility and resignation when he heard his sentence* sufficed to expiate those faults, as Bercastel remarks, who with great circumspection writes the history of that event. Gregory XII., who, as we have stated in our sketch of him, had given to the cardinal of Ragusa and other cardinals the faculty to form a council of the assembly of Constance, in the fourteenth session, on the 4th of July, through the medium of his generous friend Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, published anew his voluntary renunciation of the pontificate, saying that he desired only the weal of the Church.

* Novæges, v., p. 54.

When the thirty-seventh session was held, on the 26th of June, 1417, Benedict XIII. persevered in his obstinacy, although Sigismund had made the journey to persuade that antipope to renounce. Then he was deposed and excommunicated as obstinate, schismatical, and departed from the faith. After his deposition, it was proposed that no one of the deposed should be chosen in the new election, so that the Church might be rendered more solid.

Great concord had always reigned in this council. It was divided into five chambers—the German, Italian, French, English, and Spanish. It was determined that for this single occasion the election of the Head of the Church should be intrusted to a double college. One of these was formed of thirty deputies named by the five nations, six for each of them; the other of twenty-three cardinals of the three obediences. Those fifty-three electors were shut up together on the 7th of November, 1417, and on the 11th of that month they came forth and proclaimed their choice of Otho Colonna, cardinal of the title of Saint George. He took the name of the holy pontiff Martin of Todi, that angel of peace, that courageous successor of the apostles, that deplorable victim of the fury of the Emperor Constantine II. (see Life of Pope Martin), and declared that he would be called Martin V.

Colonna had, in 1405, received from Innocent III. the cardinal's hat, and he had constantly shown his attachment to the pontiff up to the period of the Council of Pisa, when he embraced the cause of Alexander V., and his legitimate successor John XXIII. The choice, then, had now fallen upon that one of the cardinals who had shown the most attachment to the regular Church, and the most dislike of intruders.

The Council of Constance deemed all those measures requisite, and that it was necessary to depose the three pontiffs in order to the total extinction of the schism that those three pretensions had fomented. And in that the fathers remembered the ancient and holy times when those hundred African bishops agreed to abandon their episcopal sees to put an end to a schism of the Donatists.

Persuaded that the unity of the Church is the greatest of all goods, the fathers thought that it should be preferred to every other interest, and that it was for the advantage of the Church that the true pastor should be the only pastor. They remained faithful to the maxims of Saint Augustine, the soul of that august assemblage of African bishops. On that occasion that great saint said: "It is for our people that we are bishops. Now, what we are to our brethren, we are only in so far as we can be useful to them. We should not be bishops to their injury. When the Son of God has come down from heaven that we should become his members, should we feel pain in leaving our sees,

when we leave them only that the members of Christ may not be bruised by a fatal delusion?" Those words of Saint Augustine are admirable in their generosity. "That being settled," adds Novaes (v., p. 55), "I have great reason to felicitate myself upon the zeal and magnanimity of Pope Pius VII., who, supported by the holy maxims of the African bishops, would restore the unity of the Gallican Church, lacerated and divided by the fatal divisions of France, and whom we have also seen weeping in most lively sorrow. Pius VII. found it necessary to exhort, to constrain the bishops of France, dispersed hither and thither by the furies of the tempest, to quit their flocks, and, with true greatness of soul, to renounce their own sees. For the sake of the unity of the Church he displaced both the true pastors and the intruders. The legitimate mission of the new pastors has been established and maintained; and accordingly since that period my tears of bitterness have been changed into tears of tenderness and joy, because I remember the happiness of the union which the great pontiff restored to the *Most Christian* nation."*

In the following session of the Council of Constance, held under the new pontiff Martin, it was ordered that Balthazar Coscia, formerly known as John XXIII., should pass from the prison of the duke of Bavaria into the hands of the ministers of the Holy See. Thirty thousand golden crowns were paid to that duke for the expenses of that imprisonment, and John was delivered to the care of the bishop of Lubeck. But John escaped in 1419, and went to Florence and threw himself at the feet of Martin. He, a scion of the most illustrious of the princely houses of Italy, and made pontiff by a most magnificent and solemn election, had sentiments of the most lofty generosity and greatness. He received John with marks of the most lively tenderness and affability. Martin immediately created John bishop of Frascati and dean of the sacred college, and gave him a seat loftier than that of the other cardinals. But he did not long enjoy those honors which in no other rank of the human hierarchies would have been lavished by the conqueror upon the conquered. It is in the family of the sovereign pontiffs that we see those virtues which are exhibited by no other family of princes.

John XXIII. died on the 22d of December, at Florence, and was interred in a sumptuous tomb in the cathedral of Saint John, by his friend Cosmas de Medicis.

The Holy See was vacant, reckoning from his deposition to the election of Martin V., two years, five months, and eight days.

We have seen persons elected popes, and with more or less of right

* Novaes here very opportunely gives to the nation the title enjoyed by its ancient kings, who were no more.

believing it right to retain, with a seemingly inexcusable pertinacity, the authority which has been conferred upon them. We do not think that to detect the cause of so long a resistance it is necessary to penetrate the folds of ordinary obstinacy which binds some men to the love of worldly things. Perhaps we should not attribute to the defects of human nature that tenacity so loth to give up what has been recognized by cardinals, by nations, and by princes, and to look upon it as a peculiar property which no human power has the right to take away. A Christian who has heard himself saluted pope, head of Christendom, sovereign of sovereigns, arbiter of the disputes of kings, raised to the honorable power of binding and loosing here on earth, to be the successor and vicar of Jesus Christ, must fear to hold loosely and with tremulous hand the greatness which has devolved upon him. I cannot believe in the weakness of him who resists. I do not suspect him of a foolishly proud spirit; I believe that, in a situation in which not a backward step can be made, one is, as it were, nailed, in spite of himself, to that greatness. Perhaps it is no longer desired, and yet it is not to be abnegated. One cannot easily renounce it. The more one loves Christ, the more that sacred trust envelops the whole man; it becomes veritably part of his flesh and of his bone. The Gospel forbids us to die by our own hand. We must live; and so, unyielding, a pope must hold his pontificate.

It seems to me that it is forbidden even to historians, and still more to the multitude, to enter into such questions, and to judge of the thoughts and actions of that small number of men who are placed, as it were, on the confines of Divinity, and who neither would nor could confide to any other man their sufferings, their doubts, their impossibility of action, their fettered generosity, their feet bound to the earth, their hands chained to the altar when they would fain lay down the tiara. Christians, as no one has told us such secrets, and as, with the help of God, we shall see such scenes no more, let us abstain from stern judgments, and from useless and senseless denunciations. God has not made us men so strong that we should often renew such strifes. Some authors,* remarking that John XXIII. had been deposed, have thence inferred consequences which, under other circumstances, could not but be erroneous. Although most of the prelates who deposed him had recognized John XXIII. as the true pope, they could not be unaware that the legitimacy of his election was doubted by a great portion of the Christian world. They also knew that the prudent course in an extreme case, involving the safety of Church or State, can never be taken as a general rule, and that, even in strict military or civil subordination, there are cases which must necessarily be exceptions to the general rule.

* Feller, iii., p. 652.

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OR the first time we see in the Chair of Saint Peter a cardinal belonging to the house of Colonna, so often all-powerful at Rome. Its rival, the celebrated family of the Orsini, had given a Pole in the person of Nicholas III., elected in 1277, and the predecessor of Martin IV. Nicholas incurred the reproach of nepotism, a temper truly reprehensible, which has so often injured the Holy See, and which may now be denounced without scandal, because for more than half a century no Roman pontiff can be accused of it, and the wise Pius IX. will assuredly not set the example. It may be asked, on a close examination of the numberless revolutions that we have undertaken to report, how it happened that, amidst so many absurd desires, when the meanest soldier and the most obscure adventurer everywhere claimed the rule of cities, no one belonging to those illustrious families of the Colonnas and the Orsini ever thought of usurping the sovereign authority in Rome?

Those families produced men eminent for talents, wealth, and courage. If they were great, wealthy, and courageous, they might also be ambitious; and yet amidst all those intrigues, attacks, seditions of every kind, revolts, sometimes with, sometimes against the people, the patronage now given to the tribune Rienzi, and anon withdrawn, no Colonna and no Orsini ever appeared in the front rank to claim the supreme authority. We cannot hesitate to attribute this spirit of reserve and moderation to an unalterable respect for the rights of the Holy See. All honor to those two great families!

The Colonnas, among others, were personal enemies of many of the popes. The violence of Sciarra Colonna has been sufficiently described, even though he did not smite a pontiff with his gauntlet. A Colonna assisting at the coronation of Louis of Bavaria was presumptuous, no doubt; but in welcoming an intruder to Rome, if he offended John XXIII., who resided at Avignon, he did not directly manifest any ambition to reign. The Orsini, who had so much power, who fortified the Coliseum, and made it the asylum of Alexander III., who attentively watched all the plans of the Colonna, apparently to baffle them, so entirely gave themselves up to that family jealousy, and to the secondary passions it evolves, that they were equally strangers to any project for making themselves kings of Rome. When service has been

rendered, or mischief done, it is natural to seek power to obtain impunity, or escape ingratitude; yet no member of either of those two great families ever appears to have desired to usurp authority in Rome. Those nobles were by turns factions and faithful; undisciplined and obedient; fierce against some popes, and subservient to others; but the dignity of the Holy See and the possession of Rome were always respected by these princes. Finally, amidst all the disturbances at the close of the last and the commencement of the present centuries, neither the Colonnas nor the Orsini have been seen among those who rejoiced over the misfortunes of the pontificate. This signal justice was due to those two noble families.*

Martin V., Otho Colonna, was born, according to some authors, in 1365. He studied canon law and other sciences at Perugia, and he was loved for his learning, integrity, mildness, affability, and modesty. He was called *the felicity of his times*. Urban VI. made him prothonotary and referendary; Boniface IX., auditor of the Rota and apostolic nuncio to the courts of Italy. Innocent VII. created him cardinal-deacon of Saint George, vicar of Rome, and archpriest of the Basilica of the Lateran. John XXIII. gave him the administration of the patrimony of Saint Peter, of the duchy of Spoleto, and of the cities of Todi, Orvieto, Terni, and Amelia. In all those employments he showed rare prudence. In 1380, he was archbishop of Urbino. At last, he was elected pontiff in the forty-first session of the Council of Constance, on the 11th of November, 1417.

It had been decided, as we mentioned in our life of John XXIII., that besides the twenty-three cardinals who were present, there should be an assemblage of thirty prelates, and that these cardinals and prelates should name a new pope, who should have the suffrages of two-thirds of both colleges. They were within ten days to elect him whom they deemed the most worthy. On the third day they named Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. But as the pontiffs Marinus I. and Marinus II. were also popularly known under the name of Martin, and as the successor of Nicholas III. was commonly called Martin IV., Colonna took the name of Martin V. Moreover, he was elected on Saint Martin's day, and he placed himself under the protection of that great saint.

On the 12th of November, Martin was made deacon; on the 13th, he received the priesthood; on the 14th, he was consecrated bishop, and seven days later, he was solemnly crowned. He then made the grand cavalcade in the city of Constance, to the cathedral church of Saint Augustine. The bridle of his horse was held on the right by the Emperor Sigismund, and on

* It is known that Fabricius Colonna is the interlocutor of Machiavelli, in his treatise on *The Art of War*; and that Bartholomew Orsini, of Alviano, lent France the aid of his courage in the battle of Murignano.

the left by Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg and elector of the empire. At the close of the ceremony, a dispute arose between the pope's servants and the burgomaster of the city, as to who should have the horse that had been ridden by the pope. Cancellieri says that it was adjudged to the burgomaster.*

In the forty-third session, on the 22d of March, 1418, the pope revoked all the favors granted by the recent popes, from Gregory XI. downward. He ordered that the bishoprics and benefices should be administered as they had been before Urban VI. He made numerous decisions on ecclesiastical discipline. Regarding the doctrines of John Huss, the pope repeated, by a bull of the 22d of February, 1418, that they were condemned. The errors of that sectary consisted in still maintaining that the necessity of communicating under both kinds was a dogma of faith. He taught that the bread and wine existed, as such, after consecration. He believed that sacraments administered by ministers of the altar who were in a state of mortal sin were of no value. He admitted to the holy mysteries all laymen in the grace of God; he maintained that the Church ought not to have any temporal possessions, and that the order of the hierarchy should be altered, maintaining that all priests were equal, and that there was no difference between them and the pope, the cardinals, the archbishops, and the bishops.

On the 23d of April, in the forty-fifth session, the pope terminated the Council of Constance, which had lasted three years and nearly six months, and he approved its decrees concerning matters of faith. On this head we quote Feller :†

“The first article of the bull against the Hussites is remarkable in making the pope require that a man suspected of heresy shall swear that he receives the general councils, and especially that of Constance, representing the universal Church, and admit that all that that council received or condemned is to be received or condemned.”

It seems a natural inference that Martin V. approves the superiority of the councils over the popes, which was decided in the fourth and fifth sessions. But others maintain that Martin spoke only of the doctrinal decrees against the sectaries; and they rely upon an authentic document to serve as a monument to posterity, in which the pope solemnly declared in the last session “that he would inviolably hold and observe all that has been decreed, concluded, and determined, *conciliariter*, in matters of faith in the Council of Constance; that he approved and ratified all that had been thus done in matters of faith, but *not* aught done otherwise and in another manner.”

They add, that the decrees of the fourth and fifth session apply only to

* *Storia de' Possessi*, p. 40.

† Feller, iv., 360.

times of schism and to popes whose legitimacy might be contested, as had been the case, at times, previously.

The words of Martin are given by Labbe, in his *Councils*, vol. xii., p. 258 : *Decreta in materia fidei, per præsens concilium, conciliariter teneri et inviolabiliter observari.*

By these words, which Novaes* repeats in a note, Martin meant that he did not approve of what had been determined in the fourth and fifth sessions relative to the authority of the councils over the pope. It is true, moreover, as both Spondanus and Bellarmine teach, that the Council of Constance did not absolutely define that the general councils had received from Jesus Christ power over the pontiffs. It only declared that that power existed in time of schism, when it was not known which was the true pope ; and if they have power over *doubtful* popes, they have it not, properly speaking, over *the pope*. That is also the opinion of Torre Cremata, of Sanders, and of Compeggio ; and it appears to us to be dictated by the highest spirit of wisdom and foresight.

Ladislaus, king of Poland, endeavored, by all the most efficacious means, to facilitate the reunion of the Greek and Roman churches. Martin wrote to him in congratulation upon his zeal, confirmed the favors granted to him by other pontiffs, and declared him vicar-general of the Roman Church in his own States, with the especial charge to protect the evangelic light among the barbarians, and to invite the Greeks to return to the Holy See.

At the same time John, king of Portugal, not content with having taken the town of Ceuta, belonging to the Moors, resolved to war still more sharply upon them, in order to propagate the Christian faith. Martin, desirous of aiding him in his holy enterprise, urged all the Christian princes to share the dangers that John was about to run, and published a crusade against the Africans. Two years later, the Portuguese fleets made their way to the East Indies. They first took the island of Madeira, and then coasted Africa to the Cape of Good Hope. They thus reached the Indies, which had not previously been visited from Europe by sea.

Martin, justly believing that these conquests would benefit religion, granted to the king of Portugal all the territories that should be discovered by his navigators from the mouth of the Black Sea to the extremities of the Indies.

All the business of the council being finished, the pope, in 1418, set out on his return to Italy, accompanied by twelve cardinals.

Martin embarked on the Rhine to go to Schaffhausen ; he passed through Rome, Geneva, Susa, Turin, Pavia, and Milan. On the 7th of October he

* Novaes, v., p. 64.

arrived at Mantua, where he remained till the end of the year. He continued his journey by Romagna, and stopped at Florence.

Martin had just terminated a difficult affair. John, count of Foix, asked permission to marry Blanche, daughter of Charles, king of Navarre, who was sister to his former wife Jane. It was his design to establish his race legitimately in the kingdom of Navarre, of which Blanche had become the heiress. Martin granted the dispensation, notwithstanding the degree of affinity. This clearly proves that Julius II., at a subsequent period, had a precedent for the dispensation which he granted to Henry VIII. of England, and that that prince had not on that account a reasonable pretext for fomenting the English schism.

In gratitude to the Florentines for their welcome, Martin erected their bishopric into a Metropolitan See; he at the same time confirmed the canonization of Saint Bridget, decreed in 1391 by Boniface IX., and confirmed in 1415 by John XXIII. Martin ordered this confirmation for the purpose of showing that Boniface and John were true popes. And thus, as the immortal Lambertini remarks, their legitimacy is well proven.*

Martin's entrance into Rome was impatiently expected. The passage in which Platina gives the facts relating to that event is very touching. The fine latinity of the author becomes more brilliant than ever as he speaks of the feelings which the Romans must naturally have experienced.

"Martin, leaving Florence, at length arrived at Rome. The whole population and the princes hastened to meet him, as though he were no mere man, but as it were a saving star, or the sole father of the land. The Romans in their calendar still preserve the memory of that day, the tenth of the calends of October (22 Sept.), 1421. The pope found Rome so devastated and wasted, that the very form of a city was gone; everywhere were ruinous houses, temples overthrown, streets deserted, the whole city sunk in sloughs and oblivion, suffering from the scarcity and dearness of every thing. What more can be said? No appearance of an inhabited place was to be seen; no indication of what constitutes a city. You would have taken all these citizens for mere denizens, or immigrants of the vilest scum of the earth."

Not without a purpose have we quoted this frightful account of the condition in which Martin found Rome. Every time that she has repulsed the popes, that city, almost losing her very name, has presented so frightful a spectacle, evidenced so terrible a chastisement. Advise then revolts, that that renowned majesty, that venerable grandeur, may again be seen peopled only by *the vilest scum of the earth!*

We saw Rome three months after the return of Pius VII., in 1814. As-

* *De Canonizatione*, 55, liv. i., cap. ix., No. 10.

surely, as far as they could, the French had carefully and generously preserved all the celebrated monuments ; nevertheless the population seemed to have lost its energy, and forgotten its first joy ; deep grief was still imprinted on all countenances.* I know not whether that magnanimous capital is reserved for similar calamities, but at least she should not boast of those fatal and mortifying falls which must always be succeeded by the return of the beneficent authority which should never have been banished ! No one has mission, authority, capacity, or skill to govern Rome better than the pontiff's. There are misunderstandings as to certain concessions useful to municipal existence : eventually they will be consented to. Rome needed some modification for its real progress, and from the administration of Consalvi to the present time, that city has prospered no less and progressed no less than others on the way to prosperity. The pontifical authorities are opposed to no real improvement. Complaint may, possibly, be well founded in some obscure corners of the State, but at Rome there has been exaggeration ; more has been demanded than was really desired. If it is just to ask that sovereigns do their duty, it is no less just to ask of the people, prudence, truthfulness, and temperance ; such a people will ask only for what is just, and therefore will surely obtain it. Rome, on the arrival of Martin V., immediately assumed a new aspect. Money circulated abundantly, agriculture furnished its rich supplies, and strangers from all parts flowed in. Pilgrims came to teach the inhabitants, for the most part cold and ungrateful, how much the popes should be loved. Moreover, wherever the pope resided, affairs soon connected that place with all the rest of the world.

Queen Jane knew that after her death the kingdom of Naples would remain under the authority of the Holy See. To avoid this, and to deprive the pope of his rights, she adopted the king of Aragon, who, she declared, was to succeed her as though he were a son.

Martin, on that subject, determined to defend Louis of Anjou, to whom he sent a reinforcement of cavalry. At the same time there was a continued propagation in Italy of the heresy of the *fraticelli*, called also *of the opinion*, because they *opined* that John XXIII. was deprived of the pontificate on account of the constitutions that he had decreed upon the poverty of Christ and his apostles. Martin deputed two cardinals to conduct the proceedings necessary to be taken against the sectaries.

Meanwhile the Hussites, under the leadership of Zisca, defended their heresies in Bohemia. They cruelly persecuted the Catholics in that kingdom ; they destroyed the churches ; they profaned the altars and the sacred images, and they burned the priests ; the violences of those impious people

* The number of the population at that period is given in our life of Gregory XI.

became innumerable. Martin invited the emperor and the electors of Germany to commence a war against those barbarians.

In the forty-fourth session of the Council of Constance it had been decreed that another general council should be celebrated. It was convoked at Pavia, where it opened on the 22d of June, 1423, three legates of the pope presiding. Shortly afterwards the plague appeared in that city; the council removed to Sienna, and commenced its business on the 21st of August. But the proceedings closed on the 26th of February, 1424, because the war prevented the bishops from going into Italy. Then another council was convoked at Bâle, for the year 1431. In conformity to the law of Urban VI., Martin, in 1423, celebrated the jubilee of the holy year. The pilgrims were not very numerous, on account of the wars involving Italy, France, and Germany.

We have seen that Jane II. had adopted as her son the king of Aragon; but that prince having proved very culpably ungrateful, the queen revoked her act of adoption and substituted for the king of Aragon Louis of Anjou, so as to unite in the son of that latter prince the rights of the branches of Durazzo, both of which were issues of Charles of Anjou, brother to Saint Louis. This new adoption was approved by Martin, and in 1424 he confirmed Charles in the possession of the kingdom, of which he had been deprived in 1421.*

The same year the pope forbade the cardinals to accept the title of protectors or patrons of kings or princes. In cases of their having already promised it, they were to renounce it, in order that they might be the more entirely free to advise the pope on all the business of the court. Alphonso, king of Aragon, irritated against the Holy Father, who had maintained his own rights, published an edict infringing the ecclesiastical immunities. In 1429, the pope was obliged severely to reprove the archbishop of Canterbury. That prelate, arrogating to himself an authority which belonged solely to the Roman pontiff, had instituted, in England, a kind of jubilee, similar to that of the holy year, granting to those who within a given time should visit the cathedral church of Canterbury the same indulgences which were granted to the pilgrims visiting Rome at the time of the true jubilee.

Martin continued his apostolic labors: he had extinguished the heresies which ravaged Bohemia; he had pacified afflicted Italy, restored desolated Rome, and merited the title that was given to him, of *father of the country*. He had governed thirteen years, three months, and nine days, when he died of apoplexy, at the age of sixty-three years, on the night of the 19th to 20th of February, 1431. This pontiff was interred in a very beautiful bronze tomb, in the middle of the church of Saint John Lateran, before the

* Novaes, v., p. 75.

altar where repose the heads of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. It is there that he is described as *the felicity of his time*. He was worthy of that proud title, he to whom the Church owed the extinction of the schism, Italy repose, and Rome its complete restoration.

Martin was both a good man and a statesman. He was regretted after his death even by those who detested him in life. His affability, his prudence, his power to advise well, and his pure morality, made him the first personage of that time. When an ecclesiastical dignity was to be conferred, he was an austere inquirer into the talent of the candidate. He granted powers only to those who deserved them. He was admired for his firmness, courage, and magnanimity in circumstances painful enough to quell the courage of most men. He had two brothers whom he tenderly loved, Antonio, prince of Salerno, and Lorenzo. The same day he learned that one of them had died of the plague, and that the other had perished in an accidental fire in a tower. The pope, on hearing this fatal news, gave not the slightest indication of unguarded grief, but merely raised his eyes towards heaven, without uttering a word. The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.

Under this reign there was an antipope called Clement VIII.; his real name was Sancho de Muñoz. He was created by two cardinals whom Benedict XIII. had invested with that title a day before his death. That Clement voluntarily renounced the insignia of the papacy (because he was only recognized by the Aragonese) on the 20th of July, 1429, after four years and seven days of his anti-papacy. Then Martin created him bishop of Majorca.

After that cession, which was confirmed by the Council of Tortosa, the two false cardinals, and another that this Clement had created, completely to terminate the schism which had so long afflicted the Church, held an absurd conclave and elected Pope Martin V., who had already for twelve years been legitimate pope.

Another antipope is also mentioned, who called himself Benedict XIV. We give some details of that affair, and about the name thus prematurely profaned, but destined to be borne by one of the great heads of the Church.

Bercastel does not treat the schism as being completely ended with the renunciation of the antipope Clement, while all the other authors believe this schism at an end.

John Carrière, according to Bercastel, one of the anti-cardinals of the antipope Benedict XIII., after acceding to the absurd creation of this pseudo Clement VIII., had retired to France. There, become aware of the intrigues that preceded and followed the election of Clement, he had protested against that of Muñoz. And believing that he alone had the right to give a moderator to the Church, he had, on his own authority, named as pope a Frenchman, who took the title of Benedict XIV. This phantom of a sov-

ereign pontiff speedily retired into obscurity. He is only known by a letter of Carrière to the Count d'Armagnac, and by a consultation that the count, scarcely detached from the schism, addressed on that point to the Maid of Orleans, who was regarded as a soul illuminated by the greatest favors of Heaven.*

According to du Molinet,† it was only under the reign of Martin V., towards 1430, that medals began to be struck in honor of the pontiffs; or, rather, that custom, which had prevailed among certain Roman families, was revived in favor of personages who had reached the exalted position of the pontificate. In this species of artistic labor no one was more renowned than Victor Pisanello, of Verona, who was also a celebrated painter. He modelled in wax the features of Martin V. According to Paulus Jovius, he afterwards engraved them, and all the princes of that time wished to receive the same homage. Collections still preserve medals with this inscription, *Opus Pisani, Pictoris*, and the portraits of Alphonso, king of Sicily, of John Paleologus, and of Francis Sforza. We are concerned here only with the medals struck in honor of Martin V.

The first that we know of as belonging to this pope has for exergue the words, MARTINUS V. COLUMNA, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. On the reverse is a column, surmounted by the two pontifical keys, interlaced. The Colonna family was originally from Parma. It had a column or pillar in its armorial bearings, whence it took the name of Colonna. Some historians say that the name was given to them because a cardinal of Saint Praxedes, of the same house, had brought from Palestine, in 1220, the column or pillar to which Jesus Christ had been bound by the Jews. A crown, which surmounts the column, was added in virtue of pontifical concession, because Stephen Colonna was appointed to place the diadem upon the head of an emperor, consecrated at Rome in the time of one of the popes of Avignon.

The second medal has for exergue the words, OPTIMO PONTIFICI—*To the Most Excellent Pontiff*, and represents Rome, seated upon a buckler, having in one hand a balance and in the other a cornucopia. The author intended to express the pontiff's spirit of justice and the abundance which he introduced into impoverished Rome. Martin said to all the ministers to whom he intrusted a mission the memorable words: *Diligite justitiam, qui judicatis terram—Love justice, ye who judge the earth.* On the reverse are the words: DIRUTAS AC LABENTES URBIS RESTAUR. ECCLESIAS. COLUMNÆ HUIUS FIRMA PETRA. *He restored the churches of the city, which were falling into ruins, and was the key-*

* Novaes, v., p. 88.

† *Historia Summorum Pontificum, a Martino V. ad Innocentem XI. per eorum numismata—History of the Sovereign Pontiffs, from Martin V. to Innocent XI., by their Medals*, from the year 1417 to the year 1678, by Claude du Molinet, canon of Saint Geneviève. Paris, Billaine, 1679, folio.

stone of the column. It is easy to perceive, in the field of the medal, the façade of the Church of the Holy Apostles, restored by Martin V.*

I sometimes depart from du Molinet's description; he either followed inaccurate drawings or failed to read the medals correctly. I am practised in numismatic studies, and I have the noble present of Pius VII. under my eyes when I describe a pontifical medal.†

* I have these two medals in a numismatic collection, presented to me by Pius VII. I shall have frequent occasion to mention that collection.

† Before terminating the reign of Martin V., I must mention what is called, in the edition of Fleury that I use, a "*Continuation de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de l'Abbé Fleury, par Fleury lui-même; publiée pour la première fois, d'après un manuscrit appartenant à la Bibliothèque royale.*"

Fleury having published a hundred chapters, the first of these four additional ones is numbered one hundred and one. In it we read:

"Pope John XXIII., the reproaches of whose conscience allowed him no rest, employed every possible artifice to disturb the council. He always had men in his employment whom he made use of in his simoniacal speculations, and by whose means he won over some bishops and other persons of consideration in the council, granting them favors and making them promises. Accordingly, nothing was so secretly said or done in the council but that he was daily informed of it. But he could not keep the secret, and he made it known to his confidants. Often his *spies* came to him by night to tell him what they had learned during the day, and he gave them *absolution of the perjury which they committed* against the oath they had made to keep secret the deliberations of the council. He thus was enabled to retard progress by exciting divisions among the nations of which the council was composed. Those intrigues of the pope could not long be concealed, on account of the multitude of his *spies*, most of whom, being discovered and cited by the council, withdrew." (Vol. vi., p. 344.)

Further on (page 346), mention is made of the *ambassadors* of the University of Paris.

There are no new facts in Books 101 and 102 that require mention. I will merely remark here that Fleury, who, on the whole, in his preceding books, often wrote with due consideration, loses all prudence in regard to the Council of Constance. The three popes upon whom the *cession* deposed, are all three judged unfavorably. John XXIII. is treated more harshly than the others, and yet he is well and duly the two hundred and ninth official pope. Yet, for a wonder, the author, whoever he was, does not treat the Fathers of the council better. Now, Fleury, in his animadversions upon the popes, when his anger carried him too far, at least spared the councils. I do not say that Fleury did not write these chapters; I do not say that his tone, his style, and his excessive severity are not perceptible, but his habitual judgment is very often absent. I cannot readily believe that he wrote thus about the *spies* of John XXIII., and the *absolution of perjury*. Let us not forget that Fleury wrote under the eyes of the court of France.

That he wrote but did not publish such words, is possible; but it is difficult to think that he did not destroy such a manuscript. We will not dwell upon the *ambassadors of the University*. If Fleury found the word *legatus Universitatis*, he was too intelligent to say *ambassadors* of the university. However, be it that he said it. At present, *diplomatic* operations is the name given to those of consuls, to whom only *commercial* interests are intrusted. The words minister and ambassador are used indifferently; only *ambassadors* are seen from Prussia. Some of them, in our time, have assisted at congresses; and since then, not a single Prussian exists but has the title of ambassador.

In chapter ci., page 364, of this new edition, with reference to a decree of the council, ordering general councils to assemble more frequently, the author says:

"Here we perceive how pernicious is ignorance of the ancient discipline of the Church. The fathers in the Council of Constance would not have passed that decree, had they known that there were no general councils during the whole of the first three centuries, or until the Council of Nice, held in the year 325;* and yet during those first three centuries many heresies were

* The uncontested Fleury says, at the end of his fifth book, that John XXIII. opened the council in the presence of

211. EUGENE IV.—A. D. 1431.



EUGENE IV. (Gabriel Condulmieri), was a patrician of Venice, descended from a Pavian family that removed to the republic in its early days. During the war with the Genoese, Angelo Condulmieri and his son fitted out some vessels and defended the city of Venice. The senate thought it right to grant nobility to that part of the family which had rendered such services, but the rest of the family remained in the ranks of the people. Gabriel descended from the noble branch. His father was Angelo Condulmieri, and his mother Beriola Cor-

extinguished, and many errors were condemned. The discipline was more vigorous, and the Church more flourishing than ever. The provincial councils were as frequent as the persecutions would allow, and it was an established rule to hold two every year. The general councils have always been extremely rare; there were but thirteen of them in the fourteen centuries which preceded the Council of Constance, and even in some of them the Eastern Church took no part. And experience has shown the impossibility of executing that decree of the Council of Constance, for in three following centuries only three general councils were held, those of Bâle, Florence, and Trent." We have already replied to the charge of ignorance imputed indiscriminately to the fathers of Constance. Let us meet the charge. "There were but thirteen general councils during the fourteen centuries which preceded the Council of Constance." According to the *Continuator*, then, the Council of Constance was only the fourteenth general council, but it was the sixteenth, unless the editor refuses to allow the Council of Pisa. The general councils are—Nice, 325; Constantinople, 381; Ephesus, 431; Chalcedon, 451; Constantinople, 553; Constantinople, 680; Nice, 787; Constantinople, 869; Lateran, 1123; Lateran, 1129; Lateran, 1179; Lateran, 1215; Lyons, 1245; Lyons, 1274; Vienne, 1311; Constance, 1414. What is meant, then, by thirteen councils before that of Constance? In his own writing Fleury recognizes all these councils, and now he would reduce them to thirteen. We admit that there were only three general councils in the three centuries since the Council of Constance. Bâle, 1431; Florence, 1439; Lateran, 1512; and, finally, the twentieth, in the city of Trent, which lasted eighteen years, from 1545 to 1563. In many passages taken from the *Continuator*, which we have quoted above, de Hardt is quoted ten times as authority, although Fleury, in his hundredth chapter, which comes down to the year 1414, never quotes him at all. Is it likely that he would do so for the single year 1415? De Hardt, a Protestant, a very learned Orientalist, wrote the history of the Council of Constance, at the request of the duke of Brunswick, under the following title: *Magnum Constantiense Concilium de universali Ecclesie reformatione, unione et fide*—The Great Council of Constance on the Universal Reformation, Union, and Faith of the Church. Frankfort, 1697. 3 vols., fol. 1700–1742, 6 vols., fol. I am not acquainted with either of those editions; but if any volumes appeared after Fleury's death, it is very unjust to ascribe to his pen reflections that he never wrote. De Hardt also published autographs of Luther and other celebrated personages. Under the simple title of Council of Constance, De Hardt may be re-

fifteen cardinals, twenty-three archbishops, twenty-seven bishops, some abbots, and all the clergy who were in the city. And among those cardinals, those archbishops, those bishops, those abbots, and that clergy, no one knew that there were no general councils during the first three centuries, and prior to the Council of Nice! Can such a proposition be sustained in the name of Fleury?

raro. Angelo saw three of his nearest relatives in the pontificate; Gregory XII. was his brother, Eugene IV. his son, and Paul II. son of his daughter Polixena. Beriola, besides being sister, mother, and grandmother, of three sovereign pontiffs, was also grandmother, aunt, and great-grandmother to nine cardinals, six patriarchs, and eleven bishops.

After his father's death Gabriel distributed to the poor twenty-five thousand ducats of his rich patrimony, and became canon of the Celestine congregation of Saint George *in alga*. He was one day acting as janitor there, when a hermit said to him, "You will be a cardinal; then you will be pope for sixteen years (he fell short of it only by ten days); you will suffer many adversities, and then you will die."* The pontificate was also promised to Eugene by another hermit. Gabriel was going to Egypt with Francis Fascani, and the hermit said to the latter, "You will be *father of your country*;" and to Gabriel he said, "You will be father of the whole Catholic world." Gregory XII., his uncle, named him treasurer and bishop of Sienna, when he was only twenty-six years of age, but recalled him a year afterwards, learning that the Siennese desired to have a townsman for bishop.

In 1488, Gabriel was made cardinal-priest of Saint Clement. Martin V., in 1424, sent him as legate to the Marches, and then to Bologna.

After the funeral of Martin, thirteen cardinals met in conclave at the convent of *La Minerva*, and on the following day unanimously elected

futed by Catholic writers. Thierri de Niem is also quoted. Fleury had already consulted him; but Thierri, author of the *Journal* of what took place at Constance, launched into violent invective against John XXIII., his benefactor. Feller thus speaks of that author: "Thierri, an austere and disappointed man, gives a hyperbolical account of the court of Rome and of the clergy of his time. He writes in a harsh and barbarous style, and will be scarcely read by any who have more taste and judgment than himself." (Feller, v., p. 620.) But I have some further details to make. I forbear condemnation on all other points, but there is one upon which I cannot yield. It is said in the title of the work attributed to Fleury, "Continuation published, for the first time, from a manuscript belonging to the Royal (now Imperial) Library." I went to that library and asked for the manuscript belonging to it. The chief librarian told me that some fourteen years before, a literary man had examined Fleury's unpublished writings. On his receipt, some detached pieces were delivered to him, taken from two cases containing unpublished writings of Fleury. Nothing was ever returned to the establishment; and the four chapters in question were published. When they appeared, other literary men asked for a sight of the originals. The person who is supposed to have received those four chapters said that he had returned them, but they were not to be found among the manuscripts *belonging to the library*. The two cases that I have mentioned were placed at my disposal; but in all that I read and examined there was nothing connected with those four chapters. I do not affirm that they are not in existence somewhere; in the existing state of things they possibly may *belong to the library*, but they are not visible there. My inquiries produced fresh exertions for the recovery of the borrowed manuscript. Meanwhile the *receipt* for Fleury's pieces remains on the registers, but no mention is made there of their return. It may be that the person who took the pieces from the library lost them, and can give no account of the misuse which others made by interpolations, so as to produce a book which was needed, and would thus be assured of success.

* Vespasian, the Florentine, in the life of Eugene.

Gabriel Condulmieri, aged forty-eight years. He announced that he would assume the name of Eugene IV. He was solemnly crowned on the steps of the Vatican Basilica on the 11th of the same month.

In that same year commenced the predicted adversities of the new pope. Three princes of the Colonna family seized upon the treasure amassed by Martin V., their uncle. This treasure had been destined to pay the expenses of the Greeks who were to come to the council to concert the definitive union of the two Churches, and to meet the expenses of the war that was declared against the Turks. Those Colonnas, unworthy of the praise we bestowed upon that family at the commencement of the article on Martin V., used the money they had embezzled against the Holy Father, whom they endeavored to disturb in the possession of his dignity. At the head of other conspirators, they endeavored to seize upon Rome, but they were repulsed by the pontifical army, aided by troops sent by Florence to the aid of the pope. The Venetians, also, on that occasion, lent their aid to their compatriot Gabriel. By degrees the Colonnas, returning to more honorable feelings, restored a part of the treasure; and the pope, who had excommunicated them, granted them the pardon they solicited.

One of the first cares of Eugene was to confirm the legation of Cardinal Julian Cesarini, deputed by Martin V. to celebrate in his name, in the city of Bâle, the council which had been convoked there to humble the pride of the Hussites.

Reformation, with the Hussites, had every character of ferocity. They considered themselves called* to overturn the empire of the Demons—that was the doctrine of the Paulicians;† and to correct by fire and sword the reviving iniquities of the world. All human weaknesses, drunkenness, studied demeanor, and elegant dress, appeared to these Hussites, called Taborites,‡ sins deserving of death; these Taborites were the sternest of all the sectaries, and their attack extended to all who might have committed a single deadly sin. They did not perceive, the wretches, of how many mortal sins they were daily guilty themselves.

The Hussites were persuaded, and very soon persuaded the armies sent against them, that they were the avengers of Heaven, and the scourge of God. A panic terror preceded their battalions, and dispelled at their appearance the most formidable resistance. Many districts, appalled by the bravery of these fanatics, earnestly sought peace. The Bohemians, who did not aspire to dominating over the others, and only wished for their own freedom, readily granted peace; but as soon as tidings of these involuntary treaties reached Rome, Eugene annulled them, and commanded the

* *Italy*, p. 181.

† The Paulicians called themselves reformed Manichæans.

‡ From the name of that circle of Bohemia called Tabor.

renewal of an impracticable war ; but time alone and better circumstances, which weakens the madness of a populace, could put a stop to such disasters. Sigismund, no longer knowing how from afar off to protect the Church, the Church tormented in the very temple of Saint Peter, wrote that the calamities nearer at his hand detained him in Germany. Eugene was then attacked by the populace, who proclaimed again the fantastic republic of Rienzi. The pope, in disguise, escaped on board of a vessel, and sought shelter in Florence, while the pontifical provinces were at the mercy of the condottieri, Francis Sforza and Forte Braccio, who ravaged the States at the instigation of Philip-Mary Visconti. The latter was more than ever considered in Italy as the essentially evil principle of the Hussites—that is to say, the devil, matter, or darkness.

The Council of Bâle (seventeenth general council) commenced on the 14th of July, 1431. Shortly afterwards, the pope, for weighty reasons that supervened, ordered it to be suspended, and transferred two years later from Bâle to Bologna. The fathers of Bâle resisted the decree, and continued in 1432 to deliberate as at first.

The next year, Eugene was obliged to allow that council to continue, for fear of a new schism, and at the request of Sigismund, whom he crowned as emperor, on the 31st of May, 1433. After the ceremony, the emperor held the pope's stirrup in the cavalcade for three paces, then mounted a horse and accompanied him to the castle of Saint Angelo, where he took leave of the pope ; then, his majesty, on his way to the palace of Saint John Lateran, stopped at the bridge of Saint Angelo, where he created some knights.

Nicholas Forte Braccio, the condottiere, continued to vex the Romans with his exactions. They revolted, rightfully this time, for the yoke imposed by that ferocious leader had become intolerable. Duke Philip-Mary, tyrant of Milan, still cherished the project of seizing the person of the Holy Father, hoping thus to subjugate the city of Rome. To this end he employed Riccio, a Spaniard, whom Novaes calls a great architect of treasons ; but the conspiracy failed.

Queen Jane being dead, the kingdom of Naples now belonged to the Holy See, not only on account of the agreement made with Charles I., of Anjou, but also as the consequence of those which had been concluded with his successors, including Jane herself, the last of Charles's race.

Eugene then intrusted the government of the kingdom to Vitteleschi, bishop of Recanati, and he warned the Neapolitans that they would have no other king than the one he should name, according to the old custom.

But the Neapolitans revolted against the orders of the pope. Some nobles called to the throne René, brother of Louis of Anjou, while others wanted for their master Alphonso, king of Aragon. The latter, accom-

panied by his brothers, John, king of Navarre, Henry and Peter, laid siege to Gaeta. But the duke of Milan having sent relief to the city, many of the Spanish princes were taken prisoners, but released without ransom by the duke. The Holy Father, under such circumstances, had to choose a king in order to bring those quarrels to an end.

He decided in favor of René of Anjou, but he was a prisoner to the duke of Burgundy. Eugene wrote to that prince, begging him to restore René to liberty.

The misfortunes of Eugene had compelled him to approve what had been done by the Council of Bâle. That assemblage believed itself strong in this extorted consent, and it had already reckoned from the seventeenth session to the twenty-fifth when a discord broke out among the fathers.

The question was as to the place at which to treat with the Greeks for the reunion of the two Churches. The Greeks were not willing to go to Bâle; many of the fathers desired that the council should be convoked at Florence or Udino, or in such other place as the Holy See should appoint. Others insisted on Bâle, and some advocated Avignon or some city of Savoy. Eugene ordered that the Council of Bale should be transferred to Ferrara. The majority of the fathers went thither, and the pope soon took that road, and with seventy-two bishops was present at the second session. Shortly afterwards the Emperor Paleologus arrived at Florence, and the council having removed thither, the pope entered that city on the 14th of January, 1439. There were one hundred and forty bishops debating in presence of the pope and of John Paleologus, accompanied by one of his brothers, Demetrius. A decree was published there for the union of the Greeks, and it was signed by the deputies of the Greek and Latin Churches, and by Paleologus himself. He signed, according to the Constantinopolitan custom, with red ink.

Would to God that that union had been of longer duration! But scarcely had the Greeks returned to their own country, when, seduced by Mark, bishop of Ephesus, who had refused to sign the decree, they returned to their first schism, which they adopted anew in 1445,—that schism in which they still persevere, after having fifteen times been reconciled to the Latin Church.

The Council of Bâle continued; though, after the departure of the legate Cesarini, it had become a *conciliabule*. In 1438, Charles VII., king of France, published, in thirty-eight articles, the famous *Pragmatic Sanction*, drawn from the decrees of the conciliabule that Eugene had condemned.

In 1439, the few fathers who had remained at Bâle—eleven bishops, seven abbots, and fourteen doctors, with the president, Louis Alamand,

cardinal of Arles, who pretended to have been offended by Eugene*—declared, in the thirty-third session, as a truth of the faith, that the authority of the general council was superior to that of the sovereign pontiff. They presented various heads of accusation against Eugene, degraded him from the pontificate, and elected in his place Felix V., of whom we shall speak hereafter. The good pontiff, in spite of that insult, retained his courage, and in 1440 he excommunicated the antipope and his abettors, and annulled all the senseless decisions given at Bâle, after the legal removal of the council to Ferrara.

The iniquitous condemnation pronounced by the Bale fathers was eloquently refuted by Saint John Capistrano, in his book, *On the Authority of the Popes and of the Council*; and by the Cardinal Torre Cremata, in *De Eccles.* lib. ii., cap. 100.

Eugene at this time created a great number of cardinals, among whom was Bessarion, born at Trebisonde, in 1395, monk of Saint Basil and archbishop of Nice, who had accompanied John Paleologus to the Council of Ferrara, and who was created cardinal at the Council of Florence.†

After the departure of the Greeks, Eugene found himself again in the Council of Florence, which terminated in its sixth session, on the 6th of April, 1442. He had published the famous decree by virtue of which he received into the Roman Church the Armenians, who had sent ambassadors to solicit that favor.

The Council of Florence was then removed to Rome, that it might have more authority. At that moment the pope received into communion the Abyssinians and their king, Constantine Zara James, commonly called *Prester John*. The ambassadors of that prince, who announced that he had embraced the Catholic religion, were received by Eugene with especial benevolence.

Alphonso, king of Aragon, had seized upon Naples. For the sake of peace, Eugene gave him the investiture of that kingdom on the same conditions which had previously been subscribed by Charles I., duke of Anjou, under Pope Clement IV.

* Nevertheless, this cardinal was beatified by Clement VII. See the *Apparatus Eruditionis* of Father Biner, vol. i.

† It has been said that he died of grief, after thirty-seven years of cardinalate, from being ill-treated by King Louis XI., of France, during a legation to that kingdom. Other authors think that his death was caused by the neglect of his physician. Cardinal Bessarion would have been named pope at the death of Nicholas V., had not a Latin cardinal urged that the election of a Greek pope would be injurious to the Latin Church. The Latin cardinal was mistaken. The nomination of a Greek cardinal of so great learning, and celebrated for his prudence, wisdom, and generosity, could only have tended to bring the Greeks to the definitive acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Latin Church. The ancient Church appointed Syrians, Galileans, Byzantine Greeks, and Africans, and the result was a feeling of concord between the Eastern and Western fathers.

In 1447, Eugene canonized Saint Nicholas of Tolentino, so called because he was born and lived in that city. Soon afterwards, Eugene, worn out by the troubles of a stormy pontificate, fell sick. Before he died he renewed the condemnation of the last operations of the Council of Bâle. He ordered that his successor should be named in conformity to the laws of Gregory X., in the Council of Lyons, and of Clement V., in that of Vienne, and he exhorted the cardinals to elect a pontiff capable of maintaining the dignity of the Holy See. He died on the 23d of February, 1447, in the arms of Saint Antoninus, after governing, amidst the sharpest tribulations, fifteen years, eleven months, and twenty days. He had the honor of being the only pontiff to whom two emperors—one Greek and the other Latin—had come, in order to acknowledge him as universal pastor. He was interred at the Vatican, beside the tomb of Eugene III.

Eugene IV. was of lofty stature and of courageous spirit. He was remarked for his grave and melancholy countenance. He was not learned, but he excelled in the knowledge of history. In his palace he treated his relatives no better than other guests. In brief, Eugene was one of the greatest, and at the same time one of the least happy, of the popes. He gave free access to two Benedictine monks of the abbey of Florence, two Celestines, and a secular priest. He liked them to be present when he supped, that they might tell him what was said about his government, in order, as he said, to alter his actions, if a feeling of justice required it.

In his last moments he is said to have exclaimed, "Gabriel, Gabriel, how much better would it have been had you been neither cardinal nor pope, but to have ended your days as you began them, quietly following, in your monastery, the rule of your order!" Feller (ii. 78) says: "One historian accuses Eugene of an odious ambition, and reproaches him with having kept up schism solely in order to maintain his own authority." But would he not have been more justly reproached with imprudence and pusillanimity, neglect of duty, and even treason and the prostitution of the Church of Christ, if, at the order of eleven bishops and a motley band of clerics, travestied as successors of the apostles, he had descended from the apostolic chair to admit an intruder?

He had the grief to see the progress of the Turks in Europe.

The Holy See was vacant ten days. Felix V., the last antipope, was previously known as Amadeus VII., duke of Savoy. He had governed his States with so much justice and prudence, that the code of his laws, published in the year 1430, under the title of *Statutes of Savoy*, excited the admiration of Europe, and obtained him the surname of the *Solomon of his age*. Disgusted with the world, he abdicated power in favor of his eldest son, Duke Louis, and created his other son, Philip, duke of Geneva. On the 7th of November, 1444, he retired to the hermitage of Ripaille, near the

Lake of Geneva, where, with seven nobles of his court, he founded the military order of Saint Maurice.

Many years after, several of the bishops and others, who continued at Bâle the council which Eugene had ordered to remove to Ferrara, thought of electing Amadeus as head of the Church. According to Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who, as clerk of the ceremonies, was present at the conclave of thirty-three electors, who gave rise to the new schism, Amadeus obtained twenty-six votes to be antipope, although in three preceding scrutinies sixteen electors had excluded him. The election, made on the 5th of November, 1439, was ratified and approved in the session of the 25th of that month. Twenty-two deputies conveyed to Ripaille the decree of his election. His councillors made some difficulty in giving access to him; but the deputies were at length admitted, and asked his consent, with so many arguments, that, says Fleury, they persuaded him that he ought to take the government of the Church. Finally, he, with *great difficulty*, consented, not without shedding many tears. He took the name of Felix V., and allowed himself to be saluted pope in the church of Ripaille. On the following day he went to Thonon, in the Chablais, officiated as pope at the vigil of Christmas, and cut off his long beard, which was disliked by the multitude.

Accompanied by Louis, duke of Savoy, and the duke of Geneva, his two sons, and by three hundred gentlemen of their States, he made his solemn entrance into Bâle on the 24th of June, 1440. On the 24th of July he was consecrated bishop and crowned by the cardinal of Arles, who placed upon his head a tiara, which Æneas Sylvius values at thirty thousand golden crowns.

Although, in various promotions, he created twenty-three cardinals, and although he was acknowledged by Switzerland, Savoy, Piedmont, and many of the universities, Felix V. could never bring to his obedience the emperor, or the kings of France, England, Scotland, and Italy.

After the death of Eugene IV., and the election of Nicholas V., the Emperor Frederic and all the princes of Germany renounced all communication with Felix. And further, the emperor, by an edict of the 21st of April, 1447, ordered all the subjects of the empire to recognize Nicholas V. as the *only true and legitimate pope*. The thunder-bolt at once crushed the abettors of the schism, and from that moment Felix, who loved Catholic unity and peace, thought seriously of restoring them to the Church.

Louis, his son, unceasingly exhorted him frankly to put that design into execution, and he at the same time exerted himself with the kings of France and England, that that schism might be radically put an end to, without injury to the honor of his father or the fair fame of his house. Peace being on all sides wished for, an assembly was convoked at Lyons; and it was attended by the ambassadors of France, England, and Sicily, and the

electors of Germany, and even by the ambassadors of Felix V., who were accompanied by the cardinals of Arles.

When all difficulties had been raised as to the conditions and mode of the renunciation of Felix, the king of France sent the result to Nicholas V., who, full of zeal, mildness, and true Christian charity, listened to the proposals of the eldest son of the Church. Subsequently, on the 9th of April, 1449, at Lausanne, Amadeus renounced the supreme pontificate which he had occupied, under the name of Felix V., for eight years, eight months, and fifteen days.

Nicholas V., by three bulls, dated from Spoleto, released from censures *those who had been assembled at Bâle, and afterwards at Lausanne*, under the name of *council general*, and confirmed in their old benefices those who had adhered to that schism. At the same time, the pope annulled all that had been written against Felix, the assembly of Bâle, and their adherents; the pontiff willing that the whole should be erased from the registers of Eugene IV., *and that it should never more be mentioned.*

Amadeus was also declared cardinal of Saint Sabina, dean of the sacred college, and perpetual legate in Savoy. The pontifical insignia were also granted to him, with the exception of the fisherman's ring, the cross on the slippers, and other privileges inherent in the person of the sovereign pontiff.

Thus ended the last schism of the Church. God grant that it might be the last of schisms! Amadeus died in the odor of sanctity, at Geneva, on the 7th of January, 1451. He was interred at Ripaille, whence he was removed to Turin.

Felix V. dated his documents from Geneva. His bulls, to the number of about three thousand, collected in eight folio volumes, were presented, in the year 1754, to the king of Sardinia, Charles Emanuel III., by the republic of Geneva.*

* The collection of which I have spoken contains three medals, bearing the effigy of Eugene IV. The first present his features; on the head is the tiara. The exergue is, *EUGENIUS IIII., Pont. Max.* On the reverse are the words, "*QUEM CREANT ADORANT ROMÆ—At Rome they adore him whom they create.*" Two cardinals place the tiara on the head of the pope, who is seated. The second medal has the same exergue as the first. On the reverse are the words, "*REDDÉ CVIQUE SVVM—Give every one his due.*" One hand holds a balance; the two scales are in exact equilibrium. The third medal has the same exergue as the first and second. On the reverse are the words, "*NICOLAI TOLENTINATIS SANCTITAS CELEBRIS REDDITUR—The sanctity of Nicholas of Tolentino is celebrated;*" and beneath, "*SIC TRIUMPHANT ELECTI—Thus triumph the elect.*" Above, the Holy Ghost is seen surrounded by a glory. The pope pronounces the words of canonization.



212. NICHOLAS V.—A. D. 1447.



NICHOLAS V. (Thomas Parentacelli), was born in Sarzana, a city belonging to the republic of Genoa. His father was a physician. It is said that his mother reared poultry. But Æneas Piccolomini, who knew him at Bâle, says, on the contrary, that he was of a noble family. He took the clerical habit at an early age, and received minor orders. At twelve years old he went to Bologna

to study belles-lettres; but being unable to get any assistance from his mother, who had remarried, he, at eighteen, went to Florence, and became tutor to the two sons of a patrician of that city. Returning to Bologna, he had the good fortune to be received with friendship among the honorary attendants of the Blessed Albergati, Bishop of that city, who made him his major-domo, and whom he never afterwards left.

He was ordained priest at twenty-five, and, after filling several important embassies, he received the purple from Eugene IV. The faithful ambassador had succeeded in inducing the Germans to acknowledge the legitimate pope, to the great benefit of the affairs of the Church in Italy. Then Thomas became archbishop of Bologna. On the 4th of March, 1447, sixteen electors entered into the convent of *La Minerva* at Rome. The first door was kept by four prelates, and the second by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, ambassador of the emperor. Cardinal Thomas harangued the cardinals on the election of a new pope, and on the 6th of March they elected himself. He was then forty-eight years of age.

In the first scrutiny, on the 5th of March, eight votes had been given for Cardinal Capranica, and ten for Cardinal Prosper Colonna; many of the cardinals were favorable to Prosper. He was said to be supported by several princes, and by the king of Aragon and Sicily, who was then at Sicily; other cardinals were in favor of Cardinal Lejeune; and the Portuguese, Antonio Martius de Chaves, was on the point of obtaining the tiara; but, on the same day, Prosper and other electors thought of the cardinal of Bologna. The new pontiff took the name of Nicholas out of veneration for the Blessed Nicholas Albergati, his generous benefactor, whom he had long served, and who had always predicted that he would be pope. On the 19th of March, the pope was solemnly crowned in Saint Peter's; then, mounted on a white horse, and having a golden rose in his hand, he went to take possession of the church of Saint John Lateran, a ceremony not

indicated in any previous *possesso*. When Nicholas V. received the reins of the pontificate, the Christian republic was suffering much. The schism of Bâle, not yet extinct, cruelly divided the Church. Germany and Holland groaned under their long domestic wars. France and England were never solidly at peace. The union of the Greeks with the Roman Church was beginning to dissolve. Italy, split into factions, could no longer resist the adventurers who ravaged all her provinces. In the Ecclesiastical States, the barons who had become vicars of the Church, had become tyrants. The Venetians, the Genoese, and the Florentines were constantly in arms. Nicholas was anxious to find a remedy for so many evils, which from all parts were reported to him.

We have seen what pains His Holiness took to extinguish the schism, and how constantly he devoted himself to the vast interests of religion.

As the *Infessura* testifies, it was Nicholas who first introduced the custom of carrying the Blessed Sacrament in the procession of *Corpus Christi*. He himself carried it from Saint Peter's to the *Castello* gate. At the request of Henry, king of England, the pope, by a diploma of the 25th of February, permitted the extension of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, as concerned the vacancy of churches and the collation of the bishoprics, and of all other benefices in Normandy and Lower Brittany.

Cardinal Carvajal, legate in Germany, effected a concordat between the Holy See and the German nation. Justice was there done as to all complaints made to Eugene IV. by the magnates of Germany, who complained of the expenses they endured relating to ecclesiastical benefices. Eugene, when at the point of death, had granted the relief solicited by his ambassador Æneas Sylvius, stipulating, however, that it was to be without prejudice to the Holy See.

The concordat then signed was in full force at the commencement of this century (1803). On the occasion of that concordat, which established that after the death of a bishop in Germany, the cathedral church should choose as his successor a suitable person, who should ask his confirmation from the Holy See, Frederic, archbishop of Salzburg, feared that his right of electing and instituting his suffragans in various dioceses would thereby be suppressed. But the Holy Father, by a bull, declared that the concordat took away no advantages from the archbishops of Salzburg, who should enjoy all the rights that they had previously possessed.

In 1450, the pope celebrated the jubilee that he had announced in the preceding year, and visited all the stations with the cardinals. So great a number of pilgrims arrived, that, unhappily, there were some deplorable accidents in crossing the Saint Angelo bridge, and precautions were taken to prevent such disasters in future.

In a Grand Chapter of Franciscans, consisting of three thousand eight

hundred friars, the pope, in presence of forty-four cardinals, canonized Saint Bernardine of Sienna, minor observantine. In the eulogium of the saint, he was felicitated for having, by preaching, teaching, admonitions, and prayers, contributed to restore peace between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. This, one of the noblest triumphs of religion, was due to one of the sons of Saint Francis of Assisium. Amurath, emperor of the Turks, was succeeded by Mahomet II., who immediately declared war against John, king of Cyprus. To obtain help for that monarch, Nicholas wrote most urgent letters to the king of the Romans, Frederic III., and to the kings of France, Poland, Sweden, Norway, Bohemia, Sicily, England, and Scotland, exhorting them to send troops into John's kingdom. He exhorted John to fortify Nicosia, and he granted a plenary indulgence to all the faithful in Europe who would aid that prince in his urgent distress. In this he followed the example of Pope Alexander II.

In 1452, Frederic III. visited the pope, who sent, to meet the prince on Mount Marius, thirteen cardinals, many prelates, and all the clergy, forming a long procession. Already the Colonna, the Orsini, the other barons, the pope's guards, the vice-chamberlain, and the prefect of Rome, the senators, the conservators, the Roman citizens, and the pontifical court, had gone six miles further to salute the prince and form his escort. Frederic III. was accompanied by Ladislaus, king of Hungary and of Bohemia, a prince only twelve years old, remarkable for his great beauty; by Albert of Austria, brother of Frederic; by the duke of Silesia; and by a crowd of nobles; making the number of the escort, including servants, amount to more than six thousand persons.

Every thing was prepared for the coronation of Frederic, who was to receive the imperial sceptre.

On the 16th of May, the pope placed on the head of Frederic the crown of the Lombards, which the prince had been prevented from receiving at Milan, owing to the seditious spirit of Francis Sforza, whom the king of the Romans would not confirm as duke. On the 18th, the prince was crowned emperor, and Leonora of Portugal, his wife, was crowned empress. In the cavalcade, the emperor held the pope's stirrup.

On the Saint Angelo bridge, the emperor created twenty-eight knights. In the evening, the pope and the emperor completed the regulation of the Germanic concordat.

Nicholas still solicited the Greek princes not to raise obstacles to a definitive union of the Churches, and to take all the necessary means to prevent there being, for the future, the slightest difference between a Greek Christian and a Latin Christian. The pope endeavored to make it clear to Constantine, son of Emmanuel Paleologus, that the Latin crusaders would more willingly give the necessary aid to Constantinople absolutely Catholic, than to

Constantinople endeavoring to keep up the schism, and confiding in an independence which was purely delusive, an error, a very dangerous confusion of ideas, and almost a signal for imminent political destruction by the warlike soldiers, and the audacity of Mahomet II.

The Greeks replied in ambiguous terms ; but it was evident that they still remembered the usurpation of those Latins who had made themselves kings of Constantinople. These latter had asked only for permission to pass into Asia, and as they passed had driven from the throne its legitimate masters. Under the new circumstances, argued the Greeks, we might obtain some efficient aid from the Latins ; but those circumstances would but be a reason the more for their usurping our possessions again. There are faults which are punished late ; there are perfidies which are uselessly repented, even after many centuries. The pope endeavored to explain the true situation of the Greeks, who, finally, could not defend themselves unaided.

Nicholas, like his predecessors, prophesied to Constantinople the misfortunes that were in store for it.

“From the moment,” says Gotti,* “when the Greeks begin to turn a deaf ear to the popes, the popes, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, begin to prophesy that the Greeks will lose their empire.”

The first prophet was Saint Leo ; the second, Saint Gregory ; there were still others. Finally, the last was Nicholas V. Gennadius, who was then patriarch of Constantinople, preserves the terrible words of Nicholas. Saint Bridget had also announced the same ruin unless the Greeks, with true humility, would devoutly submit to the Roman Church and faith, in conformity to the rules of the sacred constitution of the Holy See. However, the Greeks, reduced to their own efforts, did not make the fitting preparations to resist the enemy. Mahomet II., the greatest emperor of the Turks, marched upon Constantinople with a formidable army. The auxiliary troops of the pope, of the Venetians, and of Alphonso, had scarcely arrived in the island of Negropont : there they learned that Constantinople was already occupied. That city, after fifty-seven days’ siege, was taken on the 23d of May, 1453, precisely eleven hundred and twenty-three years and eighteen hours after its dedication by Constantine the Great. The city was carried by assault, in spite of the prodigies of valor of John Justinian, a Genoese, who commanded two thousand trained foreigners.† The Emperor Constantine XIV. (Paleologus), surnamed Dragasus, was butchered, with forty thousand Christians. A great number of Italian merchants, especially Venetians, who inhabited that ancient capital of the East, lost all their property by pillage, and were reduced to

* Tome ii., *Veræ Ecclesiæ*, cap. vii., parag. 3, No. 20, p. 325.

† *Italy*, p. 187.

captivity. The Turks, whose arrogance was redoubled, threatened to subject all the rest of Europe to the empire of the Crescent. That Greek empire had for its last, as for its first emperor, a Constantine ; that is the only resemblance that can be traced between its beginning and its end.

The pope, overwhelmed with grief at such tidings, published a bull in which he invited the Christians to prosecute the war against the Turks more vigorously. He abandoned on his own account all the revenues of the Church, the tenths due to his treasury, and all the imposts of which he had the disposal. Never was there witnessed more splendid generosity, or a more magnanimous disinterestedness.

With the help of all those reserves, and with the intervention of Alphonso of Aragon, king of Sicily, the pope was able to send a very considerable sum of money to George Scanderberg, who gained several victories over the Turks in Epirus.

The pope gave a magnificent welcome to a host of men of letters who had been compelled to quit Constantinople, and who, bringing with them many of the works of the Holy Fathers, increased in the West a love of Greek literature. It was at that moment, especially, that numbers of manuscripts were received of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, Saint Gregory Nazianzen, Saint Basil, and Saint Cyril. By order of Nicholas, Pozzio Bracciolini translated into Latin, Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus. Gregory of Trebisond translated into Latin, Eusebius, *De Preparatione Evangelica* ; Plato, *De Legibus* ; the Almageste of Claudius Ptolemy ; eighty-one homilies of Saint John Chrysostom, upon Saint Matthew ; and two discourses of Saint Gregory Nazianzen, in praise of Saint Athanasius and Saint Basil. Nicholas Perotto translated Polybius ; and Lorenzo Valla translated Herodotus and Thucydides. For this last version, the pope, with his own hand, gave Valla five hundred crowns. Guarino of Verona, and Gregory of Citta di Castello, translated Strabo's geography. Theodore Gaza translated some of the works of Aristotle, and the History of Plants, by Theophrastus ; Giles Libellius, some of the minor works of Philo Judæus. Finally, Giannozzo Manetti translated the Old and New Testaments.

Petrarch, a hundred years before, because he read Virgil to Innocent VI., a pope little accustomed to the reading of profane authors, was looked upon as a misbeliever : under the pontificate of Nicholas V., the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer were translated by Horatio Romano, by the express order of the pontiff. Part of these marvels has been attributed to Leo : due justice must be done to Nicholas V. We will give an instance of the interest that he took in literature, and even in the life of its professors. In 1449 to 1450, on account of the pestilence which was scourging Rome, he had to seek refuge in Fabriano, Spoleto, Assisi, and Tolentino. Even then he would have about him translators, booksellers, and binders, so that they

should not be infected by the contagion, and that his noble zeal and magnificently liberal love of learning and the learned should not be fettered. Finally, the pope desired to do still more. He promised five thousand ducats to whomsoever should bring him the Gospel of Saint Matthew in Hebrew.

Under the reign of Nicholas, Poggio found the works of Quintilian in an old tower of the monastery of Saint Gall. Enoch d'Ascoli found Marcus Colius Apicius, and Pomponius Porphyryion, who wrote in the works of Horace.*

Nicholas may be considered as the most active founder of the Vatican library.

This pope, though so good, great, and worthy of the tiara, yet had his enemies. Some Romans, headed by Stephen Porcaro, formed a conspiracy against him. Porcaro had received favors from the pope; but that Roman was insatiable, and he had the restless and riotous disposition of so many Romans who were ingrates to the popes. He was by nature bold, eloquent, and qualified to seduce the masses. Banished to Bologna, he secretly returned to Rome. He allowed himself to be selected to kill the pope, and any of the cardinals whom he could attack. It was agreed that the crime should be committed during Mass. After the death of the pope, the cry of *liberty!* was to be raised. Jacopo Lavagnoli, senator of Rome, discovered the conspiracy. Porcaro, to avoid arrest, took shelter with one of his sisters, and was for some time concealed in a chest. Being discovered and arrested, he was condemned to an ignominious death, which he suffered in the castle of Saint Angelo.

The pontiff, who had granted so many favors to the Romans, was deeply grieved by these things, and from that time suffered the most violent tortures of the gout, so that he could scarcely move. And still the thought of Constantinople subjected to the Crescent tormented him. The pain of his disease increased, until a fierce attack deprived him of life, on the 24th of March, 1455. Nicholas had governed the Church eight years and nineteen days. The memory of this pontiff will always be in benediction, because he was a prudent pastor of the Church. He restored peace in Italy, and constantly kept himself free from nepotism. His liberality to the poor was immense. He sought out impoverished nobles who had lost their fortune from no odious prodigality and dissipation. He said that men of letters were his relations. We have shown how he treated them and wished to have them in his company.

Public monuments erected in Rome and elsewhere; palaces, churches, bridges, and fortifications; the Greeks hospitably received, and poor nobles, as we have said, liberally relieved; maidens honorably given in marriage;

* Platina, p. 613.

benefices and trusts conferred solely on account of merit;—all these things bear witness to the inclination of this pontiff towards the weal of the people, the interests of literature, and the glory of religion. Monsignor Giorgi published, in 1742, at Rome, a life of Nicholas. “That interesting work,” says Feller,* “based on the most authentic documents, does honor alike to the hero and to the eulogist.”

It is also affirmed that Nicholas was acquainted with the art of medicine. The *Biographie Universelle* says, that the letters of indulgence which he granted to the kingdom of Cyprus, just before his death, form the most curious monument of typography known.†

To establish still more strongly the obligation of the Church to Nicholas, we have to add the thought of beginning and finishing the Basilica in a more magnificent form, and of erecting before the church the noble obelisk which Sixtus V. transported thither, more than a century later.

We learn from Manetti that this pope was of short stature, and had a large mouth, loud, sonorous voice, and black eyes. As cardinal he enjoyed good health; when he became pope he grew weaker, and the multiplied cares of the pontificate reduced him to a state of suffering which every day became more intense.

It is affirmed that he was often moved to anger, but speedily checked himself and laughed at his own first feeling of irritation. He has been accused of being curious in precious wines, but it is known that that is only an unworthy calumny. This pope was interred at the Vatican. His funeral oration was pronounced the first day by Nicholas Palmieri, a Sicilian, a hermit of Saint Augustine, and then bishop of Catanzaro; and a second was pronounced by James, bishop of Arras, of the blood royal of Portugal, afterwards created cardinal by Callixtus III. (Novaes, v., p. 177.)

The Holy See remained vacant fourteen days.‡

* Feller, iv., p. 98.

† Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire* (3d edition), ii., p. 559.

‡ I have four medals of Nicholas V. All four bear the same legend, NICOLAUS V., PONT. MAX.—*Nicholas V., Sovereign Pontiff*. He has the tiara on his head. The first represents, on the reverse, the holy gate closed; above, the Holy Ghost. Around are the words: ANNO. IVBIL. ALMA. ROMA—*The year of jubilee, sublime Rome*. In the exergue, we read 1450. The second represents the pontiff closing the holy gate, and these words: RESERAVIT ET CLAUSIT. ANN. IVB. MD.—*He opens and closes the year of jubilee, 1500*. The reverse must be the same that was restored in 1500 under Alexander VI. I have not that which belongs to the reign of Nicholas I.; it must bear date MCDL.

The third medal bears these words: TOMAS LVCANO DI SARZANA, MCDIHI. The tiara surmounts a shield, on which are the two keys. It is a compliment paid to Nicholas, who was formerly called Thomas of Sarzana, near Lucca.

The fourth medal bears: VICTRIX, CASTA. FIDES—*The chaste faith is victorious*. There is a cross in which are two palms, interlaced. This piece has no date. Du Molinet mentions a fifth medal, by Guagaloti; this, too, is in homage to Nicholas, after his death. The pontiff, bearing a standard in the form of a cross, is seated in a vessel, on the stern of which is the word ECCLESIA.

213. CALLIXTUS III.—A. D. 1455.



CALLIXTUS III., originally named Alphonso Borgia, belonged to one of the noblest families in Valentia, Spain. He was born on the 31st of December, 1378, at Xativa, an estate in the diocese of Valencia. Made canon of Lerida by the antipope Benedict XIII., he next became secretary to Alphonso, king of Aragon. Martin V., finding him governor of the church of Majorca, raised him to the See of Valencia, his birthplace, in reward of his efforts to obtain the renunciation of the antipope Clement VIII. Eugene IV. named Alphonso a cardinal, and called him to Rome. Contrary to the expectation of the whole court, on the fifth day of the conclave he was elected pope by fifteen cardinals. He owed his election mainly to Bessarion, a Greek cardinal. It is known that the violent harangue of one of the college prevented the election of Bessarion himself. The dissatisfied cardinal was Alain de Celif, archbishop of Avignon. His speech, the eloquence of which is disfigured by the vehemence of the accusation, was as follows: "Shall we give a Greek pope to the Latin Church? Shall we make a neophyte the supreme head? Bessarion has not yet shaven his beard, and shall we make him our chief? How poor, then, must be our Latin Church, if we can find no worthy man in it, but must needs resort to a Greek, and to one, too, who but yesterday attacked the Roman faith! And because he has now returned, shall he be our master and the leader of the Christian army? Behold! Such is the poverty of the Latin Church that she cannot find an apostolic sovereign without resorting to a Greek! Oh, fathers! do what you think fit; but for myself and those who think with me, we will never consent to a Greek head of the Church!"*

Doubtless Alain would not have thus spoken before the taking of Constantinople. Perhaps that may explain his anger, but it in no wise justifies it.

It is among the duties of history, when compelled to report such harsh words, to add the necessary explanations, so that the violence of Cardinal Alain may not destroy his otherwise well-earned renown.

Bessarion, titular patriarch of Constantinople (Feller, i., 476) and archbishop of Nice, was born at Trebisonde, about the year 1389. At the close

* Bury, page 253. Mention has already been made of this fact in our life of Eugene IV.

of his early studies, he ardently desired the union of the Greek Church with the Latin, and he engaged the Emperor Paleologus to consummate that wise and noble enterprise. He went to Italy, appeared at the Council of Ferrara, afterwards transferred to Florence (see life of Eugene IV.), harangued the fathers, and excited their admiration, equally by his talents and his modesty. He spoke Latin correctly, with a slight Greek accent, which gave a charm to his pronunciation. Of his Latin speeches it was remarked, "They are Greek, that is understood by Latins who do not understand Greek." The Greeks, remaining schismatic, conceived such an aversion for him that he was obliged to remain in Italy, where Eugene IV. honored him with the purple in 1439. He then fixed his abode at Rome. His merits would have placed him in the pontifical chair but for that outburst of Alain which we have just cited. Bessarion was afterwards employed in various legations, but that of France proved distasteful to him. It is said, that the legate having written upon the subject of his mission to the duke of Burgundy, previous to paying his visit to Louis XI., that suspicious and stern king gave him a very bad reception, and laying his hand on the legate's flowing beard, said to him: "*Barbara Græca genus retinebant quod habere solebant.*" It is said that that affront grieved him so deeply that it caused his death on his way home, while passing through Ravenna.* A king of France showed no more moderation than an archbishop of Avignon. Our respect for one and deference for the other must not prevent us from remarking here, that sweeping accusations against a whole nation are very wrong. They produce mischievous consequences, and though intended as an insult to an individual, they excite the just indignation of an entire people. In war we strike only the enemy. We should not strike a thousand through one. A host of disgusts spring from this inconsiderate conduct, which gives birth to hatred, perpetuated from century to century, and to recriminations quite opposed to the spirit of charity and of civilization. Moreover, Bessarion was a united Greek in all sincerity, and an eminent scholar; and who knows whether, had he been placed in the chair of Saint Peter, he would not have rendered eminent services to Catholicism?

Callixtus, elected at the age of seventy-seven, on the 8th of April, 1455, was crowned on the 20th. What is astonishing is, that some years previously he had said that he should undoubtedly be pope.

In the same year, on the 8th of May, he declared that the treasurer and the clerks of the apostolic chamber, belonging to the family of the sovereign pontiff, were chaplains of His Holiness and of the Holy Sec.

On the 29th of June, 1455, the pope canonized Saint Vincent Ferrer, of

* The principal works of Bessarion are, "*Adversum Calumniatorem Platonis*," liv. v., Roma, 1469, folio; *Epistola et Orationes de Bello Turcis inferendo*, Paris, 1471; *Orazione contra il Turco*, 1471.

the order of Saint Dominic, born at Valencia, in Spain, on the 23d of January, 1357, and who died 25th April, 1418, at Vannes, in Lower Brittany. He had converted to the Catholic Church twenty-five thousand Jews, and he traversed Europe, successfully propagating the Catholic faith.

Callixtus, while cardinal, had made a vow to continue the war against the Turks, and to endeavor to recover the city of Constantinople, and also that of Jerusalem.

In 1456, Mahomet, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand Turks, attacked Belgrade, which had become the bulwark of Christianity. On the 6th of August, Hunniades, the vaivode of Transylvania, assisted by the Cardinal Carvajal, the pope's legate, and by Saint John Capistrano, a Franciscan, whose preachings had gathered an army of forty thousand fighting men, hurled themselves upon the Turks with such impetuosity that they, with Mahomet himself, fled in haste; and had the Christian princes but seconded the views of the pontiff, the Turks would certainly have lost the empire of Constantinople, and would not have conquered Trebisonde. Saint John Capistrano, in his account of that famous victory, calls Hunniades *the terror of the Turks* and the true defender of the Christians. In order to render piety more serviceable in the expedition against the Turks, Callixtus ordered that at noon, daily, the bells should be rung three times, to warn the faithful to pray for the warriors engaged against the Turks. The faithful, therefore, recited at noon the Angelic Salutation. Lambertini states that the prayers of the *Ave* were said at morning, noon, and evening, and seems to be of opinion that the custom originated only in the sixteenth century, and by order of Francis Dupuy, prior of the Great Chartreuse, in France.

In 1458, Callixtus canonized Saint Rose, who was born at Viterbo, of poor parents. The feast of Saint Rose is still pompously celebrated. We have seen her body, which is miraculously preserved.

After many cares, sufferings, anxieties, and labors, for the welfare of the Church, Callixtus, worn out with age and infirmity, died on the 6th of August, 1458, aged eighty. He had governed the Church three years, three months, and twenty-nine days.

He was interred in the Vatican. He left a treasure of a hundred and fifty thousand crowns, collected to support the efforts of the Christians against the Turks.

Callixtus was profoundly versed in canon and civil law. Although very old, he quoted the texts as though he had still been a professor. When his pontifical labors left him leisure, he read much, or had read to him historical works or canonical dissertations.

He displayed great firmness of character. It is related that the king of Aragon, to whose service he had been attached, and who still affected to

rule Callixtus after he became pope, directed his ambassadors to ask on what terms the pope wished himself and the king to live. "*Let him govern his own States,*" replied the pope, "*and leave me to govern the Church.*"

Like his predecessor, Nicholas V., Callixtus aided nobles reduced to poverty by no fault of their own.

The government of Callixtus is remarkable* for an act of justice very acceptable to the French. It was he who empowered an ecclesiastical commission to revise the trial and sentence of the unfortunate Joan of Arc. That commission, by its sentence of the 7th of July, 1456, declared that she died *a martyr, in defence of her religion, her country, and her king.* Callixtus did not canonize her, but he ordered religious expiations on the heroine's tomb, at Rouen.

Callixtus had many virtues; but he is reproached with nepotism. In one day, he gave the purple to two nephews who were unworthy of it.† He made another nephew duke of Spoleto, though there were serious reports to his prejudice. Nor was that all, he created that same nephew prefect of Rome and commandant of the castle of Saint Angelo. Nevertheless, the reign of this pope stands high in the annals of the Church.

According to most authors, the Holy See remained vacant twelve days.‡

* *Biog. Univ.*, p. 533.

† Novaes, v., p. 191.

‡ I can present three medals with the effigy of Callixtus. He does not wear the tiara, but a mitre with a single crown near the forehead. The upper part of the mitre is ornamented with precious stones. There is the inscription—*CALLIXTVS III., PONT. MAX.* On the reverse, *HOC VOVI DEO*; the exergue has, *VT FIDEI HOSTES PERDEREM ELEXIT ME*—*I have vowed this to God: He has elected me that I should destroy the enemies of the faith.*

This pope built, at Rome, sixteen triremes (galleys with three banks of oars), which were sent to Ostia to join the Christian fleet.

Eleven of the triremes are represented: the waves of the sea, heaving as in a tempest, uplifts them. The artist has well expressed the movement of the waves, and gives an exact idea of the shape of the galleys of that time.

A second medal, with the same effigy and the same inscription, has these words on the exergue: *NE MULTORVM SVBRATVR SECVRITAS*—*That the security of many of our subjects be not destroyed.* The field represents a fortified city; on the face of the bastions are the pontifical keys.

A third medal, with the same effigy, bears a cross, surmounted by the pontifical tiara. Around it are the words: *OMNES REGES SERVIENT EI*—*All the kings shall be subject to him.* Du Molinet has not engraved this medal in his work. If the pope had spoken of himself, one would conceive that the censure of 1679 had prohibited this work; but the cross is evidently the subject. The tiara is only there to prove that true worship is only paid to the cross when it appears with the symbol of the authority of the pontiff, successor to Saint Peter.

Apparently, in place of the suppressed medal, Du Molinet chose to give another. I do not know it. It bears these words: *ALFONSVS BORGIA GLORIA HISPANIE*—*Alphonsus Borgia, the glory of Spain.* In the field, a shield or lozenge bearing a bull passant (the Borgia cognizance), and surmounted by a crown. On the right and the left, the two keys.

214. PIUS II.—A. D. 1458.



PIUS II. was originally named Æneas Sylvius Bartholomew Piccolomini. He was born on the 19th October, 1405, and was son of Sylvius Piccolomini and Victoria Fortiguerri, nobles of Sienna. He was born at Corsignano, afterwards declared an episcopal city. Æneas, who was one of the ten children of Sylvius, studied at Sienna. Then, being obliged to leave on account of the war between the Siennese and the Florentines, he asked his father for some money for the journey. His father could give him only six crowns, obtained by the sale of a mule. Æneas first entered the service of Cardinal Capranica, who was a member of the Council of Bâle. But that cardinal was very soon reduced to great poverty, because his family could not send him any assistance, as they dared not resist the order of Eugene IV., who had prohibited them from sending any thing to a rebel, as long as he persisted in remaining at Bâle. Æneas obtained the same employment, as secretary to the antipope Felix V., and, afterwards, to Cardinal Albergati, legate in France. Later still, he was chosen to draw up the apostolic briefs. Very soon he was named president of the tribunal of the faith in the same council, which had become a conciliabule; and he obtained letters accrediting him as legate, thrice to Strasburg, twice to Constance, and once each to Frankfort and Savoy. Successively, he became secretary, councillor, and ambassador of the Emperor Frederic III., twice to Milan and Naples, and three times to Rome. Finally, he went to Rome and confessed his fault to Eugene IV., and declared that he repented having formerly been among the warmest supporters of the conciliabule at Bâle, and of the party of the antipope Felix. Eugene kindly pardoned him, and made him his secretary. After the death of Eugene, Æneas was named one of the guardians of the conclave. Nicholas V., on obtaining the tiara, made Æneas his secretary, named him apostolical subdeacon, and ordered that, at his own coronation, the same secretary should carry the cross. Æneas at length was created bishop of Trieste, and then of Sienna, in 1456. That dignity was awarded to him in acknowledgment of the zeal that he had shown in a negotiation in Sicily. At Naples, he concluded the marriage of Leonora of Portugal with Frederic III. More than ever satisfied with the service of Æneas, Nicholas V. sent him as nuncio to Austria, Hungary, Bo

hemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and to three diets in Germany, where he was absolute arbiter.

Callixtus III., grateful for so many labors which had often brought that servant of the Holy See to the brink of the grave, resolved to raise Æneas to the purple, and he created him cardinal of Saint Sabina. At last, on the death of Callixtus, Æneas, after a scrutiny and an *accesso*, was elected pontiff on the 14th of August, 1458, the third day of the conclave.

It is a remarkable fact, that on the night before the election, the eighteen cardinals present had resolved to elect Cardinal Estouteville, a Frenchman of great ability, and in great consideration for his prudence, his nobility, and his immense wealth. But the merit of Piccolomini prevailed over all other considerations, and notwithstanding his weak health he was preferred to the French cardinal.

On this subject there were several prognostics ; the first dating at the birth of Æneas. Victoria, his mother, on the night before his birth dreamed that she would give birth to a son with a mitre on his head. The second prognostic was, that Æneas, when seven years old, while playing with his companions near the house of Saint Catharine, they created him pontiff, crowned him with a mitre composed of green leaves, and then kissed his feet. It was also said that when Æneas appeared before King Alphonso, at Naples, that prince, pointing to Æneas, said to his courtiers: "There is the Roman pontiff." Finally, it was rumored that as the Emperor Frederic III. was surveying Latium from the top of Mont Cimino, he called to the nuncio, and said to him: "Æneas, you will one day reign over all these places, and we who now command you will then be commanded by you." All those tales, in which Novaes delights (v. 196), are not yet finished. A cardinal seeing at Rome the armorial bearings of Æneas (crescents on a cross, placed one, three, and one), exclaimed that Æneas would be pope, because he, the cardinal, had been told in Calabria that the future pope would bear those arms.

In all the conclaves similar predictions are mentioned ; sensible men regard them as of but small consequence, but as imaginative minds take them seriously, such dreams may be mentioned in this history.

On the 3d of September, Æneas, who had taken the name of Pius II., was crowned in the Basilica of the Vatican, and not at Saint John Lateran, as Muratori has erroneously stated.*

On the same day he took possession of Saint John Lateran. But he ran some danger from the sham fights, with drawn swords, of some soldiers in front of his horse, which they wanted to appropriate, according to custom, as soon as he alighted. This diversion was not very becoming in presence

* *Annal. d'Italie*, tome ix., p. 467.

of a pontiff who prohibited tournaments. In the tournaments there were at least some regulations; the laws of the field were known, and the career was not commenced until the signal was given. Fighting around a horse, that the greed of each combatant wished to appropriate, might degenerate into violence and trickery, and lead to serious disorders, especially as time was scarcely given to the pontiff to enter the palace, and avoid the blows of which the innocent animal was sometimes the victim before it fell to the lot of an undisputed conqueror.

However, those were times of a magnificence which is not witnessed now. On ascending the steps of the Vatican, the pontiff invited the cardinals, ambassadors, and grandees of Rome to a sumptuous banquet. The chief of the ambassadors from the Florentines was Saint Antoninus, who delivered an elegant discourse, which he afterwards appended to his *Chronicle*, divided into three parts. Among the ambassadors sent by the princes were especially distinguished those of Ferdinand, king of Aragon, illegitimate son of King Alphonso, who had formerly been the intimate friend of Æneas, and whom we have seen among those who prognosticated the future greatness of the apostolic nuncio.

When in the former reign questions arose as to the succession of Naples, Callixtus had deprived Ferdinand of that heritage, declaring that Rome rightfully inherited that kingdom by the terms of the ancient concessions. Pius annulled the decree of Callixtus, invested Ferdinand with that kingdom, removed the interdict which had been pronounced against all who should remain faithful to the son of Alphonso, and restored him to all his rights, imposing upon him, however, a tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold and a palfrey. The conditions, also, were removed which had been prescribed to Charles of Anjou, when he received the kingdom in fief. (See life of Clement IV.)

Callixtus had shown great anxiety to engage the princes to make war against the Turks; and Pius, when he had become pope, showed no less zeal against the common enemy.

The pope ordered a solemn congress to assemble at Mantua, at which were to be present the ambassadors of Italy and of all the Christian kingdoms. In that congress means were discussed for organizing a war advantageous to the interests of religion. Pius said: "Such a war does not concern merely this or that particular kingdom; it is an enterprise which concerns the totality of the Christian republic."*

It was at that precise period that the same pope founded a military order

* Leodrisio Crivelli, a contemporary author, in a treatise *De Expeditione Pii II. in Turcas* (see Muratori, *Script. rer. Ital.*, tome xxiii., col. 35), speaks of the efforts made by the pope to render that war successful. Nicholas Reutner published, in four volumes, 4to., a collection entitled, *Orationes et Consultationes de Bello Turcico*. Leipsic, 1596.

of knights, under the title of Knights of Saint Mary of Bethlehem. They swore to defend Lemnos and the other isles of the Ægean Sea, and to war upon the Turks as the Knights of Jerusalem.

A great portion of the preparations agreed upon by the congress was finished. Then the pope, regardless of the coldness of the season, of the attacks of gout to which he was subject, and of the melancholy presages which he heard around him, set out for Mantua on the 22d of January, 1459. He left as legate at Rome, during his absence, Cardinal de Cusa, and as governor and prefect, Prince Colonna. They were assisted by other cardinals, by the auditors of the Rota, and by many prelates, to form the Roman court *ad interim*.

At Perugia a pope had not been seen for seventy years. Pius remained there three weeks, and dedicated the noble temple to Saint Dominic. Then he went to Carsignano, his native place, where he may have thought of the homage paid to him in 1412 by his young playmates. There he celebrated the feast of St. Peter's Chair.

He arrived, on the 25th of February, in the city of Sienna, and gave it Radicofani, which belonged to the Church. Novaes makes no reflection upon this point of history; but, if the *nepotism of family* is wrong, the *nepotism of nation* is not right. The gift was not recalled by any pontiff, and Radicofani still belongs to Florence, which acquired it when she conquered all the Siennese States.

Sienna was made a metropolis. There Pius was right; as head of the Church, he could at his own pleasure grant that favor.

In the same city the pope pronounced a solemn discourse on the fourth Sunday in Lent, blessed the Golden Rose, and presented it to the Siennese senate.

On the 25th of April he entered Florence. Cosmas de Medicis, regent of that republic, received His Holiness with a royal splendor. He was the wealthiest and most honorable citizen of that time. Pius, after giving audience to some ambassadors from various parts of the world, departed, on the 5th of March, for Bologna, which he entered on the 9th. The principal nobles of the city volunteered to carry him themselves in a kind of decorated litter, called the *sedia gestatoria*. He next visited Ferrara. There, Borso d'Este, the feudatory, presented himself before the pope, and preceded him on foot until expressly permitted to mount a horse. That honor was granted to him because he was related to the pope, as being the son of Stella Tolomei, a Siennese lady whose family was closely connected with that of the Piccolomini.

On the 27th of May, Pius made a triumphal entry into Mantua. He now sought for nothing but the means of organizing the crusaders, and hastening their departure. The Turk was daily becoming more formidable; he

was continually subjugating cities in the East. Then a decision of the congress was made public. It ordered, that for that holy war there should be paid during three years, by clerics, the tenth part of their revenues, by the laity the thirtieth, and by the Jews the twentieth. Many populations promised to add further sacrifices to sacrifices already onerous. Among those who did so were the Florentines, the Siennese, the Ragusans, the Genoese, and the Rhodians, subjects of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem. The Bolognese also announced that they would generously contribute.

Pius, by a bull of the 15th of January, 1460, made the determination of the congress known to the whole world.

Notwithstanding the good-will of the pope, those succors were not punctually given, partly on account of the war which had broken out between the French and English, and partly on account of the differences which arose at Naples between King Ferdinand of Aragon, so greatly patronized by the pope, and John, duke of Anjou, son of King René, and partly on account of the embarrassments caused in the Ecclesiastical States by the Manfredi and the Malatesta.

Then appeared another bull, in which it was forbidden to appeal from the pope to a future council. Such appeals were declared to be abusive, erroneous, and deserving of condemnation. Bercastel, in his History of the Church (vol. xvi., page 149, *et seq.*), reports the discontent of the French, who felt offended by that bull, and he details what they did concerning it, and Noaves thinks that that author speaks impartially.*

Nevertheless, those appeals are injurious to the Church; they obstruct business, and are generally of no use to those who resort to them as a temporary refuge; nothing ever results from them but indecisive pretensions, calculated to decrease the veneration that is due to the Holy See.

On the 5th of March, 1460, Pius made a promotion of cardinals.

Meantime, Sigismund, duke of Austria, had arrested, in the castle of Brunech, Cardinal de Cusa, in consequence of some differences as to ecclesiastical rights. On the 8th of August the Holy Father excommunicated Sigismund and his accomplices, by virtue of a constitution, since introduced by Gregory XIII. and by Paul V. into the bull *In Cæna Domini*. Pius repeated the prohibition to appeal from the pope to a future council, after the example of Sigismund. The same pope condemned appellants as guilty of heresy and high treason.

The Holy Father, having returned to Rome in 1461, solemnly canonized Saint Catharine of Sienna, of the order of Saint Dominic. She was born in the quarter of Fontebranda, in 1347, the daughter of Jacope Benincasa,

* Novaes, v., p. 201.

by trade a dyer, and she died at Rome, aged thirty-three, on the 29th of April, 1380. Urban VI., Innocent VII., and Gregory XIII. had desired to canonize her, but could not do so on account of the schism. This, says Novaes (v., 205), was determined by the divine will, so that, amidst the tempests of clashing opinions, some should not regard as profane her whom others believed holy.*

Meanwhile, Mahomet, in spite of the exertions of the Knights of Bethlehem, of whom we spoke just now, had occupied the isles of Lemnos and Lesbos, which, in the reign of Callixtus III., the Christians had reconquered. The Turks had also seized upon the isle of Negropont. The Holy Fathers received, with great kindness, Thomas Paleologus (despote), prince of the Morea, and brother of Constantine Paleologus, the last of the Greek emperors. Thomas was at Rome on the fourth Sunday of Lent; the pope blessed the golden rose, and presented it to that prince. Thomas then presented to the pope the head of the apostle Saint Andrew, which he had brought from the Peloponnesus. His Holiness placed it with great pomp on the altar of Saint Gregory the Great, at the Vatican.

At the death of Charles VII., on the 22d of July, 1461, Pius II. demanded from that prince's successor, Louis XI., the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction.† The new king denounced it as being *born in the bosom of the schism, and destructive of the right and authority of the sovereign pontiff, from which authority all other is derived.*‡ This news was very joyfully hailed at Rome; but, after the death of Pius, the *pragmatic* was re-established. This controversy, which the popes held in horror as directly resulting from a schism, and upon which they had disputed with the kings of France for seventy years, was terminated only in 1515, by the concordat concluded between France and Leo X., as we shall show in our life of that pontiff.

In 1462, the city of Rome was ravaged by a violent pestilence. The pope went to the baths of Viterbo (the sulphurous baths of Bulicamo), but as there were traces of contagion there too, he went to Bolsena, and thence to Corsignano, his native place, which he was always glad to revisit, and where he had established a bishopric, at the same time giving to the city the name of Pienza, derived from the name of Pius.

* Pius II. expressly says this in his bull: *Ne saviente divisionis procella, quod sanctum una obedientia decrevisset, profanum altera censuisset.*

† Novaes, gives this note on the above passage. "The *Pragmatic Sanction*, attributed to Louis IX., and reported in vol. vii. of the *Councils* by Hardouin, p. 643, is entirely supposititious, as is said by Father Thomassin, *De Vct., et Nov. Discipl.*, part ii., lib. ii., cap. iii.; part iii., lib. i., cap. xliii.; part xxvii. Lambertini, *De Serv. Dei Beatif.*, ch. 36, n. 15, demonstrates that it was not well known until about two centuries after the death of Saint Louis, that is to say, in 1461, and that if it had been true the French would have invoked it during the dispute between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair.

‡ Letter of Louis XI. to Pius II. (Rainaldi, *ad an.* 1461, No. 188; Labbe, *Concil.*, tome xiv., p. 97; Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.*, tome viii., dissert. xi., art. i. and ii., p. 601, *et seq.*

For a long time the pope had felt remorse, because he had formerly approved doctrines contrary to the customs and rights of the Holy See. He now thought fit to sign, on the 25th of April, a constitution by which he annulled all that he had published in favor of the *conciliabule* of Bâle, against Eugene IV., and the authority of the Roman Church. He exhorted all and each to follow him, *old* and not *young*, pontiff, and not private man, to reject Æneas, and to embrace Pius.*

Previously, in a letter addressed to Jordan, rector of the University of Cologne, dated 13th of August, 1447, Pius, while he was bishop of Trieste, that is to say, nine years before he became cardinal, and eleven years before he became pope, had positively retracted all opinions contrary to the sentiments and prerogatives of Rome.

The pope also annulled all the preliminaries agreed upon between the legates of the Council of Bâle and the Bohemians,† by virtue of which the Bohemians renounced all the erroneous articles, except communion under both kinds, which the false council approved. There then arose a dissension between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, relative to the blood of Jesus Christ shed during the Passion. The Dominicans had on their side the opinions of many learned men, and especially that of the pope. The dispute grew warm. Pius enjoined on the dissidents *a strict and perpetual silence on that point*. Many popes had similarly decided in reference to difficult opinions, and we shall see that this system of prudence, circumspection, and wisdom will be followed by some of the successors of Pius II. It is under similar circumstances that we should bless the authority of the successors of Peter. No religious order, no opinion, should resist such friendly counsel; that decision which prevents all war of pens and tongues, that commandment from which there is no appeal, which directs towards other objects the zeal, the learning, the vigils, and the innumerable labors of the noble writers of all religious orders.

Amidst the anxious cares to allow no abuse to escape his attention, Pius did not lose sight of the threats of Mahomet II. He had conquered the empire of Trebisonde, after expelling from it the house of Comnenus, which had established itself there in 1204, and maintained itself there for fifty-seven years. The insatiable Turk had also invaded the kingdom of Bosnia, and ordered its fifth and last king, Stephen, to be flayed alive.

The pope thought fit to write to Mahomet himself a letter, in which he conjured him to act more gently towards the Christians, and also exhorted him to embrace the Christian religion. "Thus," said the pope, "you will

* That noble constitution is the tenth in the Roman Bullary, tome i., p. 392, and Labbe reports it in his vol. xiii. of the Councils, p. 1409.

† They were called *Compactata Bohemorum*. Natalis Alexander speaks of them in his vol. iii. of the *Hist. Eccles.*, p. 91, and following.

be legitimately emperor of the East." But the barbarian was by that only rendered more cruel, and he turned all his fury against the Ragusans. A holy war, according to the terms of the decision of the congress of Mantua, was proclaimed by a bull of the 23d of October, 1463. The pope published the treaty which he had concluded with Philip, duke of Burgundy, and Christopher Moro, doge of Venice. Cardinal Fortiguerra, a relation of His Holiness, was named general of the galleys which the pope had built at Pisa, and which he was to take to Ancona, whither the pope went by land, in order to sail, if necessary, to the Levant. But money was wanting. That obstacle was soon removed. The pope devoted to the expenses of the war the product of the alum mines, which had recently been discovered in the mountain of La Tolfa, near Civita Vecchia.*

The pope hoped that the doge of Venice would furnish still more aid than he had promised; and subsidies were also expected from other Italian princes. Cardinal Roderic Borgia, who was very wealthy, had alone promised to furnish a galley equipped at his own expense.

A multitude of other letters, briefs, supplications, orders, and entreaties, went forth at the same time from the Vatican, addressed to various countries. It was necessary to consider the arrangements necessary to the firm administration of the government during the absence of the pope. Before he left the city, all measures were taken to secure the complete provisioning of Rome, and the undisturbed continuance of public tranquillity. On leaving the Vatican, the pope went to pray in Saint Peter's; then he made an affecting address to the cardinals, and proceeded in a litter as far as the Pontemolle, where he embarked on the Tiber, which was more navigable in

* These mines were discovered in 1462, by John de Castro, son of the celebrated juriconsult, Paul de Castro. Pius II. reports in his *Commentaries*, liv. vii., p. 185, how that discovery was made. The product of the mines rose to the sum of about a hundred thousand crowns, so great was the demand for this alum. It serves to prevent the putrefaction of animal substances, to prevent ink from *running* on paper, and to set the colors of dyed stuffs. In medicine it is employed as an astringent. The Roman alum is in small cubical fragments, covered with a roseate powder. In 1733, the sale was less considerable; nevertheless, it was farmed at nearly forty thousand crowns.

In the conclave after the death of Sixtus IV., the electors swore that they would apply this revenue only to the defence of the Christians against the Turks, and to the relief of the nobles whom the violence of the Infidels had driven in exile from the East. And accordingly we find that, in the taxation of the apostolic servants, established in 1487 by Innocent VIII., the farmer of these mines is called the *Farmer of the Alum of the Holy Crusade*. Leo X., to prevent any fraud in that administration, instituted, in 1522, an order of four hundred and one persons, named *knights, or soldiers of Saint Peter*. They were to take care of all business relating to this alum; he also created them *knights, counts of the palace of Lateran*, and gave them a gold chain, with the head of Saint Peter on one side, and of the pope on the other. Further, they had many special privileges. This order preserved its primitive splendor, and the honors paid to it, up to the reign of Paul IV., (Farnese, who confirmed the rights granted to it by Leo X.) Subsequently, the institution began to languish. It lost its equestrian dignity, and the care of the alum mines. The college is still extant, distributed into many offices called *vacabiti*.

that part then than it is now. It was imprudent thus to embark on the Tiber in the month of June. The fever which prevails along the banks of the river began to torment the Holy Father; but he persisted in concealing it, lest his physicians should make him turn back. Moreover, could he not go forward by land? This method satisfied the pious wishes of the Holy Father and the tender solicitude of his subjects.

Having, without quitting the Tiber, arrived at Fiano, the pope went to the monastery of the Benedictines on Mount Soracte, and thence took the road by the Marches to visit Loretto. On the 19th of July, he entered Ancona. A multitude of Catholics from all points of Christendom had visited that city to see a pontiff, himself going forth at the head of a crusade.

Christopher Moro, doge of Venice, being detained by foul weather, could not reach Ancona until the 12th of August, and the pope was then in no condition to embark; but he would witness the entrance of the Venetian army. It was the last time that he appeared in public. Two days after, he could scarcely speak. However, he was heard to blame his physician, and to say: "*Hoc quoque Principum miseria est, ne in morte, quidem, carere assentatoribus—One of the miseries of princes is to have flatterers even around their death-bed.*"

Pius II. was right; but it is also true that the patient ought not to deceive physicians who are disposed to flatter. It was in giving so noble an example, calculated to excite the Christians to look to their own interests and their own perils, that Pius II. died, on the 14th of August, 1464, aged fifty-eight years, nine months, and twenty-eight days, after having sought the aids of religion. He had governed the Church five years, eleven months, and twenty-five days.

Pius had received Extreme Unction when he was attacked by the pestilence during the Council of Bâle. Some theologians, seeing the pope in such extremity at Ancona, thought that he ought not to receive that sacrament a second time. Pius was not unaware that this opinion had been maintained by the Doctors of the 12th century; but he did not agree with it, and he required that that sacrament should be administered to him.*

We have to notice a fine trait of disinterestedness and fidelity to his word. The pope had promised pecuniary aid to the doge of Venice. The sacred college finding among the effects of the deceased pope a sum of fifty thousand crowns, delivered it to the doge, towards the expenses of the war. Pius was a wise legislator, and well versed in the literature of the ancients. He was esteemed for his eloquence, his kindness, his justice, and his love of peace. The cardinal of Pavia said: "He was a sovereign pontiff filled

* Bercastel, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome xvi., p. 169.

with the finest virtues, and admirable for the purity of his morals, the firmness of his mind, and his rare attainments in every branch of knowledge.”*

He was of short stature. He lost his hair prematurely. His face was pale, and looked of greater age. His eyes alternately expressed severity and benevolence. His body was strong, but extenuated by the fatigues of long and frequent journeys, and by the annoyances of an obstinate cough, the gravel, and the gout, which reduced him to a chronic state of disorder. Although so great a sufferer, he readily gave audience; he spoke but little, but when he was in a cheerful mood, he did not disdain refined wit.†

A good friend, he always liked to see at his table those whose company he liked. Then he would have his table set up in a terrace, or other place in the open air. He was not particular in his eating, preferring simple food without rich seasoning. He was stern towards liars, and those who abused his confidence. He was easily thrown into a sort of excitement, but could suddenly recover all his calmness; and it was perceptible that he internally reproached himself for his momentary loss of it. He pardoned affronts. He never reprimanded those who spoke ill of him; he said that *in a free city all should be free to speak*.

The funeral ceremonies took place. The doge of Venice pronounced the funeral oration, and then took his seat between the two cardinal deacons.

The cardinals who had accompanied Pius II. returned with the body to Rome, where he was interred in the Vatican.‡

* Novaes, v., p. 222.

† *Sales interdum libenter audiebat, negotiis præsertim vacuus*—He willingly listened to delicate jesting, especially when he was not busy.

‡ Three medals which are before me belong to the reign of Pius II. All three have the same effigy. On the head of the pope is a plain cap, entirely covering it, and hiding even the ears. Such would necessarily be habitually worn by an invalid pope. On the reverse of the first medal are the words, in large characters: OPTIMO PRINCIPI—*To the excellent prince*. On the reverse of the second medal are the words: GLORIA SENENSI D. C. PICCOLOMINI. In the field is a shield bearing five crescents, placed 1, 3, and 1, surmounted by the keys and the tiara. These are the crescents alluded to in the prognostic. The third medal has on its exergue these words: NE TANTI ECCLESIE PACISQUE AMANTIS DELEATUR MEMORIA—*That his memory be not effaced, who so loved the Church and peace*. In the field is a table covered with books, inclosed within these words: VELOCITER SCRIBENTIS SOBOLES—*The children of a swift writer*. Pius II. could not be better characterized than by showing that quantity of books from which he obtained knowledge, and those manuscripts, all from his own pen, which testified the continual labor of an industrious secretary. We have shown that this pope acted in that quality to several illustrious personages. Æneas employed almost his whole life in writing. He was for a long time the abbreviator of the apostolic letters, and copied with his own hand a great part of the letters of Nicholas V. Du Molinet erroneously gives, in the exergue of the third medal, the word AMANTISSIMI, instead of amantis. He also describes a very fine medal of this reign which I do not possess. It represents a pelican with its opened heart, the blood from which feeds the young brood of the mother bird. Around the field are the words: ALES UT HÆC CORDIS PAVI DE SANGUINE NATOS—*Like this bird, I have fed my little ones with my heart's blood*. The engraver of this work was Andrew Cremona. The author of the legend was Monsignor Campani, author of a Life of Pius II.

The pope erected a tomb at Sienna, to the memory of his mother and father. The following distich, by the pope himself, is supposed to be spoken by his father :

*"Sylvius hic jaceo, conjux Victoria mecum est,
Filius hoc clausit marmore Papa Pius."*

A multitude of happy sayings is attributed to Pius II.

"Letters," said he, "are silver for the poor, gold for nobles, and precious stones for princes."

Without knowing it, or possibly, well knowing it, Pius here gives his own history. Poor, he found in letters his means of support ; as cardinal, he made them the recreation and the ornament of his life ; when prince, they consoled him under more than one misfortune, and enabled him to support the weight of the miseries of greatness. He well knew those miseries, he who, in a moment when little is spoken, said—"One of the miseries of princes is to be surrounded by flatterers even on the death-bed."

The following are sayings of the same pope :

"Every sect which is supported only by human authority is wrong."

"It is more beautiful than useful to explore the course of the stars."

"A miser never has enough money ; a scholar never has enough knowledge."

"The citizen subjects his house to the city, the city to the nation, the nation to the world, and the world to God."

"The king who confides in no one is useless ; and he is no better who trusts every one."

"A heavy burden is the pontificate ! But it is light when well borne."

"No treasure should be valued above a faithful friend."

"He nurtures a foe who pardons his son too much."

"All philosophers agree that it is better to die nobly than live in shame."

The above sentences are extracted from Platina (pp. 544, 645). There are some more, but I have rejected them because I believe them to be interpolated, and of course apocryphal.



215. PAUL II.—A. D. 1464.



PAUL II. (Pietro), was born at Venice of a noble family, on the 26th of February, 1418; son of Nicholas Barbo and Polyxena Condulmieri, a lady of great piety, and sister of Pope Eugene IV.

It is affirmed that he was about to go to the East, on a vessel which he had freighted with merchandise,* when, hearing that his uncle Eugene was made pope, he abandoned his voyage, and turned his attention to *belles lettres*, which he had neglected in his youth. Others say that Eugene, as he passed through Ferrara, called upon his nephew there, gave him good masters, and shortly afterwards named him archbishop of Bologna, and commandatory of the bishopric of Cervia. On the 22d of June, 1440, Eugene made him cardinal-deacon of Saint Mary Nuova, whence he succeeded to the title of cardinal-priest of Saint Mark.

The cardinals who had accompanied Pius II. to Ancona had returned to Rome to open the conclave there, because most of the sacred electors being too old to travel to Ancona, the electors who remained in Rome were somewhat anxious because Antonio, duke of Amalfi, the late pope's nephew, held the castle of Saint Angelo as of his own right. In their uncertainty as to the intentions of Antonio, some of the cardinals wished the conclave to meet at the Minerva, while others desired it to meet at the Vatican. The latter was finally preferred, and twenty-two cardinals at length assembled there.

The electors began by passing eighteen laws for the good administration of the pontificate, which all swore to obey. Thence came the custom of often decreeing, more or less reasonably, new laws before an election.

At the first scrutiny, to the astonishment of all, Cardinal Barbo was elected, on the 30th of August, 1464; and on the same day, as was at that time customary, and the custom prevailed until Gregory XIII., he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran. Since then, the taking possession may have been deferred.

He wished to take the name of Formosus, in which case he would have been Formosus II., but the cardinals pointed out that as he was very hand-

* Platina on that point says: "Commercio is an honor to Venice; and Solon formerly did not disapprove of it."

some, that choice might be imputed to vanity.* Then he thought of calling himself Mark, but he feared that that name might be supposed to evince a national preference ; finally, he changed his name of Peter into that of Paul.

As cardinal he had singular habits ; he sat up all night, dined in the evening, and took supper at dawn of day. Wishing to retain the same habits as pontiff, he could give audiences only in the evening.

Pius II., besides what he took to Ancona, had left at Rome a sum of forty-eight thousand ducats for the Turkish expedition.

A part of this sum was sent to Scanderberg, who was called the new Alexander and the Christian Gideon. That intrepid general took Albania from the Turks ; but, unhappily, the hero survived his triumph only a short time, and Italy was deeply grieved by his death.

As Paul II. was very magnificent in his taste, he had a tiara made at great cost, ornamented with a considerable number of precious stones.

It was he who gave the cardinals the red cap, to distinguish them the more from the prelates.

To the cardinals whose income was less than four thousand crowns, he assigned a hundred golden crowns a month, which is vulgarly called *il piatto di cardinal povero*. It is still called *il piatto*, but without the foregoing explanation.

The cardinals were not readily distinguished from the prelates, when both were in full dress ; he therefore permitted the cardinals to wear the damask mitre, and ordered that their benches in the consistories should, like those in the papal chapels, be higher than those of the prelates.

In 1466, by a sentence, which he renewed in the following year, the pope excommunicated George Pogebrac, king of Bohemia, a supporter of the Hussites, who had given him that kingdom, although it rightfully belonged to Casimir, king of Poland, entitled to it in right of his wife Isabella, sister of Ladislaus, the last sovereign.

At the same time, he reprovved the archbishops of Benevento, who, on the solemn days when the prelates were adorned with the mitre, in imitation of the sovereign pontiffs, assumed to wear a tiara, formed of three crowns, and had the Holy Eucharist carried before them. Eugene IV. had replaced the secular canons at the Basilica of Saint John Lateran by canons regular of Saint Augustine. The Romans had petitioned Callixtus III. to restore the canonries to seculars, which he did by taking those benefices from the regulars. The fury of the Romans had become so great that the regulars were insulted. Paul, while cardinal, had courageously opposed this violence, and one of the rabble threatened him with a sword

* *Formosus* means handsome.

thrust if he should persist in defending the regulars. Then he made a vow that, should he ever have the power, he would take them back to that church in procession. When he became pope, Paul fulfilled his vow. The secular canons were divided among other establishments without the loss of any of their emoluments. Those of them who were worthy of it were made bishops, and the regulars were restored, with considerable stipends, to their former places.

For the gradual reform of some abuses which had crept into the administration of affairs, the pope signed a constitution, afterwards confirmed by Sixtus IV. It ordered all legates, governors, and judges of the provinces, to refuse to receive any presents of whatsoever kind, except meat and drink, not more than would be consumed in two days. The object of the decree was to release the administrators from a heavy obligation, and place them in a better position to administer justice without authorizing corruption. Italy, like the East, is often the country of presents. Such a custom cannot be uprooted, and perhaps it helps to maintain among the populace ideas of subordination and justice. When so inveterate a custom exists, the true policy is, not to declare war against it, but to regulate it.

The pope was informed of some abuses in the administration of the isle of Rhodes. He invited the grand master to Rome, where he received him as a sovereign prince, and gave him a solemn audience.

This pope was the first who gave the keeping of fortresses to prelates and ecclesiastics, that they might be the more faithful in preserving those defences of the power of the sovereign pontiffs.

The same pope openly attacked simony, and would have around him in all the places of trust only men of the purest probity.

He destroyed a culpable academy which had been formed at Rome, which had iniquitous customs, injurious to true religion. It taught that it was permitted every one to seek all kinds of pleasures; that the names received in baptism should be renounced, and in their stead old pagan names adopted; it professed other odious maxims, even sanctioning attempts on the life of the pontiff.

The founder of that academy was Damian Toscano, who took the name of Callimachus, and the principal personage was Pomponius Leti, a Calabrian, a bastard of the San Severino family, who at his baptism had received the name of Julius, or of Bernardine, and who was reader of the College of the *Sapienza*.

Paul, in 1468, forbade, by a constitution, the alienation of ecclesiastical property, or the farming it for more than three years.

Meantime, Ferdinand, king of Naples, who had received favors from the Church, almost avowed a design to seize Rome, and took measures to weaken the power of the Holy See. Paul, therefore, signed a league for

twenty-five years with the republic of Venice. Clauses were inserted, obligatory upon both parties. The mind of the Holy Father was occupied upon a project worthy of him. He determined to get back the provinces unjustly taken or withheld from the Holy See. Among them were the city of Rimini and some other provinces that had been obtained from the Holy See and held in fief by Sigismund Malatesta, and which he had treated as his own independent property. They were now in the possession of Sigismund's natural son, Robert, and he having, by the law of the land, no right to inherit them, they rightfully reverted to the Holy See.

Careful to recover what belonged to Rome, Paul was no less so to preserve what had not yet been taken from her. He ordered the building of the fortress of Todi, and then those of Cascia and Monteleone, to add to the security of the frontiers towards the Abruzzi.

The Turks continued their incursions. The pope, that vigilant guardian, could not but foresee fresh misfortunes for the Church. He wrote to Ferdinand: "We renounce the tribute of the palfrey and the falcons, which form part of the liege homage, if you will furnish a sum of money to pay for the preparations for a war against the Turks." The royal ambassadors refused the sum asked for, and said that rather than pay it, their prince would join the Turks. Paul replied to them: "Go and repeat to your king what you say. If he resolves to join the Turks, we have already the means to drive the king from the kingdom and the Turk from the Catholic States." Nevertheless, the pope, faithful to all those principles of conciliation which so well characterize the actions of the Holy See, received with great kindness the son of Ferdinand, when on his way to Milan, and gave him the golden rose.

It was in this year (1471) that Paul, by a constitution, ordered that the Jubilee should be celebrated every twenty-five years, commencing with the year 1475. The custom has been preserved to our own day, without interruption, except in 1800, in consequence of the misfortunes of the Church. But Paul did not live to see the fulfilment of his project. He died before he could celebrate the Jubilee.

On the 18th of March, 1471, Paul honored with the title of duke of Ferrara, Borso of Este, duke of Modena, who previously was only called vicar of Ferrara. That prince came to Rome to receive his new title. On the road and on his arrival he displayed so royal a liberality that even *the City of Grandeur* was astonished at it, and felt obliged to respond to so much magnificence by a magnificence no less sumptuous. The presents mutually made were worthy of such noble sovereigns.

The Holy Father continued his pontifical labors, and rendered himself more and more honorable to Christianity, when he was stricken down by apoplexy, at the age of fifty-three years, on the 26th of July, 1471. He had

governed the Church six years, ten months, and twenty-six days. He would not take the necessary precautions, and he unhappily affected to forget that he had already had two attacks.

Paul was of lofty stature. Philephus says his figure was heroic. His face was graceful, attractive, and truly beautiful.

He was a great lover of antiquities, and he had formed a very rich museum of the most elegant relics of ancient Rome. It was under him that the revival of sculpture commenced.

It has been said that he could weep at will, and that he would obtain by tears the concessions which were denied to his words. Such a weakness should not belong to so great a heart. But all authors are not agreed as to that gift of tears, which may be a calumny invented by his enemies.

He was interred in the Vatican. Cardinal Angelo Quirini published the life of this pope, written by Michael Caneso, bishop of Castro.

This pope, who deserves to rank among the most pious, was so zealous for ecclesiastical discipline, that he said: "In some things the pontiff may be a *man*, but when he has to appoint pastors of the Church, he ought to be an *angel*; and when he has to appoint to the sacred college, he ought to be a *God*."* (This last expression seems to us to be somewhat bold.) "If," continues the pope, "he fails in his first choice (the bishop), he prostitutes the Church, by delivering her to one who is destitute of the necessary merits, and who, therefore, is not truly united to her. If he fail in the second duty, the pontiff becomes a demon, because he exposes all the churches to the danger of falling into ruin, so important is that which the sacred college clearly decides; moreover, the sacred college often indicates the pastors that should be selected." The pope added: "The ecclesiastical dignities should be distributed neither hastily nor in compliance with the requests and recommendations of distinguished personages, but solely after mature and prudent consideration of the actual personal merits." With such principles, it was often seen that the pope honored the virtue of eminent men, who, though absent and unconscious of what was said of them, suddenly received the reward of their merit.

Paul embellished the church of Saint Mark, at present one of the most remarkable in Rome. But, unfortunately, to get the materials for the neighboring palace, he took marbles from the Coliseum, which was fast falling into ruin. His bad example was followed by the nephew of Sixtus IV., and by Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III. It was under this pope that what Quirini calls *divine* typography, was introduced at Rome.

In 1468, some German printers, who, three years previously, had worked at Subiaco, being invited thither by some monks from their country, re-

* Egidio, cardinal di Viterbo, quoted by Rainaldi, ann. 1471. See, also, Novæ, v., p. 242.

moved to Rome, and, under the patronage of Paul, published editions which are now eagerly purchased at any price, by the chief libraries of the world. He thought it not unbecoming to be known as a frank and joyous person, and, in company of a prince or cardinal, he could enjoy, in spite of etiquette, a hearty laugh. One day, learning that the cardinals were dining with the cardinal of Saint Eusebius, he went there, secretly, and made his appearance among them, cheerful as themselves, and taking the lowest seat at table, saying that it was not a time to take the highest, and ordering no one to leave his place.

To the Roman populace, he gave feasts like the most generous of the ancient emperors. It was under him that the principal street of Rome was named the *Strada del Corso*, on account of the races that he introduced.

Paul II. is blamed by Platina, who says that, as abridger, he applied to the pope, who had suppressed that office, and begged him to refer the matter to the auditors of the Rota. According to Platina, Paul, looking askant at him, said: "So, you send *us* to judges, as though you know not that *we* carry all the laws in the *casket of our own bosom*." And the pope, throwing aside the first person plural, might have said: "Such is the sentence; let all yield to it; let them go whither they think fit, I do not keep them. I am pontiff, and it is for me to sustain or to annul the acts of others." Platina relates that he appealed from the pope to the kings and the princes. Paul, irritated at this letter, threw the author into prison. It must be admitted that the account of Platina's sufferings, which are probably true, excited a lively interest. The poor man was subjected to torments; but these ceased before the pope's death. Cardinal Bessarion was a kind friend to Platina, who ends by saying—*Justus, tamen, habitus et clemens—Yet, this pope was just and merciful*; though this acknowledgment was accompanied by much insulting language. According to the tone that Platina frequently assumes in his *History of the Popes*, it would be reasonably inferred that he was not quite so innocent as he claims to have been, and that, without being actually one of the conspirators, he at least was one of the harshest speakers among the malcontents of that time. Platina closes his history with Paul II. The successor of that pope, Sixtus IV., reinstated Platina in his posts. That historian ended his life quietly, laden with honors and favors, of which he was worthy, excepting when he gave way to that insulting acerbity which effects no reform, and when aided by ability, becomes an evil that every prince should banish from his States.

The Holy See remained vacant fourteen days.*

* In the casket which was presented to us by Pius VII., we have only three medals of Paul II. All have the same effigy, with the words: PAVLVS II., VENETVS. PONT. MAX. The head of Paul is uncovered. In 1464, the first was struck. On the reverse we read these words: ANNO

216. SIXTUS IV.—A. D. 1471.



SIXTUS IV., originally named Francis de la Rovera, was born in a villa of his family, a short distance from the city of Savona, on the 21st of July, 1414. Many authors call him a fisherman's son; but Novaes, with whom I agree on this point, does not admit that fact. Francis at an early age entered the order of Saint Francis, and was professor of philosophy and theology at Padua, at Bologna, at Pavia, at Sienna, at Florence, and at Perugia. His renown was greatly increased in the general chapter of the order which was held at Genoa in 1424. He was then pronounced to be the most eloquent of the friars. Petrarch calls him a most penetrating theologian, and an orator of the first merit. He subsequently became procurator-general at Rome, vicar-general of Italy, and, in 1464, he was elected general of the Franciscans. Paul II. made him cardinal of Saint Peter, *in vinculis*, on the 18th of September, 1467.

He was elected pontiff on the 9th of August, 1471, in a conclave of eighteen cardinals. They were a second time inclined to elect Cardinal Bessarion, one of the most illustrious personages of that age of learning,

M.CD.LXIV. ROMA. In the field are the armorial bearings of the Barbos, a lion passant, *or*, on a band *argent*, surmounted by the tiara and keys.

The second has on the exergue: "SOLVM IN FERAS PIVS BELLATVR PASTOR—*The pious shepherd combats only savage beasts.*" Hunters, on horse and a-foot, armed with pikes, are cheering dogs on in pursuit of a boar and a stag. Peter Damian, under Alexander II., censures the taste of ecclesiastics for hunting and falconry. What would he say in this case? A medal proves that a Venetian pope indulged in the pleasures of the chase.

The third medal bears only in the field these words: ANNO CHRISTI, MCCCCLXX. HAS ÆDES CONDIDIT—*In the year of Christ 1470, the pope erected these buildings.* A memorial, apparently, of the time when Paul II. built the Venetian palace, near the church of Saint Mark.

Du Molinet was richer than I; he gives other medals. 1. This: PABVLVM SALVTIS—*The nourishment of salvation*, the lamb without spot or blemish; below, Peter and Paul, with seven lambs which have returned to the fold. 2. AVDIENTIA PVBLICA PONTIFICIS MAXIMI. Paul II., upon his throne, a cardinal on his right, gives public audience to the Grand Master of the Hospitallers of Rhodes, accompanied by several knights. 4. SACRVM PVBLICVM APOSTOLICVM CONSISTORIUM PAVLVS VENETVS P. P. II. Paul II. on his throne, the cardinals, in their hats, seated on his right and left. In the middle, the ambassadors of the princes. 5. TRIBVNA S. PETRI. It is the tribune of Saint Peter, such as it was, before the rebuilding of the Church. 6. HILARITAS PVBLICA. Public joy, accompanied by two children to whom she gives palm-branches. 7. LÆTITIA SCHOLASTICA. A. Bo. *The joy of the schools.* Joy giving flowers to two children. A. Bo stand for Academy of Bologna. 8. CONVIVIVM PUB. ERGA POPVLVM ROMANVM—*Public banquet given to the Roman people.* Two cornucopias intertwined; above, the word ROMA.

virtue, and greatness of soul; but he excused himself on the ground of his great age—eighty years—and he aided in inducing them to elect Cardinal Rovera, who was then fifty-seven. The new pope took the name of Sixtus IV., in memory of Saint Sixtus, pope and martyr, because it was on the day of that saint that the conclave was opened.

He was consecrated bishop by the French cardinal d'Estouteville, and then crowned, on the 25th of August, and afterwards, on the same day, he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran. The pontifical guard having violently repulsed the populace that crowded the streets, a great tumult arose, and stones struck the pope himself before Cardinal Orsini could quell the riot.

The first thought of Sixtus was devoted to the means of preventing the progress of the Turks. He dispatched five legates to the various princes in Europe, to warn them of the dangers which threatened Catholicity. Cardinal Bessarion was sent to France, Cardinal Borgia to Spain, Cardinal Barbo to Germany and Hungary, and Cardinal Caraffa, celebrated for his military zeal, was put in command of the fleet against the infidels. It consisted of a hundred and four galleys, of which eighteen belonged to the Church, thirty to the king of Naples, and fifty-six to the Venetians. The expedition had the good fortune to take Smyrna, but so small a victory could not shake such a power as that of Mahomet II., who had conquered from the Christians two empires, four kingdoms, twenty provinces, and two hundred cities.

The Hussites continued their ravages and their insults, torch in hand, and blasphemy in their mouth. Sixtus, in concert with the Bohemians, *attributed* their kingdom to Matthias, king of Hungary. To preserve the peace in Italy, he gave the duchy of Ferrara to Hercules d'Este, son of the Duke Borso, enjoining him to pay a tribute of five thousand crowns. He exempted Ferdinand, king of Naples, for his whole life, from the tribute due on account of his provinces, on condition that he should present a pal-frey to the Holy See, protect the Roman shore against the pirates that infested it, and succor the pope at his first demand for such succor.

Sixtus, by bull, ordered that henceforth instead of fourteen auditors of the Rota there should be only twelve.

In 1473, Sixtus, in his second promotion of cardinals, included a Frenchman, distinguished for his great piety, Philip de Levis, lord of Cousansaud and of Quelus, born on the 4th of November, 1435, apostolic referendary, bishop of Agde, and then archbishop of Auch and Arles.

On the 23d of May, 1474, Sixtus, by bull, founded the order of the Monks of Saint Francis de Paula, who called themselves Penitentiary Hermits, and whom Alexander VI. ordered to call themselves *Minims*, according to the wish of their founder. St. Francis, besides the device he gave to his

monks (the word *Charity*), bound them, by a fourth vow, to live constantly upon lenten fare, except in case of serious illness.

In conformity with the decree of Paul II., that the Jubilee should be celebrated every twenty-five years, Sixtus celebrated that which was indicated for 1475.

About this period Rome was visited by several sovereigns: Christian, king of Denmark; John, duke of Saxony; Ferdinand, king of Naples, and his wife, Queen Charlotte of Cyprus; and Catherine, queen of Bosnia.

The same year, Sixtus erected Avignon into a metropolitan See; then he secularized the Chapter of Avignon, which, under Urban II., had embraced the rule of Saint Augustine.

Meanwhile, the year 1476 was to witness other successes of the Turks. Mahomet conquered Theodosia, now called Caffa, and he even contemplated a descent upon Italy. The pope made new efforts to prevent those evils; and if, on the one hand, the Christian princes were deaf to the voice of the pontiff, it happily occurred that Mahomet deferred his mischievous designs, at least upon Italy. During the winter the Tiber overflowed its banks. In the spring Rome was afflicted by a contagion, and the pope was obliged to go some miles from his capital, where he left as his legate Cardinal Cibo, who succeeded him in the papacy. The courageous stay of Cardinal Cibo made him popular, and he more and more deserved the affection of the Romans.

In a new promotion, the pope named as cardinal Raphael Sansoni, commonly called Riario, from an inheritance which he received from his maternal uncle, Cardinal Pietro Riario. Raphael was born at Savona; he was as yet only seventeen years old, and was a student in the University of Pisa. The pope gave this young man the title of his nephew, and the dignity of vice-chancellor and chamberlain. This cardinal was deeply implicated in the conspiracy of the Pazzi against the Medicis.

The two families of the Pazzi and the Medicis exceeded all others in wealth, and were rivals for authority in the city of Florence. The Pazzi founded their pretensions on the antiquity of their race, the Medicis upon the immense credit obtained by their ancestor Cosmas de Medicis, whose unprecedented reputation and prosperity accompanied him to his death. It is affirmed that the pope could not endure the Medicis, but that feeling was moderated by the mildness of his nature, and by his acquaintance with his more sacred duties. The Medicis opposed the increasing power of his nephew Jerome Riario, who had become prince of Forli; and for the same reason, the Pazzi endeavored to ingratiate themselves with the pope. The latter conspired against the Medicis, and invited the young Cardinal Raphael Sansoni Riario to visit Florence and see its splendor, but without

disclosing the cruel project in hand. The cardinal received in that city a generous reception from Lorenzo and Julian de Medicis. There was to be a grand ceremony at the church of the Duomo, at which the cardinal was to be present; and the two Medicis could not fail to be present in compliment to the cardinal. The conspirators resolved to assassinate both brothers, their enemies; and even the thought of their horrible sacrilege could not stop their fury. It was agreed that the signal for the blow should be the communion of the celebrant of the principal Mass. This point settled, they went to the church at the moment when Lorenzo and the cardinal entered. The church was crowded, and divine service had commenced. The assassins had their hands on their daggers. Those who were to strike Lorenzo were able to get quite close to him, without exciting any suspicion, so great was the crowd; the others kept watch upon Julian. Bernard Bandini, one of the conspirators, stabbed Julian to the heart; the wounded man staggered a few paces and then fell. Francis de Pazzi then threw himself upon him and covered him with wounds, striking him so cruelly that in his blind fury he wounded himself quite seriously in the leg. Antonio Volterra, aided by an accomplice, attacked Lorenzo; but though he struck at him several times, he only succeeded in slightly wounding him in the throat. Lorenzo, followed by his friends, fled to the sacristy, and closed the bronze gates which separated it from the body of the church. In the midst of the frightful tumult Raphael fled to the altar, where the priest with great difficulty saved him. He had to wait until the seignory could escort him to his palace, where he remained under guard until his entire liberation. Novaes, whose statement I have followed, although I do not feel quite convinced that he knew the whole truth, believes that the cardinal was ignorant of the conspiracy. The author of the article Sixtus IV., in the *Biographie Universelle*, is not so indulgent to the cardinal. He says: "It does not seem easy to justify Riario. He obtained from his uncle permission, on a very frivolous pretext, to go to Florence with the Cardinal Saint George, another nephew of the pope; but he might have concealed his perfidious design, even if guilty. Sixtus IV., though somewhat headstrong, was not of a disposition prone to such dark deeds; his nephew may have deceived him. The pope would scarcely refrain from punishing the Florentines with the utmost severity for their terrible sacrilege. At length he pardoned them, and that indulgence calls at least for hesitation on so serious a case."

The biographer then examines the opinion of various authors.

"Moderate historians," he says, "have naturally weighed the arguments on both sides. Bayle does not venture to affirm any thing. The continuer of Fleury is in a state of complete doubt. The Abbé Racine, in his *Abridgment of Ecclesiastical History*, expressly says that the pope was unaware of the project of his nephews. All these authors were unfavorable to

the popes. It is a reason not to disdain contrary opinions, and not to pronounce a judgment which can only result from obvious demonstration."

I will add, that it seems to me to be certain that Sixtus did not know of that project. Useless revelations are not made in such cases. And then, even while not believing in the perfect innocence of Raphael, I think that nothing would be communicated to a young man whose imprudence might be feared. Novaes states that so great was the terror of the young cardinal, that during the remainder of his life he remained deadly pale. Francis de Pazzi, the chief in the conspiracy, was a deep-thinking man, who would not put his secret in danger of being discovered by the want of firmness of a boy upon who terror made so lasting an impression. We must conclude, from all, that Sixtus IV. knew nothing about it. Examining the affair more calmly, I persist in the opinion I have pronounced. One fact must be further subjected to an impartial consideration: the Florentines were excommunicated, and from that it has been deduced that Rome knew of the conspiracy.

The excommunication was issued on account of the sacrilege and the murder of the archbishop of Pisa, whom the partisans of the Medicis hanged at the window of the old palace. The pope declared that that prince of the Church should have been tried in concert with the authorities of Rome; and this demand was perfectly legitimate, and conformable to the laws of the time.

Queen Catharine, wife and heiress of Thomas, king of Bosnia, dying at Rome, left by her will all her rights in the kingdom to the pope and his successors; and to testify the acceptance of the pope, he was presented with the sword and spurs as a sign of sovereignty over Bosnia.

In 1478, King Ferdinand, the Catholic, "a prince," says Novaes, "who was *useful to religion*, but to whom religion was *more useful still*, solicited from Sixtus a bull authorizing the establishment in Spain of the formidable tribunal of the Inquisition, under the authority of the king." Here Novaes praises the impartiality of Bercastel. "I trust to that learned writer," says Novaes, "who very clearly proves what the tribunal of the Inquisition really was."

Notwithstanding the exhortations of the pontiff, the Christian princes gave no heed to the enterprises for which Mahomet was preparing. He sent an army to the island of Rhodes. The knights made a vigorous defence, and compelled the Turks to retreat. Sixtus congratulated the noble knights and highly praised their courage; but Italy, long threatened, could not escape the malignity of the Turks. They surprised the city of Otranto, and to give an idea of the fate that was in store for other cities, which they might afterwards take, they put to the sword a great number of men, women, and children, threw relics to the dogs, and violated young

maidens upon the very altars. They condemned all the nobles to be beheaded ; the archbishop they sawed in two ; and committed a host of abominable crimes, which warned the Christians to defend themselves to the utmost, and not to forget, for miserable local prejudices, the real situation of Catholicity in presence of barbarians so ferocious and audacious. In the first moment, the dastardly advice was given to Sixtus to take refuge at Avignon, but his wise heart gave wider and more magnanimous advice. By an energetic bull, he ordered all the princes of Italy instantly to make truces with each other, and prepare to arm against the common enemy. On Ascension-day he signed a league with the Venetians, and he sent as legate to Naples, Cardinal Rangoni, who was to give the Cross to the faithful. He wrote to the kings of the West for their aid and protection, and he prepared an army of twenty-five galleys to join that of the Neapolitan fleet, which counted forty galleys.

From Otranto the Turks pushed further into the Adriatic, and presented themselves before Ancona, with the intention of pillaging Loretto, but God heard the prayers of the inhabitants of the Marches, and the Turks disappeared as though seized by panic.

In 1481 Mahomet II. died. He had reigned thirty-two years without ceasing to be the most terrible and cruel scourge of Christendom.

On the 14th of April, 1402, the pope canonized Saint Bonaventure, the friend of Saint Thomas Aquinas, with whom, as is known, he had been a professor at Paris. After his many labors and anxieties, Sixtus died on the 13th of August, 1404, at the age of seventy. He had governed the Church fourteen years and four days, and he was interred at the Vatican, in a tomb erected in 1473, which stands in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament.

Some authors speak unfavorably of Sixtus IV., among them Raphael de Volterra ; but it is certain that that pope was distinguished for many virtues, purity of morals, extraordinary learning, consummate talents, a careful application to business,* a noble and generous soul, and a decided taste for letters, of which he was a constant patron. In fact, such was his nature that he might have almost been termed faultless, had he not been so greatly afflicted with the disease of nepotism. As soon as he was elected pope, he made two of his still young nephews cardinals, and afterwards sent the purple to three other nephews. This facility of granting favors produced grave abuses, and set a bad example not only to the pontiffs, but also to the sovereigns. Sixtus did not hesitate to allow Alphonso, the bastard of Ferdinand, son of King John of Aragon, a child only six years old, to possess the archbishopric of Saragossa in perpetual commendam. Not-

* Novaes vi., p. 49.

withstanding the decree of a former council, he increased the number of the cardinals ; but after him it was increased still more.

Rome received magnificent embellishments from this pontiff, and owes to him the bridge which bears his name. The Vatican library, commenced by Nicholas V., was enriched by Sixtus with a great number of precious books. He gave the direction of that library to the celebrated Platina. Rome presents so many inscriptions placed upon the monuments that he had constructed, that it has been said that these stones alone would serve to build a large edifice.

Sixtus deserves great praise for the zeal he displayed in maintaining religion. He propagated it in the Canaries, whither he sent missions. He had the happiness to receive an embassy from the czar of Muscovy, John Basilowitz, one of the greatest men of his time, to whom Russia owed her first brilliancy.

After freeing the Russians from the yoke of the Tartars, that prince sent ambassadors to say that having refused to recognize the patriarch of Constantinople, he accepted the union of with the Roman Church sworn in the Council of Florence.

Sixtus IV. possessed in an eminent degree the sciences of theology and philosophy, and he wrote with elegance. He was not tall, but he was admired for his gentle and friendly manners.

The *Regulæ Cancellariæ Romance* is attributed to him. It was published in 4to, in 1471, and translated into French by du Pinet, in 8vo, in 1564. This book has made some Protestants, who do not attend to either the spirit or the object of the thing, declaim loudly against the Roman court. This pope was the author of several Latin treatises. One, *Upon the Blood of Jesus Christ*, 1473, in folio ; and another upon *The Power of God* ; and an explanation of the treatise of Nicholas Richard, touching indulgences.*

* We present to the reader three medals of Sixtus IV. All three have the same effigy ; around the head of Sixtus IV., crowned with the tiara, are the words : SIXTVS III., PONT. MAX.

The first presents the arms of the Roveras ; an oak, with the words : ETSI ANNOSA GERMINAT—*Though old, it yet branches*. An old oak in leaf is surmounted by the pontifical keys, above which is the tiara. Molinet does not contain this medal.

The second represents the opening of the holy gate. This piece must have been struck at Christmas, 1474, for the anniversary of the Holy Gate. In the exergue are the words : CITA APERITIO BREVES ÆTERNAT DIES—*A prompt opening eternizes short days*. Paul II. had ordered that the Jubilee should be celebrated every thirty-three years ; Sixtus IV. fixed the term at twenty-five years. Hence this medal says that when the opening of the Holy Gate is prompt, that ceremony eternizes days which are only of too short duration. Here half of the gate is broken down, and the pope seems to be continuing the work alone. Now it is no longer so. The Holy Gate is sawed beforehand the night before, and at a mere touch, rather than an actual blow from the pope, it falls backward into the church of Saint Peter. A path is made at once by pushing the fragments aside, and the pope enters the Basilica on his knees.

The third medal represents the Holy Gate as it was closed in 1475, at Christmas. Around are the words : CONSTITVIT EVM DOMINVM DOMVS SVÆ. ROMA—*He has made him lord of his house*,

We have censured the propensity of Sixtus to nepotism. On this subject Monsignor Nicolai, a witty Roman, said in 1816: "I, for my part, like Sixtus IV., though he too much enriched his nephews. He did not know how to refuse; he granted whatever he was asked. *Tutti gli erano nipoti*—every one was his nephew." Only his real nephews more easily got into his house than the others. Though I insert this jest, I nevertheless believe the subject far too serious to be passed over by a joke. Nepotism was a great scourge to Rome. It no longer exists, nor do I think it can easily return. We must forget, moreover, that it was in the moral of the times, and that the sovereigns of Europe obstinately urged it on the popes.

The Holy See remained vacant eleven days.

217. INNOCENT VIII.—A. D. 1484.



INNOCENT VIII., originally John Baptist Cibo, was born at Genoa, in 1432. He belonged to the illustrious family of that name, which migrated into Italy from Greece, and which originally was named Cubea or Cibocca. He embraced the ecclesiastical career, and, in 1467, Paul II. made him bishop of Savona. Sixtus IV., in 1472, transferred him to the bishopric of Mol-fetta, then named him Datary, and on the 7th of May created him cardinal, and intrusted him, as we have seen, with the government of Rome, when the pestilence drove the pope from the city.

It was by his management that peace was signed between the pontiff, the king of Naples, the duke of Milan, and the Florentines.

Rome. This medal is a restoration of that which was struck under Nicholas V., which is described in our life of that pope.

Du Molinet gives other medals. 1. One representing the queens of Cyprus and Bosnia, who, being despoiled of their kingdoms, go to Rome for shelter. In the exergue OP. (*opus*, the work) VICTORIS CAMELIO—*The work of Victor Camelio.* 2. Saint Francis and Saint Anthony of Padua, placing the tiara on the head of Sixtus, who is seated on the throne. Around are the words: HÆC DAMVS INTERRIS. ÆTERNA DABVNTVR OLYMPO—*We give this on earth, eternal things will be given in heaven.* 3. IVL. CARD. NEPOS IN OSTIO TIBERINO—*Julius, cardinal-nephew, in the Port of Ostia.* The piece represents the fortifications of Ostia, consisting of three bastions surmounted by three high towers. It was the cardinal-nephew, bishop of Ostia, who ordered those fortifications. Here we have the title of *cardinal-nephew* publicly and officially given. We knew none of this under Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., or Gregory XVI., and we see it no more under Pius IX. 4. CVRA RERVIV PVBLICARVM—*The care of the public monuments.* This medal was struck when the still standing Sixtine bridge was thrown across the Tiber. It rep-

On the 26th of August, 1484, after the funeral of Sixtus IV., twenty-six cardinals entered into conclave. Mark Barbo having refused the tiara, which was offered to him by eleven cardinals, they all turned to Cardinal John Baptist Cibo, and unanimously elected him on the 29th of August. He was then fifty-two years of age. He took the name of Innocent VIII., in memory of Innocent IV., his fellow-citizen, was crowned on the 12th of September, and on the same day, mounted on a white horse, he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran. He commenced his reign by confirming all the agreements made by the cardinals in the case of any of them being elected pope, a custom introduced into the conclave that elected Paul II.

The popes, those high justices of the peace of Europe, always strove to reconcile the differences of their sons the Christian princes. More than ever peace between them was necessary now. Innocent wrote to all the sovereigns to live in peace, and to think of the threats of the Turks.

Alphonso, duke of Calabria, son of Ferdinand king of Naples, seeking to usurp the wealth of the barons of his kingdom, caused the count of Montoro and his wife to be imprisoned, and gave plausible reasons for occupying the city of Aquila. The inhabitants revolted and appealed to the pope, the supreme lord of the city and of the whole kingdom. The pope defended his rights; but Ferdinand made him enemies, and at the moment when all attention ought to have been fixed upon the Turks, a guilty war arose between Ferdinand, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, allied together on the one side, and Innocent VIII., in league with the Genoese, on the other side.

On the 6th of January, 1485, the pope canonized Saint Leopold, sur-named Pious, fourth marquis of Austria, married to Agnes, daughter of Henry IV., king of the Romans, by whom he had had eighteen children. Leopold died on the 15th of November, 1136.

Meanwhile, Innocent concluded peace with Ferdinand of Naples, by the exertions of Ferdinand, king of Aragon. The latter feared that if the throne of Naples should escape from Ferdinand, who held it in investiture, the pope would substitute the French, who had pretensions on that State, and that thus Naples would slip from the Aragonese, who might hope to establish themselves by force of arms in place of Ferdinand of Naples. It was stipulated in that peace that the latter should punctually pay the tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold, which were to be presented to the pope with the palfrey.

resents a four-arched bridge. 5. PARCERE SVBIECTIS ET DEBELLARE SVPERBIS—*To spare the conquered and put down the proud.* In the exergue, CONSTANTIA. The verse from Virgil was placed upon this medal, to express the constancy with which Sixtus replied to those who had the boldness to call upon him to appear almost as a supplicant at the time of the Florentine war, which was the consequence of the frightful and impious conspiracy of the Pazzi.

But Ferdinand was not faithful to his word, and the Roman court called to the throne Charles VIII., king of France.

René, known in France under the name of King René, had died in 1480, without male heirs. His generous son, John, who, like the son of Ferdinand the Neapolitan, bore the title of duke of Calabria—a title still in our own day corresponding to that of presumptive heir to the kingdom of Naples—had left, by his marriage with Mary of Bourbon, two sons, John and Nicholas, who died in childhood. But a daughter of René, Yolanda, had been married to Ferry, count of Vaudemont. From this marriage sprang René II., duke of Lorraine, who, by the death of his cousins, John and Nicholas, became heir to all the claims of the house of Anjou upon the kingdom of Naples. But René thought he could deprive René II. of that heritage and give it to a son of one of his brothers, Charles of Anjou, count of Maine. Monstretet gives a lucid account of these particulars. The pretensions of Charles, king of France, son of Louis XI., upon the kingdom of Naples, had been transmitted to him by Charles, count of Maine, who had bequeathed all his rights to Louis XI. and his descendants.

To such pretensions the Venetians and the Florentines, in spite of their predilection for France, and afterwards nearly all Italy, replied that the kingdom of Naples was a feminine fief, *without salic law*, and that as long as even a female descendant in direct line remained from the last sovereign, collaterals could have no right; and they consequently persisted in recognizing René II., who, they averred, had been unjustly despoiled by René I., his maternal grandfather. At this time the son of Alphonso, the magnanimous Ferdinand, maintained that an intermediate adoption, signed by Jane II., although revoked, and the actual and positive possession, powerfully established the rights of the house of Anjou. Then the question could only be settled by arms.

At this time Innocent wished to extinguish the fires of war in Great Britain. There were serious differences between the houses of York and Lancaster as to the succession to the throne. The pope confirmed the rights of the first house, and gave a dispensation to set aside the obstacle which existed to the marriage of Henry VII. and Elizabeth, heiress of the duke of York. The fatal Henry VIII. was the offspring of that marriage.

A former bishop, having apostatized, had restored in Bohemia the deplorable heresy of the Hussites. Innocent succeeded in repressing that schism for the time, though, to the misfortune of religion, it reappeared, with some modifications, under Luther.

In 1487, Innocent renewed with Augustine Barbarigo, doge of Venice, the treaty which had previously been made and concluded between his brother Mark and the Roman Church. Soon, seeing that the Turks again began to advance towards Germany, and that the tyrant Bocoloni had ad-

mitted them to Osimo, in Italy, the pope published a holy war, the command of which he gave to the Emperor Frederic. Sentences of death had been usually executed on the Tarpeian rock, at Rome, or even at the capitol; but for reasons which he deemed sufficient, the pope ordered that thenceforth they should take place upon the square of the castle of Saint Angelo, at the entrance of the bridge leading to that fortress.

The princes of Europe continued to live on terms of misunderstanding. The king of Hungary, in alliance with Ferdinand of Naples, supported him against the pope. Maximilian, king of the Romans, made war upon the king of France. The king of Poland attacked the possessions of the knights of Prussia; John, king of Denmark, was at strife with the princes of his kingdom; the duke of Calabria occupied a part of the patrimony of Saint Peter; the dukes of Bracciano had entered Perugia as usurpers, and the Guelphs and Ghibellines were pitilessly at war. It was more than ever needful to make war upon the Turks, in the first place to daunt and restrain them, and then to produce peace among the Christians. Those divisions, discord and jealousy, envy and usurpation, explain the fall of empires. A conqueror arises, minds are divided, he meets with few obstacles, because neighbors have absurdly resolved to seize a town or a castle, and because old rancors, recriminations, and desire of vengeance, have prepared the way for the foreigner, who establishes a kind of peace by laying the same yoke on all. It was thus that the Greek emperors lost their capital; and it was thus that Italy would have been conquered had not God himself watched over the safety of the peninsula and the Pontifical States.

At this time a new discord arose between the pope and Ferdinand of Naples. That prince having invited to a banquet the barons of the kingdom who in the preceding war had pronounced in favor of the interests of the Church, ordered them all to be thrown into the sea. Then, pretending that they were imprisoned in a fortress, he had food taken there daily. He subsequently indulged in the worst excesses in the government of his kingdom. On Saint Peter's day, the pope cited him to appear at the papal tribunal, on pain of excommunication should he not appear within two months. Ferdinand in his irritation threatened to invade the Roman territory. It was his last threat. The pope pronounced the throne vacant, and formally called upon Charles VIII. to occupy it, as heir of the rights of René I. of Anjou.

Innocent, in his gratitude, granted the purple to Peter d'Anbusson, grand master and preserver of Rhodes. "He figured," says Novaes, "as well as a prelate as he had as a hero."* In the same promotion, the pope raised to the cardinalate John de Medicis, who was afterwards pope under the name of Leo X.

* Novaes here says, in a note, that Father Bouhours wrote the life of that warrior, and that this printed life is the first model of veritable biography.

An unforeseen difference arose in the court of Constantinople. Mahomet had left two sons, who disputed the throne. Dgem urged, as his right to the succession, that he was *porphyrogenitus* (born in the porphyry halls, that is, in the palace of Constantinople), and while his father was on the throne, a pretension which had formerly served the Greek princes of Byzantium. Dgem said that that fact made him superior to his elder brother, born when their father was a simple warrior, and most probably in a tent. That vain distinction would have been sufficient to kindle war in a country still addicted to the subtleties of the Greeks. But in a despotic State, there is no real right but what force gives.

Dgem fought and was defeated, and fled to Rhodes to seek protection from the knights, who sent him to France. He was then called for by all his brothers' enemies, who wished to put him at the head of an army;—by Cait Bey, the soldan of Egypt; by Matthias Cervinus, king of Hungary, the same who had the honor to arrest Mahomet II. in the midst of his conquests; by Ferdinand, king of Sicily and Aragon; by Ferdinand, son of Alphonso the Magnanimous, the actual king of Naples, if the pretensions of France were denied. On the other hand, Bajazet wrote to Charles VIII. to demand Dgem. The council of Charles VIII. decided that the Turkish prince ought to be sent to Pope Innocent. The credit enjoyed by the popes and the confidence that they inspired dictated that course, and Dgem set out for the capital of the Christian world. On the day of his entrance, the soldan of Egypt's ambassador, who was at Rome, went to meet the prince, and kissed the feet of his horse. When presented to the pope, the prince pressed his lips upon the right shoulder of the pontiff. A singular interview that—a young Turkish prince claiming a throne, and asking shelter from the head Christendom!

From the first, Charles of Anjou,* brother of Saint Louis, from Philip and Charles of Valois, the popes, the Neapolitan barons, the Tuscans, the Venetians, the Lombards, and the Genoese had, nearly every ten years, endeavored to draw the French into Italy. Louis I., Louis II., Louis III., of the first house of Anjou, and René de Lorraine, had either personally or by their lieutenants, endeavored to conquer the kingdom of Naples with French armies and Italian allies. Finally, Innocent VIII. had anew declared war against Ferdinand of Naples, and had called in the aid of Charles VIII., the heir of all the French princes, and joining to that right those which resulted from the donation of the count of Maine, nephew of King René. Some jurists of that time, disregarding the donation, maintained that it was sufficient that the branch of the Valois, to which Charles VIII. belonged, should prove himself related to the first branch of Anjou, by ascending to

* *Italy*, 206.

the common source, Louis the Lion, father of Saint Louis, and of the first count of Anjou. Between Louis the Lion and Charles VIII., there was only an interval of two hundred and fifty-seven years (1226 to 1483), making nine generations.

Dgem, then, was at Rome, where the pope received him magnificently; and Charles VIII. was about to commence his expedition. In the interval, Bajazet endeavored to poison Dgem, and the pope too. The hireling who had promised to commit the crime was named Christopher Macrinus. He had been driven from Rome, and was at Constantinople. He was sent thence to Rome, but had scarcely entered the latter city when he was arrested, tried, and sentenced to the punishment decreed for poisoners.

In 1492, the pope received intelligence of the taking of Grenada, which implied the extinction of Mahometanism in Spain.

There was at this time in Rome a prodigy of learning. Pico Mirandola, only twenty-four years of age, proposed nine hundred questions, taken from Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Chaldee authors. They were directly connected with all the sciences. He maintained these questions in those four languages. But several points of those controversies seemed to be opposed to the doctrines of the Church. The Holy Father, therefore, condemned this kind of discussion, and the works in which these questions were contained.* But, under the following pontificate, these works having apparently been corrected, were approved by a bull of the 13th of June, 1493.

The pope meditated new efforts to extend religion. But he was subject to serious infirmities. He died on the 26th of July, 1492, after governing the Church seven years, ten months, and twenty-seven days. He was interred at the Vatican.†

It was under this pontificate that Christopher Columbus discovered the New World.

Innocent had a striking countenance, and his figure was tall and elegant. He loved to relieve the poor and the afflicted; and he cherished men of letters, and encouraged them with benefits.

* The works of Pico de Mirandola, that *mostro senza vizio*, as Scaliger calls him, that *faultless monster*, were published at Bâle in 1573 and in 1607, with his life.

† We have only two medals of Innocent VIII. INNOCENTIVS VIII. PONT. MAX. The pope is represented with the tiara. The first presents his armorial bearings—*argent*, a cross, *gules*, supported by cubes on transversal fascces. The field is surmounted by the tiara, beneath which are interlaced the two keys. Around were the words: ANNO DOMINI M.C.D.LXXXIV.

The second medal represents the pope on his throne. A cardinal seated near; on the other side a cardinal standing. At the feet of the pope, a prince kneeling.* Around are the words: ECCE BENEDICETVR HOMO. ROMA—*Behold the man shall be blessed. Rome.*

Du Molinet gives a third medal: IVSTITIA, PAX, COPIA—*Justice, peace, and plenty.* Justice holds a balance; Peace holds an olive-branch; Plenty has the cornucopia and fruits.

* This must be Ferdinand, son of Alphonsus, duke of Calabria.

Before embracing the ecclesiastical life, he was married to a Neapolitan lady, and two of his children were still living when he was made pope. Franceschetto, one of his children, was enriched by his father, but in a manner not deserving severe rebuke. He is charged with having created new offices, and with having sold them at high prices. But those offices had become necessary; and the needs of the Church had so exhausted the treasury, that the principal tiara, ornamented with precious stones, had been pledged to some Roman merchant for a considerable amount.

The Holy See was vacant fifteen days.

218. ALEXANDER VI.—A. D. 1492.



ALEXANDER VI., originally named Roderic Lenzuoli, or Lansol Borgia, was born on the 1st of January, 1431, at Valencia, in Spain, of Geoffry or Jofré Lenzuoli and Isabella Borgia, sister of Callixtus III. That pontiff, who gave Roderic his name and his arms, made him bishop of Valencia, and on the 18th of September, 1456, created him cardinal-deacon of Saint Nicholas *in Carcere*.

After the funeral of Innocent VIII., the cardinals, to the number of twenty-three, met in conclave, and on the 11th of August, 1492, they elected Roderic Lenzuoli Borgia, who took the name of Alexander VI. On the 26th of August he was crowned, and the same day he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran. While he was before the high altar, the pontiff fell fainting into the arms of Cardinal Saint George. There was then a kind of tumult in the Church. Alexander was only restored by having water thrown on his face. Between the illness of Innocent and the coronation of his successor there were more than two hundred unpunished assassinations committed in the Ecclesiastical States. The pope named four commissioners to inquire into those things, and declared that on every Tuesday he would personally hear all complaints that should be made by the families; and he did justice to all in a manner that gave great public satisfaction.

It must be confessed that subsequently the attention of Borgia was more particularly directed to the affairs of Spain. He raised his former bishopric of Valencia to a metropolitan See, and he gave the new archbishopric to his son, Cæsar Borgia, who already was bishop of Pampeluna.

On the 31st of August, 1492, he created his nephew, on the maternal side, John Borgia, a cardinal.

Ferdinand V., king of Castile and Aragon, destroyed in Spain that power of the Saracens which had lasted seven hundred and eighty years. Ferdinand had driven from Spain eight hundred thousand Jews and Saracens; a consummation only reached after the Spaniards had in nine successive centuries fought nearly five thousand battles. The peninsula, moreover, was not wholly delivered from these enemies until under Philip III., in 1610. He was obliged to expel nearly nine hundred thousand men. And if the Jews and Saracens had not been repulsed into Mauritania, they assuredly would have entirely conquered Spain, enslaved the proudest and bravest of the Spaniards, and destroyed Christianity in that country.

It has been stated that the Inquisition was then established in Spain for the punishment of those who in mere policy embraced Christianity, and profaned it by a horrible mixture of Judaism and Mahometanism. But we have already shown that that tribunal was established in Spain under Sixtus IV. It can only be said that Alexander did not weaken the bull of his predecessor. A war was about to break out on the subject of the new countries discovered by the kings of Spain and the kings of Portugal. Each sovereign claimed the absolute dominion of the countries in question, and on many points they seemed to have equal pretensions. Alexander wished to prevent the war; he ordered commissioners to arrange for a partition satisfactory to both parties.

John II., king of Portugal, obstinately maintained that all the New World, without any exception, belonged to him, in consequence of grants of the Roman pontiffs, especially of Eugene IV. Ferdinand, contrariwise, supported his claim by a subsequent concession made to him by Alexander. The pope ordered a line to be drawn from the north pole to the southward, thirty-seven degrees west of the Cape de Verde Islands, and thus divided the whole map of the earth. What lay to the east he gave to John II., in right of the antiquity of his claim; that to the west he granted to King Ferdinand, to whom, moreover, the Holy Father confirmed the title of Catholic king, already conferred upon that prince by Innocent VIII. Ferdinand was further authorized to subject Africa to his authority, and, on doing so, to add to his other titles that of Africanus.

The Council of Charles VIII., who, as we have shown, had obtained the approbation of the Roman court in the affair of the Neapolitan succession, continued to make formidable preparations for war. Alexander feared such a neighborhood, and, to prevent the king from undertaking the expedition to Italy, he made a league with the Venetians and the duke of Milan.

Among other cardinals, in a promotion, Alexander gave the purple to his son, Caesar Borgia.

The occupation of Naples was the common subject of conversation in France. Alexander sent, as legate to Charles, Cardinal Piccolomini, to dissuade the king from such an expedition. The prince replied that a great number of Neapolitan nobles, compromised as having formerly defended the interests of the Holy See, had called France to Naples. Alexander persisted; and the king then stated that he should appeal to a fuller council. Alexander then threatened the king with excommunication and ecclesiastical censures, according to a decree of Pius II.

Charles commenced a kind of triumphal march,* for he encountered no enemies. The description of the French army has been left to us by Italian authors. Paulus Jovius says that that army was the most superb, and the most furious, in arms, countenances, garb, and bearing, and that it was a terrifying thing to see such a force of French, Germans, and Swiss. Charles entered Rome on the 31st of December, 1494. Novaes says:† “The pope, intimidated by his arrival, retired with Cardinals Orsini and Caraffa into the castle of Saint Angelo.”

At the same time some of the other cardinals endeavored judicially to depose him, on the charge of his having obtained the pontificate by simony, and of having led a life not befitting that dignity.

“The French monarch, to whom the Romans delivered the keys of the city, considering that it was better to tolerate the head of the Church, even though culpable, than to depose him and cause a schism, made a treaty with the pope in 1495, in which there were some conditions contrary to the pontifical majesty.” If, among these unbecoming conditions, Novaes includes the payment of a contribution in gold, we have to remark that the sum was not large, and that the king generously placed it at the disposal of Francis de Paula, afterwards canonized by Leo X., and that the sum was devoted by the saint to purchasing the site of land on which now stands the French convent of Trinità dei Monti, long occupied by the French Minims, and at present belonging to the ladies of the *Sacred Heart*.

It is also probable that one of those conditions imposed on Alexander was the delivery of Dgem, the brother of Bajazet. That young Turk, when presented to the king, testified his gratitude by kissing the hand, and then the right shoulder of the prince.

After the treaty, Alexander, at the request of King Charles, celebrated Mass at the Vatican on the day of Saints Fabian and Sebastian. The Most Christian king sat by the first cardinal-bishop,‡ and presented water to the pope after having kissed his feet.

On the 25th of January, Charles departed for Naples, having on his left Cardinal Cæsar Borgia, who had the title of legate, but who might rather

* *Italy*, p. 210.

† Novaes, vi., p. 91.

‡ Novaes, vi., p. 911.

be considered a hostage ; he, in fact, at Veletri, took flight, and returned to Rome.

Charles entered Naples on the 21st of February, 1495. Errors often follow close on triumphs. Charles VIII., after having been crowned, and after assuming the imperial insignia, which had never been granted to Charles,* brother of Saint Louis, failed to govern the country wisely. His army of various nations exacted contributions and oppressed the people. It was resolved in council that the king should return to Amboise. When this was known, the Neapolitan populace, feeling assured that Naples would have no court, with its luxury and its expenditure, but would become a mere province of France, could not conceal their discontent.

Charles, however, left Naples, and took the road to Rome. The pope, to avoid signing still more onerous treaties, went to Orvieto and thence to Perugia, secretly intending to go to Venice, should the danger become more pressing. The king stayed only two days in Rome, and when he reached Viterbo, endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to obtain an interview with the pope. However, the prince renounced the most important advantage stipulated in the preceding treaty. All else that concerns that expedition of Charles VIII. is foreign to our present recital.

The pope, in 1496, had the pleasure to receive, as ambassador from Constantine, king of Georgia, Nilus, a monk of Saint Basil, appointed to make an act of obedience to the Holy Father. Nilus asked the pope for aid against the Saracens : he also desired to obtain a copy of the decree of the Council of Florence, in which the Greek errors had been condemned ; and the act of their reunion to the Roman Church, which King Constantine desired thenceforth to recognize as the only true one. The pope, in reply, sent the decree, in which it is established that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one sole principle, and by which decree it is ordered that the primacy of the Roman pontiff be acknowledged by all the churches in the world.

A better understanding then existed between the pope and the king of France. At the request of Charles VII., Alexander confirmed the order of the Knights of Saint Michael, instituted by Louis XI.

Florence was much agitated by the preaching of Jerome Savanorola, a Dominican of Ferrara, who at that time excited the warmest sympathies of some and the deepest detestation of others. Some called him a wretch and a revolter, while others deemed him a saint, prophet, and a martyr. No-vaes agrees with Bercastel, whom he quotes as follows : " Bercastel's judgment upon this unfortunate celebrity† seems to me quite correct. He was inexcusable for his opposition to Alexander. However vicious the pope

* *Italie*, p. 212.

† Bercastel, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome xvi., p. 399.

may have been, that friar had no right to despise the injunctions of Rome. Savanorola was neither a heretic nor a martyr, and those who have given him either title, had in view only their own interest. He was probably, at certain periods of his life, a hot-headed fanatic, *who ought to have been shut up, not burned.*"

It was with great prejudice to all ideas of pontifical decorum, that Alexander sought to transfer to his sons the patrimony of Saint Peter; and yet, by a bull of June, 1497, he erected into a duchy the principality of Benevento, and gave it, as well as the city of Terracina, to John Borgia, duke of Gandia, another of his sons. All the cardinals who were present in the secret consistory consented to the alienation, except the cardinal of Sienna, who constantly and intrepidly opposed it. But John Borgia did not long enjoy that favor, for almost all historians agree that he was assassinated by his own brother Cæsar, and thrown into the Tiber, whence he was drawn out, covered with mortal wounds.

Alexander, deeply afflicted, and remembering some of the acts by which he had obtained the pontificate, for some time thought of abdicating. He consulted Ferdinand, king of Spain, upon the subject, and that prince told him that a project so important required *mature* consideration.

The pontiff, moreover, believed that he could alter his way of life, restore the ecclesiastical discipline to its primitive candor, and establish a better state of things in Christendom.* This project had some results. A deputation of six cardinals, known for their sanctity, were charged to draw up holy laws; but they were not executed. When the pontiff's grief for the duke of Gandia was nearly consoled, he would not enforce these wise laws, saying that they were subversive of the pontifical liberty. However, he sent his son Cæsar Borgia to place the royal crown upon the head of Frederic, son of Ferdinand II. of Aragon, who received it in a grand and sumptuous solemnity.

In 1498, Alexander promoted to the cardinalate George d'Amboise, surnamed the elder, to distinguish him from his nephew, created in 1545, by Paul III. George the elder was at that time prime minister of King Louis XII.

That the province of Brittany should not be separated from the kingdom of France, Alexander, at the request of Louis XII. annulled the marriage between that prince and Jane of Valois, duchess of Berri, daughter of Louis XI., and sister of Charles VIII. According to Novaes, some pious persons censured Alexander for his compliance; but he hastens to add, that this separation was determined upon with impartiality and circumspection by eight bishops and several directors of renown, who were intrusted

* Novaes, vi., p. 96.

to inquire into the affair. The Holy Father, on the statement of their conclusions, allowed Louis to espouse Anne of Brittany, widow of Charles VIII.

It was with feelings of sublime virtue that Jane consented to the divorce. She retired to Bourges, and there founded the order of the Annunciade, under the rule of Saint Francis. Many of the statutes are taken from the ten principal virtues of the most Blessed Virgin, as given in the Gospels. The tenth, for instance, is taken from these words: *Stabat juxta crucem Jesu Mater ejus*—*There stood by the cross of Jesus his Mother*. To condole with the immense grief of Mary, the rule enjoined a fast on Friday and Saturday. The habit of the nuns was prescribed by the blessed foundress. It was to be of three colors, in memory of the three colors of the vestments worn by Jesus on the day of the Passion. The order was approved by Alexander in 1501, and subsequently confirmed by Julius II. and Leo X.*

Before the end of the last year of the fifteenth century, Alexander, according to the custom of his predecessors, from Boniface VIII., the hundred and ninety-fifth pope, announced the Jubilee, which was celebrated in the year 1500. He ordered that no cardinal should leave Rome, and that a broader and more convenient street should be laid out between the castle of Saint Angelo and Saint Peter's. It was called the Alexandrine street, from the name of the Pope. It was paved in 1565 by Julius II., and is now called the Borgo-Nuovo.

On Saint Peter's day, in the year of the Jubilee, Alexander was in danger of losing his life. An enormous chimney of the Vatican palace fell with a great crash, crushing in the ceiling of the room in which the pope was sitting. Many persons were killed, as the pope himself would have been, but that the principal beam just over him remained firm, and thus protected him more than those who were in other parts of the room.

On the 25th of July the pope went in solemn procession to the church of the Madonna *del popolo*, to return thanks to God for having saved him from a death which seemed inevitable.

Alexander thought fit to confirm a decree of Callixtus III., his uncle, which ordered that the bells should be thrice rung at noon, so that the faithful, by reciting the Angelic Salutation, should obtain the aid of God against the Turks.

The custom of sounding the great bells in High Mass, both before and after the elevation of the Host, commenced in Sicily, and was adopted

* The Order of the Annunciades was widely spread in France and Flanders, under the direction of the Minor Observantines. The foundress was beatified by Benedict XIV. The order of the Annunciades in Italy, vulgarly called the *Turchina*, was founded a century after that of France.

thence by all Christendom, on account of a sacrilege committed on that island by John Baptist Rizzio. That fanatic, on Easter-day, 1513, snatched the consecrated Host from the hands of the celebrant, and vainly endeavored to break it in his hands. It was taken unbroken from his impious hands and shown to the people, who rushed upon the sacrilegious man, and without waiting for any sentence immolated him to public indignation. It was then resolved in Sicily that the bells should sound at the commencement of the Preface, and at the elevation of the Host, to invite the people to enter the church in greater numbers, and thus prevent similar crimes.

Dgem was delivered to Charles VIII., but died shortly afterwards. King Charles was deeply grieved. It was pretended by some that he was already poisoned when given up. Desportes, in the *Biographie Universelle*, thus speaks of that case: "The unfortunate prince died from the effects of a dysentery, a disease very common, and indeed almost inevitable in an army at all numerous, collected in a strange climate. In all such accusations there is an obscurity which should make copyists more suspicious, and teach them to imitate the reserve of the President Henault, who gives it as a vulgar rumor, but not as a well-founded one.

The life of Dgem was precious to all who had any thing to fear from the Turks. Alexander especially knew how useful he was, as a hostage, to both Rome and France. Who could be unaware that, that hostage being dead, Bajazet, no matter what he had promised, would break his word, his religion releasing him pretty nearly from all scruple as to the execution of treaties made with Christians? On other occasions we do not attempt to excuse Alexander, but in this he must be held innocent. Charles marched upon Naples, and he would return by Rome and see the pope again. Charles left him at Orvieto, because he did not think fit to follow him further. If he had wished to seize upon the person of the pope, he could have done so. In such an extradition of the poisoned Dgem, there would have been an offensive complication, an additional insult, a formal breach of one of the noblest articles of the treaty. No; Dgem was not poisoned. He died of fatigue, grief, anger at being dragged about after an army which, in the expedition to Naples, had it succeeded, proposed to march upon Constantinople; an army in which almost every one commanded, although there was one nominal chief—the king of France, a young prince, under the influence of ambitious men, one of whom even aspired to the tiara. Yet he was a prince of great wisdom; but the wisest are not always free from error. At length Bajazet was free from the fear which he had felt about his brother, and he now declared war against the Venetians. Alexander (and this is another proof of his innocence in that affair) took the defence of the Venetians, and threatened Bajazet with a general war of the Christians against the Turks.

Will it be said that there might be an understanding between the Turk and the Roman ministers? * These are impossibilities, and to create phantoms is merely to distract ourselves. Bajazet discontinued his preparations for war, and contented himself with rejoicing over the death of his rival, who, however, even in the public law of the Effendis, had no right to claim the throne, for it was not to the customs of the conquered Greeks that the conquering Turks would pay respect with scimitar in hand.

Be that as it may, Bajazet discontinued his preparations; but the genius of his nation allowed its chief no long repose. Local conspiracies, and especially those among the troops, imperatively called upon the prince to engage them in war. Bajazet determined to attack the Christians, and he took Modon, a city of the Morea, from the Venetians.

Alexander again called upon the Christians to show more union and more zeal for religion. He even went so far as to declare that were the king of France or the king of Spain to head a crusade, the pontiff himself would march with it.

Those warlike feelings soon yielded to the obstinate nepotism which ruled the heart of Alexander. Apparently, he thought Cæsar Borgia was not sufficiently loaded with favors and principalities; or, perhaps, he was glad to remove him to a distance at any cost. † Cæsar was appointed duke of Romagna.

Alexander had also a daughter, Lucretia Borgia. She received a kind of power as governess of Rome, during an absence of her father. We shall have to speak further of this princess when we reach the reign of Leo X.

Cæsar Borgia, created by France duke of Valentinois, committed in the Marches crimes which excited a feeling of horror, and he would have proceeded in his abominable course, had it not pleased God to put an end to a power which could but plunge the Church into the most terrible ills. Alexander was attacked by malignant fever, at the end of a week of suffering, and died on the 18th of August, 1503, at the age of seventy-two, after a reign of eleven years and eight days. He was buried at the Vatican, in the chapel of his uncle, Callixtus III., whence they were both removed, in 1610, to the church of Saint Mary in *Mon'serrato*.

Novaes does not believe the great story about the poisons prepared for the cardinals, and by a change in the position of the bottles served to Cæsar by Alexander. Novaes is right, no diary of the time mentions any such

* There is a perfect understanding between bad men previous to the commission of the crime on which they are agreed, but very rarely after its commission; and in that is the first chastisement of all the perverse.

† Alexander must necessarily have looked with horror upon Cæsar. We have seen, a few pages back, that a brother of that wretch Cæsar was beloved by Alexander, who recognized in him virtues and talents. Nothing more was needed to cause Cæsar to assassinate the duke of Gandia.

circumstance. Alexander—an old man—died in his bed of malignant fever, and the contrary reports were unheard of until after the machinations of Luther, so unfortunately patronized in the political interests of the German princes.

Desportes* thus speaks of the falsely alleged poisoning of Alexander :

“The pretended circumstances of the death of Alexander have excited no less doubt. Voltaire himself, whom no one will suspect of partiality in favor of a pope, exclaims, with the utmost vehemence, against that assertion in his dissertation on the death of Henri IV. ‘I dare to say to Guiccardini,’ he exclaims, ‘you have deceived Europe, and you have deceived yourself in your own prejudice and passion. You were the enemy of the pope, and you have too easily credited your own hatred, and the actions of his life. No doubt, he took at times cruel and perfidious revenge upon enemies no less cruel and perfidious,’ &c. Those few words from an historical discussion, which it is needless to quote more largely, contain an impartial judgment upon that part of the life of Alexander.”

Fellert† thus speaks on the same subject : “Protestants have often taunted Catholics with the vices of Alexander VI., as if the depravity of a pontiff could render a holy religion less holy ; as if Christianity, to be the work of God, must annihilate in its ministers the germs of human passions. It was not the tiara that rendered Alexander vicious ; it was his disposition. He would have been the same in whatever sphere he moved. Providence grants that his crimes should not disturb the Church, and that, in these critical circumstances, there were neither schisms nor heresies to battle against. It is chiefly since that pontiff, that the popes have played their part in the world as secular princes. (Here Feller should have given a second thought to some far earlier pontiffs.) Those who compared him to Nero, are ignorant that the polity of Alexander was as adroit as that of the Roman emperor was senseless. For instance, the bull *Inter cætera*, dividing the new-discovered countries between the kings of Spain and Portugal, has given rise to many clumsy declamations about the temporal power of the pope. Besides, that this power was then fixed and justified by public opinion, it is evident that that bull was a conciliatory decision, admirably calculated to obviate disputes and wars between two powerful princes. What seems to have the tone of a veritable concession, is only the language of an arbitrator in a dispute, who settles the shares of the contestants. Far from blaming such a decree, should we not rather lament the departure of those times when the pontiffs, by a single word, could regulate the conduct of kings, and when, at the voice of the common father of Christians, the seeds of long and most sanguinary contests were destroyed?”

* *Biog. Univ.*, 1., 525.

† Feller, i., p. 112.

Alexander was endowed with a lively wit and an excellent memory; he was an eloquent speaker; he loved letters without cultivating them, and he rewarded the learned; he treated his numerous troops magnificently, and, says Novaes, "he was the first pontiff who placed his successors in a situation to figure in the world as sovereigns." Here Novaes partly approves what Feller says in our quotation; but among the lives of the pontiffs which we have already given, have we not shown pontiffs both able and ready to protect not only their own States, but also those of their neighbors? (See the reign of Leo IV., and others not less glorious in this respect.) His pleasure never caused him to neglect business, and his indulgence did not diminish his courage; but his general conduct deserves more blame than praise. His life was rather that of a rival of Alexander the Conqueror, whose name he took in pride, than that of the vicar of the Good Shepherd, the only model that a pope should strive to imitate. Some natural qualities, as well as some other virtues, more apparent than real,* must not induce us to forget the vices with which all authors, even the sacred annalists, reproached Alexander, such as avarice and cruelty;† who accuse him of obtaining the pontificate by gifts and promises; who accuse him of debauchery; and who have convicted him of recognizing, during his pontificate, four sons and a daughter, all the offspring of an uninterrupted adultery with Lucretia Vannozia, a famous courtesan, the wife of Domenico Avignani, one of the Roman grandees.

In one word, the Roman Church, under that vicious chief, had as much cause for lamentation as in the worst times, seeing, as for the first time she saw, upon the pontifical throne, examples of faults and crimes such as she previously had not known.

Thoroughly to understand the history of Alexander, consult *Burcardi Historia Arcana*, edited by Leibnitz, Hanover, 1697, 4to; the *Diarium Curie Romanæ*, inserted in John Eckard's *History of the Middle Age*, vol. ii., p. 2017; and Jerome Porcio, in his *Commentaries on Alexander VI.*, Rome, 1493, 8vo.

We have not spared Alexander. But it must not be forgotten that the time in which he lived was still an age of crimes, although accompanied by the benefits of a more marked civilization, for the beneficent Louis XII. then reigned.

The son of Alexander, Cæsar, was still worse than his father.

I will here repeat my judgment upon that wretch Cæsar, given in another historical work.‡ The passage relates to the mission of the Florentine

* Novaes, vi., p. 17.

† Novaes, vi., p. 17. Could I, in an absurd zeal, contradict history, when I find such passages as this in a book printed at Rome?

‡ *Machiavelli, his Genius and his Errors*, vol. i., p. 116.

secretary to inquire into the nature of the government of the Duke de Valentinois, lord of Romagna. I acquit Machiavelli and the Florentines of having any share in the crimes of Borgia.*

"All the infamy rests with that Borgia, that genius of evil, that impenetrable man, who taking no fellow-conspirator into his confidence, had nothing to fear from indiscretion or treachery ; that tyrant who, far more than Vitellozzo, his victim, was *the firebrand of Italy*, the scourge of that country. He only too well knew how to profit by the support given to him at Rome by an authority which forgot the maxims of the Gospel, and who thus gave birth to so many evils in the Church and prepared the way for the disasters she had to suffer.

"To Cæsar Borgia all these crimes are attributable. That monster, born in Spain, reared in Italy, ennobled in France, belonged to neither Spain, nor to Italy, nor to France. Those three peoples all repudiated him.

"That wretch, without a country, a sort of brigand on the throne, and of whom, one may say, that he had not a father, for he dared not name him, was not without a kind of talent, eloquence, and dexterity in business. He even knew how to punish justly, as is proved by his sentence of Ramiro, who, without his order, had committed some abominable crimes. But these last considerations only make him the more guilty, for not having sought to found his authority on fidelity to his faith, and upon those virtues of which some princes of that time set him an example."

The Holy See was vacant one month and three days.†

* Borgia, cardinal in 1493, was secularized in 1498.

† We shall describe three medals of Alexander VI. All three have the same effigy: ALEXANDRO VI., PONT. MASS. It is to be remarked that the orthography here is not Latin, the usual language of medals, but Italian. The head of the pope is covered only with a white calotte.

The first medal gives the armorial bearings of the Borgias ; but here the bull is placed differently in the shield, where it is figured on the right in a field *or*, on the left three bands *or*, and three *argent*. Around are the words: A. RODERICO LENZUOLA BORGIA. S. P. MCDXCII.—*To Roderic Lenzuola Borgia, Sovereign Pontiff, 1492.* That medal was struck at the time of Alexander's election.

The second represents the opening of the Holy Gate in 1199. We have already given the exergue, CITO APERITIO, in our life of Sixtus IV. Du Molinet did not know this medal.

The third is a repetition of that which we have seen under Nicholas, RESERAVIT ET CLAVSIT, etc. The pope closes the Holy Gate in 1500.

Du Molinet also gives the two following medals. In the exergue of the first is the word, CORONAT—*He crowns.* The cardinal-deacon crowns Alexander ; cardinals surround him ; on the right guards, one of them on horseback.

In the field of the second is the Borgia bull, to which an angel presents a kind of yoke, according to some authors, while others say that it is not a yoke but a sail, in allusion to the word Lenzuola. Around are the words: OB SAPIENTIAM CVM* FORTVNA CONIVNC.—*For the union of fortune and wisdom.*

Du Molinet, by the yoke, means the regency and government of the Church ; but if a sail is to be preferred, then Du Molinet takes it to mean that the pontiff crowded all sail on his ship.

* Du Molinet's engraving, instead of *cum* (with), has *com*.

219. PIUS III. — A. D. 1503.



PIUS III. (Francis Todeschini Piccolomini) was born May 9th, 1439, at Sienna, of Nanno Todeschini, a very wealthy man of the town of Sarteano, in the county of Sienna, and of Laodinea Piccolomini, sister of Pius II. The latter pope adopted Francis, giving him the name and arms of the Piccolomini, a family still existing at Naples, and known as the Piccolomini di Aragon,—Angelo Piccolomini having married Mary, daughter of

Ferdinand, king of Naples. Their present title is that of counts of Celano, princes of Valle.

Francis, from his earliest years, applied himself to the study of literature and law, and received the degree of doctor at Perugia. His uncle, Pius II., made him archbishop of Sienna in 1460, when he was only twenty years old. Soon after, the same year, the pope created him cardinal-deacon of Saint Eustace.

While still very young, he was sent as legate to the Marches, and he obtained the same title at Rome when his uncle, Pius, proceeded to Ancona.

In the last years of the reign of Paul II., Francis was sent to the Emperor Frederic, and he manfully defended the rights of the Church at the diet of Ratisbonne, in the presence of the emperor and the German nobles.

Recalled to Rome by Sixtus IV., he there preserved the reputation acquired by his irreproachable life. Innocent VIII. sent him to Umbria to restore peace, disturbed by turbulent factions.

Alexander VI. sent him as legate to Charles VIII., when marching against the Aragonese of Naples; but the king would not see him, in consequence of the hatred felt in France against Pius II., who, on the strife between the Aragonese and the prince of Anjou, had shown a perhaps over-partial favor to the former.

On the death of Alexander VI., Cæsar Borgia, duke de Valentinois, or-

Some writers, neglecting the words *Ob sapientiam*, will have it that a yoke is meant, to curb the self-will of the pontiff. But medals being a kind of official documents, admit of neither flattery nor epigram. The sails were certainly a flattery; and in such times as those, rulers were more likely to be flattered than taught.

I return to the word *SAPIENTIAM*. Politian, speaking of Alexander, says: *In te siquidem sapientia singularis, prestans animi magnitudo qua mortales omnes crederis antecellere*—Thou hast a singular wisdom, and a greatness of soul beyond all men. That, no doubt, was true before the end of the pontificate.

dered the Vatican to be pillaged, and carried off over three hundred thousand ducats. This violence was a natural consequence of the authority which the nephews assumed even after the death of their papal relation. In our days, a somewhat legitimate authority of prime minister subsists, but when the fisherman's ring is broken, no family exists at Rome to tyrannize in the name of an extinct absolute authority.

Borgia, who is to be classed with papal nephews, did not stop here. At the head of twelve thousand men, he besieged the castle of Saint Angelo, and invested the Vatican, where the conclave was to open, in order to force the electors to impossible concessions. The cardinals, to escape the imminent danger, assembled in the church of La Minerva. They were besieged there by Borgia's troops under Michelletto Careglia, but rescued by the Roman people, who suddenly ran to arms to defend the sacred college.

Valentinois, at the request of the ambassadors of France, Spain, and Prosper Colonna, came expressly to Rome, and being struck down by a stubborn fever that prevented his mounting a horse or even directing any military operations, had himself carried on a litter to Nepi.

The cardinals breathing more freely, armed four thousand Romans, and celebrated the obsequies of Alexander VI. in the Vatican.

Meanwhile a French army was also in Rome, on its march to attack the Aragonese in Naples, another consequence of French pretensions to the Neapolitan throne. To leave the sacred college at liberty, the French general, at the request of the cardinals, marched out of Rome.

On the 30th day after Alexander's death, thirty-six cardinals met. They began by laying down several stipulations that the new pope was to sign, and deemed by them essential to the reform of ecclesiastical discipline. Their next thought was to elect a successor to the late pope.

One of the candidates was Cardinal George d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen; but the Avignon popes were still remembered by the Italian cardinals. George, moreover, a man of mild and affable manners, deemed himself well supported by his own desire, by the undisputed power of his master Louis XII., and by the respected virtues of that great prince.

Cardinal de la Rovera, on his side, was no less ambitious of the tiara. Spondanus and Oldoini speak at length of the means employed by de la Rovera to defeat the ambition of George, who had taken him into his confidence.

Some cardinals were disposed to favor the views of their old colleague, Cæsar Borgia; but his views were not very clear. Others belonged to little aimless factions. At last, all united in electing, September 22, 1503, the first cardinal-deacon, Francis Todeschini Piccolomini, who, in memory of his uncle, chose the name of Pius III.

On the 30th of the same month, the pope elect was ordained priest by the cardinal of San Pietro *in vincoli*; for he had enjoyed the title of archbishop

of Sienna for forty-three years, without being a priest (such things were possible then); Pius II. having given his nephew as suffragan, the Blessed Anthony Fatali, who fulfilled all the episcopal duties. Pius III. was consecrated bishop, October 1st, in one of the chambers of the Vatican, and solemnly crowned on the 8th, on the steps of Saint Peter's, by Cardinal Riario. Unable to go on horseback to take possession of Saint John Lateran, on account of a disease in his leg, the new pope, contrary to custom, performed the act of taking possession in the Vatican church. The Jews were summoned to present the law to him in one of the halls of the palace. This extraordinary fact is related by Cancellieri.*

The day after election, there was a consistory, an unexampled act before coronation. Peace between France and Spain was discussed, and the pope promised to use all means in his power to revive the splendor of ancient discipline, and to reform the Roman court as regarded the cardinals and officers. The French army continuing near Rome, imposed heavy burdens on the people. On the 26th of September, Pius permitted them to advance on Naples by the road under the walls of Rome, but not to enter the city.

At the same time Cæsar received a safe conduct to enter the capital, but simply with an escort, unattended by troops. He pretended to thank the cardinals for the selection which they had made, affirming that it would have been his own, which was not likely. Pius was too virtuous a man to have worn the approval of Cæsar.

Under the reign of Alexander, the Orsini had been especially oppressed, and Cæsar had shown himself the pitiless butcher of one. The outraged family seeing the pope confined to his bed by the disease which prevented his visiting Saint John Lateran, resolved, in spite of the safe conduct, to take vengeance on Cæsar. His captain, Coreglia, had quite recently given the chief palace of the Orsini to the flames: this act of cruelty, added to the scenes of the Romagna, where, in 1502, Paul Orsini, and Orsini, duke of Gravina, had been strangled by Cæsar's order, within a few steps of his room, had aroused in the hearts of this powerful family the keenest desire of vengeance. They took arms and publicly provoked Cæsar. The pope hearing of this disobedience of his orders, had Cæsar taken to the castle of Saint Angelo to be detained *sotto cortese guardia*. The pope's council thought it a favorable moment to demand from Cæsar the restoration of the principalities which he had usurped from the Holy See, or unjustly received from his father. The man who but a few days before had been the terror of Italy, tyrannizing over it *armato di Francesi*,† was now under the protection of a prison.

* History of the *Possessi* down to Pius VII., p. 54.

† Armato di Francesi, is the expression of Machiavelli. This is the reward of interference in

At the very moment when Borgia was confined, peace returned to Rome, and the Papal States and all the sacred ceremonies could proceed without interruption. The *guardia cortese* answered for Valentinois.*

Thus did Pius III. begin his pontificate; but his health was feeble: the ulcer on his leg suddenly began to mortify. At the time, an accusation was brought against Pandulph Petrucci of Sienna, tyrant of that republic, whose anger was excited to see the elevation of a noble of that city, whose family had long been persecuted by the faction. The pope's disorder was aggravated, and he died after governing only twenty-six days. He was sixty-four years, ten months, and five days old.†

Pius III. promised to assemble a general council before the expiration of three years, and repeatedly renewed the engagement to proceed with the Christian armies to Turkey.

"This pope," says Garumberto, "was incessantly admired and praised for his eloquence, prudence, his spirit of religion, the purity of his life, and his grave demeanor. It was hoped that he would not follow Pius II. in his undue preference for Sienna.

He was interred in the Vatican, in a fine marble tomb, beside Pius II.; but both bodies were subsequently translated to San Andrea della Valle, by Alexander Peretti, Cardinal Montalto.

The Holy See was vacant twelve days.‡

the affairs of other countries, to the neglect of our own. To retrieve a blunder, to prolong a stay in countries we oppress, we resort to vile instruments. Genius, to wither it, invents an expression not apparently scorching, but weighed, it proves full of accusation. Here the French are compared to the soldiery without intelligence, who are placed around a scaffold to carry out an execution of one guilty, perhaps, only of a political crime, in opposing Borgia without sufficient power.

* Qui modo prostratos jactarat cornibus ursos
In latebras taurus concitus esse fugit,
Nec latebras putat esse satis sibi, Tybride toto
Cingitur, et notis vix bene fudit aquis.—*Sannazar.*

Taurus refers to the arms of the Borgia, as Ursos to those of the Orsini. The castle of Saint Angelo is nearly surrounded by the Tiber, and Cæsar may well be said to know the waters into which he had hurled the duke of Gandia, his own brother.

† When the master of ceremonies at the coronation burned the tow, saying, *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*, Pius, as Chacon assures us, burst into tears, saying that death would soon claim him.

‡ There was time in this twenty-six days' reign to strike medals of Pius III. The obverse is the same in all, the head entirely bare, with the legend: PIVS III. PONT. MAX. MDIII.

The first medal, without being an exact restoration of that of Pius II., has the same legend on the reverse: GLORIA SENENSIS. D. C. PICCOLOMINI—*Glory to the Siennese of the Counts Piccolomini.* In the middle of the shield, surmounted by the tiara and keys, are the arms of the family—a cross, with crescents 1, 3, 1.

The second represents the pope in his tiara, throned, blessing a warrior who has his right arm extended and his left on his breast. Two mitred cardinals right and left of the throne. Du Molinet very plausibly supposes this warrior to be Cæsar Borgia. Legend: SVB. VMBRA ALARVM TVARVM. M.D.III—*Under the shadow of thy wings, 1503.* We have seen that Borgia, menaced



JULIUS II.

(GIULIANO DELLA ROVERA)

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220. JULIUS II.—A. D. 1503.



JULIUS II., originally named Julian de la Rovera, was born on the 15th of December, 1443, at Albisola, near Savona, and was the son of Raphael de la Rovera, brother of Pope Sixtus IV. and Theodora Manerola.

In 1471, his uncle named him Bishop of Carpentras, and on the 15th of December, in the same year, created him cardinal-priest of Saint Peter *in vinculis*. It is said that Alexander VI. begged the cardinals not to elect the Cardinal de la Rovera. Nevertheless, when they entered the conclave, they commenced by declaring against their colleague Cardinal George d'Amboise, prime minister of France, and then elected, on the 31st of October, the Cardinal de la Rovera, who took the name of Julius II. He was crowned on the 26th of November, and on the 5th of December he took possession of Saint John Lateran.

To give some idea of the manner, in those times, of negotiating when it was known that the conclave had assembled to choose a pope, we shall give a letter received by Machiavelli from the seignory of Florence on the death of Pius III.

Machiavelli had been sent on the 24th of October, 1503, to Rome. Naturally it was uncertain who would be pope, and the letters of credit were to be presented to Cardinal Soderini, brother of the gonfalonier of Florence.

"Nicholas, you will promptly repair to Rome. You will present our letters to many of the cardinals to whom sincere respect is due, as Rouen,* Saint George (Raphael Rivario), San Severino (a Milanese), San Pietro, *in vincioli* (Julius de la Rovera). You will visit them in our name, and make known to them that, just as we had appointed ambassadors, we were informed of the death of the pope, at which the whole city is much concerned.

by the Orsini, sought the pope's protection. Before Cæsar is a cardinal's hat; the artist, maliciously perhaps, wishing to declare the cardinalship indelible. The prince is, however, armed as a warrior, with gauntlets and greave.

There is still another medal of Pius III. Reverse: Three staffs interlaced in a crown. Legend: TENTANDA VIA—*The way is to be tried*. All the explanation given of it are mysterious. Typotius, in his *Symbola Dicina Pontificum*, &c., 1603, 3 vols., folio, speaks of it at length. The three staffs are, according to him, the aids offered by the Holy Trinity to tread the paths of life, and win the eternal crown. Some authors mention a medal of Alexander VI., with the same reverse.

* Cardinal d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen.

That, in consequence, our ambassadors have been recalled; that, nevertheless, we desire to make known to the cardinals our great grief, and how much we desire that a new pontiff may be elected adequate to the needs of Christendom and of Italy.

"That, knowing their disposition on that head, we offer them all our aid.

"To each you will address the language which you deem fitting, consistently with the instructions which you receive from our most reverend Cardinal Soderini, with whom you will confer before you fulfil your mission."

The first letter of Machiavelli is not to be found. By the second, bearing date Rome, 28th of October, he announces that he has had a conference with Cardinal d'Amboise, who accepts and reciprocates the affection of the republic.

On the 1st of November, Machiavelli writes: "Magnificent lords, I inform you, with the grace of God, that this morning the cardinal of Saint Peter *in vincoli* was proclaimed pope. May God make him a pastor serviceable to Christendom!"

At a later period, he writes that the creation and the publication were extraordinary.

"This pope," Machiavelli writes, "was elected in open conclave. Whoever will reflect upon the favors this cardinal has received must deem them miraculous. All the factions in the conclave were for him; the king of Spain and the king of France both wrote to the sacred college in his favor. The barons of the different parties lent him their support. Saint George (Riario da Savona) favored him, and so did the duke of Valentinois.* It is evident he has powerful friends, and it is said that that is because he has always been a *good friend*, and therefore has *good friends*."

On the 2d of November, the tent† sent Machiavelli fresh credentials for Pope Julius, and on the 8th, the Florentine secretary had an audience with the pontiff. Nicholas, in the name of the republic, congratulated the pope on his accession. Then, taking occasion to speak of the attacks upon Romagna meditated by the Venetians, he made this somewhat satirical reflection: "If the Venetians are successful there, then there will be no more liberty for Florence, and the pope will become chaplain to the Venetians." The duke of Valentinois, also, was attacked in the heart of his States. Machiavelli relates that, having an interview with Cardinal d'Amboise, the latter said: "Hitherto, God has allowed no crime to go unpunished; He will punish the crimes of this duke."‡

* This shows that Valentinois was no longer in the castle of Saint Angelo under the *guardia cortese*.

† The magistracy who governed the State under the direction of the gonfalonier Soderini. He was already master in the fashion of the Medicis, who, at a later date, after much fair speech, usurped all authority.

‡ The cardinal was right, but the crimes of the duke were twofold: some low and vile, con-

Julius said nothing about his plans. Machiavelli endeavored to penetrate the intentions of the pope and the influential cardinals as respected Valentinois, the impure dregs of a late reign, and destined to become the embarrassment of the new one. The Florentine well remarks that that *Romagnol* was not liked by the pope, who, however, feared to break faith with him. All were willing enough to drive him from Rome. It was required that he should embark at Ostia, and that his exacting and undisciplined army should go to Sinigaglia.

A letter of the 14th of November contains some particulars about the contagious disease which broke out at Rome at the very time of the election. Residence in that city had become perilous, because want of police and the neglect of the government allowed that scourge to extend its ravages. However, Machiavelli, relishing his post, evinced no desire to return to Florence. In another letter he speaks of the contagion thus indifferently, and almost gayly : "The pest does its duty right well ; it does not spare the houses of the cardinals, or any other in which it can have its own way. But no one cares much about it."

We must finish with Caesar Borgia.

Driven on by the pontifical government, which expelled him, and by the Tuscans, who refused him a safe conduct, he went so far as to say to Machiavelli, "I will make it up with my enemies the Venetians, or even *with the devil*. I will go to Pisa with all the money, troops, and friends that I can command, and I will do you all the harm that I possibly can do you."

Julius displayed great ability. He succeeded in getting rid of Valentinois, who was no more seen in Rome. Subsequently, a refugee in Spain, he perished at the siege of a city that he was sent to reduce.

In all quarters the first steps of Julius were waited for with anxiety.

By circular letters he notified all the sovereigns of his exaltation, and of his desire to abate the Turkish power ; and he entreated them to make peace among themselves.

At the same time, following the example of Alexander VI., who had allowed Manuel, king of Portugal, to marry in succession two sisters, Julius, on the 26th of December, 1503, granted to Henry VIII., son of the king of England, aged eighteen years, the necessary dispensation to marry Catharine, aged twenty-three years, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and widow of Arthur, elder brother of Henry. She had no children by Arthur, who married her when he was only fifteen, and who, on account of his delicate health, had never met her except in the midst of the English court. All these facts appear in the report which Julius ordered to be made to him.

fined to a town or castle ; some high, proud, insolent, crimes that are a public scourge, and are committed under the patronage of a foreign power. In the first class of crimes there is but one culprit, for the second class there are two.

Julius ascended the throne with the inflexible purpose of recovering all the possessions belonging of right to the Church. Accordingly, in 1504, he announced to Loredano, doge of Venice, that that republic must restore to the Holy See Faenza, Rimini, and other places which had been usurped since the death of Alexander VI. That pope had given to his nephew, Cæsar Borgia, a part of Romagna. He and Cæsar now promised to order his officers to restore the fortresses in that province; but the Venetians had also other restitutions to make on the frontiers of the same country.

Julius recalled the Colonnas from exile, and restored their lands, which Alexander had usurped. Then he gave his sister Luchina's daughter, Lucretia, in marriage to Antonio Colonna, and gave, as her marriage portion, the seignorial rights of the city of Frascati.

At length Forlì, in spite of the intrigues of Valentinois, returned to its legitimate owner.

Julius then persistently demanded Rimini and Ravenna from the Venetians, Perugia from Baglioni, and Bologna from Bentivoglio.

Henry VIII. of England, seeing that his paternal uncle, Henry VI., was honored as a saint by the English, asked leave from Julius to remove the body of that prince from the unfit tomb in which it had been laid by men envious of his virtues, to the royal burial-place in Westminster; and also besought the pope to canonize that prince. Julius willingly granted the first request; as to the second, following the example of Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., the pope ordered that the archbishop of Canterbury and three other prelates should obtain authentic information as to the virtues and miracles of the princely servant of God.

Louis XII. having recovered from a serious illness, under circumstances which had increased the devotion of the French, Julius ordered that solemn processions should be made in the kingdom in thanksgiving to God for the preservation of a good prince.

By a constitution, published on the 14th of January, 1505, the pope annulled the ulterior election of any pope, although already crowned and recognized by the nations, if the election is tainted by simony. He also ordered the deposition of cardinals who should be guilty of the like crime, and gave power to cardinals who had not been guilty of it to convoke a general council, and solicit the support of the secular princes against every pontiff thus elected. Michaud, in the *Biographie Universelle* (xx., p. 117), pronounces the following judgment upon this fact: "Julius was anxious to satisfy the requirements of his new dignity by a bull which annulled, for the future, every election of a pope tainted by intrigue or simony; fettering the ambition of those who might succeed him by a measure no longer applicable to himself."

We now come to one of the finest of this pope's labors. Julius, consider-

ing that, owing to its antiquity, the Basilica of Saint Peter had become ruinous, conceived in his vast mind the idea of building a temple worthy of the Prince of the Apostles. He was the first pontiff who could justly pride himself upon laying the foundation-stone of one of the most magnificent buildings in the world. He adopted the designs of Lazarus Bramante, who was succeeded in the direction of the buildings by Fra Jocondo di Verona, Raphael d'Urbino, Julius de San-Gallo, Michel Angelo Buonarroti, Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Jacopo della Porta, Carlo Maderno, Lorenzo Bernini, and Domenico and Carlo Fontana, all names dear to the arts, and especially so to the science of architecture.

The cost of this temple, says Novaes in a note,* reached, in 1694, the sum of forty-six millions of Roman crowns;† and that sum did not include the expenses of the models, of the demolished walls, of the tower erected by Urban VIII., nor the allowances of the workmen, and of the vestments of the altar.

France was at that time at peace with the Holy See, and she solicited and obtained privileges for the *Minims*, founded at Rome by Charles VIII. (See life of Callixtus III.) That order had been solemnly approved by the pontiffs Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI.

The Holy See recovered all that had been occupied by Cæsar Borgia. But the demands made upon the Baglioni, tyrants of Perugia, and the Bentivoglio, masters of Bologna, notwithstanding some appearances of success, had not the results which were so earnestly desired by Julian II. Leaving the cardinal-bishop of Frascati as his legate at Rome, he marched against Perugia at the head of an army. The Baglioni fled at the news of the pope's approach; and as he advanced upon Bologna the Bentivoglio made no greater resistance. The pope entered that city on the 10th of November, 1506, under thirteen triumphal arches. He had not a single battle, and his triumph cost not a single human life.

Machiavelli, the Florentine ambassador to Julius II., was an eye-witness of that campaign, and his account of it will be read with some interest.

The pope, after being assured of the consent of France and Venice, immediately began his march.‡ Machiavelli was at Civita Castellana on the 28th of August, and Julius gave him audience in presence of Cardinal Soderini. The secretary began by stating to the pope what were the basis of his instructions. He somewhat exaggerated them, stating that the republic beheld with pleasure the confirmation of the support of France, and applauded the courage and consistency of His Holiness on this occasion. He then deemed it expedient to read the instructions themselves, *word for*

* Novaes, vi., p. 144.

† The crown is about the same as our dollar.

‡ Machiavelli, *Son Génie et ses Erreurs*, vol. i., p. 148.

word. The pope listened very attentively both to the secretary's introductory speech and to the reading of the instructions; and then said that it appeared to him that the Florentines feared three things: 1. That the support of France was not certain; 2. That the Holy See might be lukewarm in this business; and, 3. That the Holy See might come to an agreement with Bentivoglio, and so either not drive him from Bologna, or, after expelling, allow him to return.

"To the first fear, the pope replied that he could give no better proof of the support of King Louis XII., than by producing his majesty's own handwriting; for his own part, he, the pope, was quite content with that prince's signature. He then asked the archbishop of Aix for the commission which he had brought from France. He showed the Florentine ambassador the French king's own signature, and read two articles concerning Bologna. His majesty urged His Holiness to make that expedition, *presto, presto*—quickly, quickly; and promised him the aid of four or five hundred lances, commanded by a valiant knight, Monseigneur d'Alègre, and the marquis of Mantua.

"To the second fear, the pope replied that he could not be accused of lukewarmness; that he was on the road, and that it was impossible to show greater warmth in the cause than by being there in person.

"To the third fear, the pontiff replied that he would not leave Bentivoglio at Bologna; that he, Bentivoglio, would not be so insane as to remain there as a private man; that the papal government would so arrange matters that Bentivoglio should never return to that city during the life of the present pope, and that Julius II. did not know what might after his death be done by another pope."

In the evening, Machiavelli having encountered His Holiness as he was going to visit the fortress of Civita Castellana, as a rare thing, His Holiness repeated to the Florentine, word for word, what had been said in the morning.

On the 13th of September, the pope entered Perugia in triumph. "But," says Machiavelli, "the troops of Bagliano are in greater force than those of the pope, who is thus at the discretion of the lord from whom he has just wrested his possessions.

"The pope continued on his way and reached San Marino,* and thence,

* That wisely administered republic has constantly been fortunate enough, even down to our own day, to make its independence respected. When the Austrian army marched against Naples, in 1820, it had to cross a part of the territory of San Marino, and the Austrian general officially asked permission to do so. In 1824, intriguing subalterns caused it to be feared, wrongly no doubt, that a neighboring power would molest that independence, until then respected. This circumstance having enabled me to render some service to that republic, it addressed me a patent declaring me inscribed upon its *Golden Book*, a testimonial which I received with equal gratification and gratitude. I believe that I am at present the only Frenchman on the Golden Book of San Marino—*i. e.*, in the lists of that republic's patricians.

Cesena. In that city two ambassadors from the emperor to the pope were announced, the cardinal-bishop of Brixen (Melchior Cops, created cardinal by Alexander VI., in 1503), and the marquis of Brandenburg, one of the ancestors of the present king of Prussia.

“In the mean time, Bolognese ambassadors arrived and were admitted to the presence of the pope. They kissed his feet, and retired without uttering a word. On the following day, in a long discourse, they endeavored to touch his feelings by describing their former absolute dependence upon the Holy See. They quoted the treaties made by that city with many pontiffs, treaties confirmed by Julius himself, and they complacently alluded to the polite conduct of their citizens, their religious feelings, and their submission to the laws. The pope replied, that if that people was submissive to the State of the Church, it was no more than was its duty, for such was its covenanted obligation, and the Holy See was as good a master as the people could be faithful subjects. His Holiness had come in person to deliver the people from their tyrants. That with respect to treaties, the pope would go into no examination of what had been done by other popes or by himself, for they and he could only act as they did; that necessity, and not choice, had decided the confirmations that had been obtained: that it was time to revise the treaties; that it seemed to him that he should be inexcusably guilty before God if he were to neglect that revision, and that he came for that purpose. That he desired the happiness of Bologna; that therefore he would personally enter Bologna: that if he found laws that pleased him, he would confirm them—if otherwise, he would alter them; and that if arms were needed to effect it, he would come with forces to dominate not only Bologna but all Italy.”

We make this extract from the correspondence of Machiavelli, in order to show the vigorous policy of Julius. He owed all the advantage obtained in this war to France. From that time, with the exception of the brief existence of the Cisalpine Republic, and of the kingdom of Italy, Bologna has always acknowledged the supremacy of the popes.

At the commencement of the following year, the pope returned to Rome and made a promotion of cardinals, among whom was the celebrated Ximenes, who for a long time was prime minister of Spain, and was justly renowned as one of the ablest statesmen of the time.

Cardinal Carvajal, pontifical legate, had the happiness to induce the Emperor Maximilian and the king of France to sign a peace. At that time the Venetians had invaded Trieste and the county of Gorizia, and the Holy Father had not obtained the restitutions that he had called for; and therefore he did not hesitate to give his adhesion to the treaty of Cambray, the object of which was to humble the pride of Venice.

In that treaty, which the king of Spain approved, Julius was engaged to

lay an interdict on Venice and its possessions. In this case the excommunication was not the work of the pope; it was called for by three of the most powerful princes of Europe, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain, which proves yet once again that the much-calumniated measure of excommunication was *part and parcel of the jurisprudence of the age*.

The Venetians, in spite of the bull of Pius II., which forbade that kind of resistance, appealed to a future council. The pope condemned their appeal by an edict of 1509, adding the gravest censures. The battle of Agnadello, which was gained by the French, and in which the Venetians lost eight thousand of their best troops, compelled the republic to make peace, to restore Brescia, Bergamo, Como, and Cremona, and to ask the Holy Father's pardon, promising him that they would restore the usurped territories, and make many concessions serviceable to ecclesiastical discipline and the maintenance of the pontifical authority.

In 1510, the Venetian embassy appointed to effect this reparation arrived at Rome. The pope, seated on his throne, at the door of the Vatican Basilica, pronounced absolution from the penalties incurred, only imposing the penance of visiting the seven churches. It was noticed that Julius, on this occasion, ordered that the ambassadors should not receive the slight blow with a wand, usually given to those who received absolution from censures or excommunication.

The pope subsequently declared that, in order to show himself really the common father of the faithful, he should retire from the league of Cambray. This time it was the lay powers that persisted in the application of ecclesiastical penalties, and the spiritual power that abstained from prolonging them.

But those weapons were not to sleep. The French wished the pope to remain in the league of Cambray; and at the same time were for protecting the duke of Ferrara, a feudatory of the Holy See, who refused to restore the salt-works of Cammachio to the pope. An army of Louis XII. aided the resistance of the duke. Julius excommunicated the commanders of that army, and this first discord led to fatal results.

In order to support his censures by his presence, Julius repaired to Bologna.

Some of the French and Spanish cardinals disapproved of the pope's course. These cardinals were men whom it was prudent to respect. Among them were Carvajal, William Brissonet, Francis Borgia, Renaud de Prié, and Frederic di San Severino. It must be added, that their opposition was not expressed in sufficiently guarded terms.

Louis XII. also shared a marked desire to know the pontifical authority. He consulted his clergy at Orleans, and then at Tours, where decisions were arrived at that were but little favorable to the rights of Julius. The pope

now thought it necessary to draw to his side the Catholic king, Ferdinand V. Louis XII., since the death of Charles VIII., had not done homage and made oath for the kingdom of Naples, which he possessed; and he had alienated many of the rights of that kingdom without the consent of the papal agents, and even in their presence and in spite of their absolute prohibition. Julius, exerting his ancient right, declared that the seignories of Naples and Gaeta had reverted to the Holy See, and he gave them to Ferdinand, under the known conditions, thus annulling the compacts between the pontiff and the Most Christian king.

The pope personally continued an active war in the neighborhood of Ferrara, and after a defeat he retired to Bologna. There he was in danger of falling into the hands of the Marshal de Chaumont, commanding the French army. The pope was afterwards nearly made prisoner by the Chevalier Bayard; but the weather being stormy, Julius suspended his journey, and turned back, thus avoiding the towns in which the chevalier awaited him. Among the blessings granted to "the good knight Bayard, *without fear and without reproach*," was that of his failure in that enterprise. It would have been a most deplorable success for Bayard, especially if the passions of that unhappy time had not left him free to follow the promptings of the generous sentiments which we doubt not would have been awakened in him at sight of such a prisoner. It may be feared that the military would have fettered the Christian, and perhaps have tarnished some pages of a life so beautiful and worthy of admiration in the sight of men and of religion. It is but too certain that Bayard would not then have been able to say to his sword what he said to it when he knighted Francis I.: "You are fortunate to have this day knighted so virtuous and powerful a king! Certes, my good sword, you will be much better kept and honored, and I shall wield you no more, unless against Turks, Saracens, or Moors."

We cannot omit to notice here a compact honorable to Julius. For many years, the houses of the Colonna and Orsini had lived in a state of suspicion, discord, and even hatred, which had disturbed many pontiffs. Under Julius those two illustrious houses swore a perpetual peace, by an act signed at the capitol, on the 27th of August, 1511. The pontiff, in honor of this happy event, had a medal struck, on the exergue of which were these words, honorable to those powerful princes: *PAX ROMANA*.*

At this time the schismatic cardinals (we are compelled to use that phrase) convoked a conciliabule at Pisa. There they drew up several charges against the pontiff. Among the things charged were, that he had gained the pontificate by improper means, for the purpose of fomenting discords

* Unfortunately, we cannot describe this medal at the end of this reign, the die being lost. Probably it was broken in consequence of some new quarrels between these families.

among Christian princes ; and that he had neglected to execute the decree of the Council of Constance, which ordered that a council should be assembled every ten years. It might have been answered, that that decree had been neglected by the predecessors of Julius because experience had shown that the frequency of councils caused more disorders in the Church, so few bishops attending them, and thus men prone to revolt had opportunity to demand new and often mischievous institutions.

It is true that many authors have accused Julius of obtaining the pontificate by gifts, promises, entreaties, and threats ; and the *Biographie Universelle*, cited above, shares that opinion. But Novaes quotes Father Oldoini, who, in his appendices to Chacon (vol. iii., p. 143), maintains the accusation to be a calumny. Julius, says he, was magnificent, liberal, a great lover of the truth, and a zealous defender of ecclesiastical liberty and of the pontifical dignity ; such were his claims which raised him to the pontificate. He would not during his reign have been so great an enemy to simony if he had become pope by that means, nor would he so sternly have condemned the simoniacs.

Formal interdict was pronounced against the city of Pisa.

The people expelled the cardinals who had brought such a misfortune upon the city. The cardinals then removed their congress to Milan. But, there the clergy spontaneously closed the churches against them, and they were obliged to go to Lyons, which ere long was laid under interdict.

Julius was undismayed by the threats of the conciliabule of Pisa, which in its best day was but a revival of the most degraded period of the conciliabule of Bâle, with a mixture of that of Lausanne.

That courageous pontiff infused new order into his troops. That means was then indispensable ; the strictest mind must confess that. He summoned to him his allies, and preserved to himself that high degree of power to which he had raised the authority of the sovereign pontiffs.

Heedless of peril, he rejoined his troops, accompanied by only three cardinals, and he ventured to lay siege to Mirandola. He took up his quarters in a peasant's cot, exposed to the fire of the artillery of the fortress. In the depth of winter (I rapidly recount facts, and do not pause for discussions), at the age of seventy, he went by night from post to post ; he urged on the works,* and encouraged the soldiers ; often several of his servants were stricken down at his side. At length the city, despairing of relief, surrendered, and he, the conquering general, entered the breach like some young soldier of twenty years.

At length, doubtless by the advice of the pious cardinal del Monte, more pontifical sentiments prevailed. It was resolved in the sacred college that

* Novaes, vi., p. 157.

council should be opposed to council, as had been done in the time of Eugene IV., against the fathers of Bâle. And by a bull of the 18th of July, 1511, a general council, the nineteenth, was convoked for the 19th of April, 1512, in the palace of Saint John Lateran. But it could not be commenced until the 3d of May, because in the month of April the French took the cities of Faenza, Imola, and Forli, and because a conspiracy was discovered for the expulsion of the pope from Rome.

The Holy Father presided over the labors of the council, which was not concluded until the reign of Leo X., in the year 1517. In the mean time, Julius signed a league with the emperor, the king of Spain, and the king of England, against Louis XII. The last-named king was again excommunicated in 1512, at the request of the allies. But already the pope began to feel the approaches of death; he was suffering under an incurable disorder. On the 17th of August, he fell so seriously ill that for some time his servants thought life extinct. The report of his death spread so rapidly, that some of the malcontent cardinals entered Rome. Some seditious people, headed by Pompey Colonna, incited the populace to demand their ancient liberties,—only another word, in the existing circumstances, for new disasters to Rome. Julius was restored to consciousness by his physician, Scipio Lancelloti, who administered a peach. He immediately summoned the cardinals around him. He pardoned his nephew, the duke of Urbino, for a grave offence the pontiff had received from him—no less than the death of Cardinal Alidosi, ordered by the duke. But, says Novaes, in this instance an imprudent flatterer, there was no time to recur to the formalities of law.* Julius declared to the cardinals that it was for them alone, and not for the council, to name his successor; that they could grant the right of voting to the absent cardinals, but not to the schismatic cardinals. By these latter he meant the heads of the Council of Pisa. As regarded these, he added: “As Julian de Rovera, *I* pardon them in all sincerity of heart; but as Julius, head of the Church, *we* must vindicate our right, and *we* exclude them from the election.”

He then turned his thoughts to the mode of electing his successor. He confirmed the constitution we described some pages back, which invalidated every election stained by simony, even though followed by a coronation and official recognition by the States of Christendom. Julius then resumed his usual occupations, but with weakened faculties and sinking health. He died on the 21st of February, 1513, after a reign of nine years, three months, and twenty days. He had received the sacraments with marks of the greatest piety, and regulated his funeral, excluding all magnificence. He was at first interred at the Vatican, beside the tomb of his uncle, Sixtus

* Novaes, vi., p. 128.

IV., whence he was removed into a magnificent mausoleum, the admirable work of Michael Angelo, at Saint Peter *in vinculis*.

Some authors declare this tomb to be only a cenotaph, and say that Julius was interred in the vaults of Saint Peter's. Writers who describe the monuments of that basilica say that Julius still remains there. Every one who has visited Rome knows that on this tomb, at Saint Peter *in vinculis*, stands the statue of Moses, the finest piece of modern sculpture, of which we shall speak more in detail.

The glory of Julius was in its zenith. He had filled Italy and all Europe with his renown: he saw at his feet the most powerful of his enemies. The cardinal of Luxemburg, one of the first who had abandoned the party of the revolt, asked for peace in the name of Louis XII. Queen Anne, who shuddered at the mere name of schism, and the duke de Valois, afterwards King Francis I., wrote to the pope in terms of the most pious submission. But the melancholy spectacle of the tomb, says Novaes,* threw its dark shadows over all the objects which had agitated the life of the pontiff; and in his last moments he said: "Would to God that we had never been pope, or at least that we could have turned all the arms of religion against the enemies of the Holy See!" In this last penitent wish there was still the old passion for military glory.

Julius was of unconquerable fortitude in adversity, and implacable towards rebels; and he would not brook a single affront. On the other hand, he was liberal, courteous, faithful to his word, magnificent, constant, and an indomitable defender of ecclesiastical liberty and the papal dignity.

His memory has been attacked by many writers. The most furious of those unjust men was Peter Soave, in his detestable History of the Council of Trent. Novaes here indulges in some reflections upon the adventurous nature of Julius. Was he the first warrior-pope? Saint Leo III., after crowning Charlemagne, made a treaty with him for the expulsion of the Lombards and other enemies of the Church from Italy. Other popes followed his example. Saint Leo IV. drove the Saracens from Ostia. Leo IX. personally fought the Normans, to expel them from Benevento. He was unfortunately beaten and made prisoner. Clement IV. summoned Charles of Anjou to vanquish the obstinacy of Manfred, who retained the fief of Naples, belonging to the Holy See. Innocent II. took arms against Roger, count of Sicily, who had subjected Apulia; but this pontiff also was defeated, and fell into the hands of William, the son of Roger. Innocent VI., by means of his legate, Albornoz, recovered part of his States; and Pius II. personally marched against the Turks.† However, it may be the

* Novaes, vi., p. 160.

† There is a book by Henry Louis de Rocheperay, entitled as follows: "An Apology against

peaceful doctrine of our modern popes, as we shall see further on, is worthy of the highest praise; and affection will be more readily granted to such popes as Pius VII. than to such as Julius II. It must not be forgotten that Julius sought to punish rebels, and recover provinces that other princes would have usurped, and that they would certainly have never restored to the Holy See.

Friends to the glory and the virtues of Louis XII. of France have been unjust to Julius. It is difficult to find so good a king as Louis XII. less than admirable under all circumstances; but it must not be concealed that that prince, in his religious wars, followed the advice of ardent and interested ministers, whose conduct the stern tribunal of history must often condemn.

Julius II. was the first pope who allowed his beard to grow, to give himself a more majestic and imposing appearance; he was imitated by Francis V., and afterwards by Charles V. That fashion passed to the courtiers, and from them to the multitude. Feller,* at the end of his article on Julius, gives the following judgment:

"John Stella, in his *Lives of the Popes*, paints this pontiff in the fairest colors; nothing can be added to the praises that he bestows upon him. Other writers give a frightful account of Julius. One can scarcely rely upon what authors say of the great men who have lived in troublous times; each speaks of them in the spirit of party. However, our own opinion is, that *the sublimity of his station was forgotten by this pope*. He did not perceive what his wise successors in our days so well understand, that the Roman pontiff is the common Father, and that he should be the arbiter of peace, and not the firebrand of war."

It is not true that Julius *one day threw into the Tiber the keys of Saint Peter to use only the sword of Saint Paul*, as so many historians, both Catholic and Protestant, have affirmed, after the scurrilous verse of a poor satirical poet.

It is a mere invention of the enemies of religion and of the popes. Bayle quotes the verses in question, as follows:

Cum Petri nihil efficiant ad praelia claves,
Auxilio Pauli, forsitan ensis erit.

From an unfriendly supposition, a fact is manufactured. It should be condemned to the sewer, that swarms with libels on popes.

The Holy See was vacant seventeen days.†

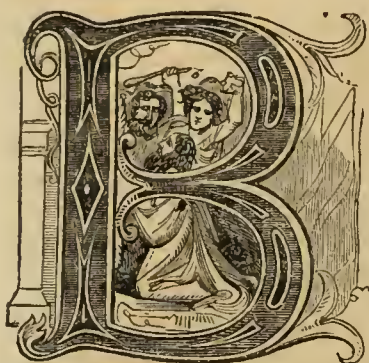
those who affirm that Ecclesiastics ought not to resort to arms in case of necessity." 1615. 8vo
We do not think this book of much authority.

* Feller, iii., p. 177.

† I will now notice some of the medals of Julius which adorn my collection.

I have three of them, all bearing the same effigy. The head of the pope is bare. Around

221. LEO X.—A. D. 1513.



BEFORE we enter upon the great age of Leo X., we will take a retrospective glance.

Alexander IV., like most of his predecessors, endeavored to reconcile the Greek to the Latin Church. Urban IV. instituted the feast of Corpus Christi; under Clement IV., and in spite of him, politicians committed an odious crime, punished by a no less cruel Sicilian conspiracy.

All pious hearts should grieve over the fate of Louis IX., who died holily before Tunis.

two of these medals are the words: IVLIVS LIGVR PAPA SECVNDVS. Around the third, after the word Papa, is the word SECVNDVS.

The first represents the façade of Saint Peter, as it was at first designed. On the exergue: VATICANVS MONS. By the advice of Bramante and Michael Angelo, Julius ordered a new façade for Saint Peter's. All the central portion is preserved as it was then built; but on the sides there are towers which no longer exist. The die for this medal is split at the part representing the portico, and does not give a clear and correct idea of the monument. The second medal was struck at the time of the restoration of the port of Civita Vecchia, PORTVS CENTVMCELLÆ.

In the centre is a very high tower, built on piles, which must have served as an observatory. It does not now exist in that form.

Around the third medal we read: BENEDIC. QVI VENIT. IN. NO. D.—*Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.* In the middle of the field the oak, the cognizance of the Roveras, as we have already described in a medal of Sixtus IV. They are surmounted by the tiara and the crossed keys.

Du Molinet gives other medals. 1. IVSTITIÆ PACIS FIDEL. Q. RECVPERATOR. Justice clasps the hand of Peace before an altar on which burns the sacred fire. 2. IVR. REDD.—*Juri Reddo—I restore to right.* Near the church of Saint Blaise, Julius laid the first stone of a building intended to serve as the supreme court. It is no longer in existence, and is replaced by the palace of Monte Citerio, near the pillar of Antoninus. 3. CONTRA STIMVLVM NE CALCITRES—*Do not kick against the goad.* This medal must refer to the war of Julius against Alphonso, duke of Ferrara. A man on horseback about to be overthrown. Near the horse is a buckler, with the letters S. P. Q. R.—*The Roman senate and people.* Two figures in front of the horse seem to animate him to a forward course. 4. Justice and Plenty join hands. 5. PEDO SERVATAS OVES AD REQUIEM AGO—*With a crook I lead to their rest the lambs that I have saved.* The city of Rome; a triumphal gate; above, a sun; a shepherd leading his flock; Justice and Time before a palace surmounted by a lofty tower, flanked by two smaller towers. 7. TEMPLVM VIRGINIS LAVRETI—*The Temple of the Virgin of Loretto.* A very beautiful temple, but it is not that which we now admire in that magnificent sanctuary. 8. ANNONA PVBLICA. A woman walking swiftly with ears of wheat and an olive-branch. 9. TVTELA. A shepherd seated, with a crook; sheep right and left. 10. I mention another very interesting medal which is not given in Du Molinet. PASCITE, QVI IN VOBIS EST, GREGEM DEI—*Feed the flock that God hath given to you.*

Christ seated, blesses a kneeling pope, to whom Saint Peter delivers the keys.

That medal tells the whole history of Christianity, and of the rights of the pontifical government.





The Blessed Gregory X. heroically places in the pages of history the august family of Rodolph of Hapsburg, which bore so eminent a part in guaranteeing the exarchate of Ravenna to the Holy See. That noble race has firmly kept the promise given by the founder of that illustrious dynasty.

Martin II. excommunicated Paleologus, who kept up the schism which had been abjured by the Greeks in the General Council of Lyons. Under Nicholas IV. the Christians lost the city of Saint Jean d'Acre, in Syria. That only rendered the pontiffs more ardent in showing the crusaders that their banners ought to wave before Jerusalem.

Boniface VIII. canonized Louis IX. The pontiff essayed to display, in a bull, brilliant in its pure latinity, all the sublime virtues of that hero of the faith. His all but celestial virtues are even more brilliant than the exquisitely Ciceronian latinity in which they are described. The renewal of the Jubilee is due to Boniface VIII. Tens of thousands of pilgrims hastened to Rome.*

The bull, *IN CÆNA DOMINI*, is attributed to Boniface VIII. After being unfavorably judged for centuries that never read it, it will now, perhaps, be better appreciated.

In the city of Anagni, a Roman subject, confiding in his wealth, in the splendor of his name, and in the protection of a powerful king, insulted Boniface while seated on his throne, in his sacred robes and tiara. God watched over the pontifical dignity; no one dared to strike at the pontiff. A Frenchman has been accused of doing so. That Frenchman was capable of doing it, but he did not commit that crime, hateful alike to religion, to common propriety, and to the respect due to the aged. Some annalists persist in attributing that disgrace to him, but history contradicts them. That crime was *not* committed, either by the rebellious subject or the councillor of a foreign monarch.

The Blessed Benedict XI. forgives the king who had persecuted Boniface. Benedict is poisoned, and that crime throws the papacy upon the unworthy road to Avignon.

Clement V. will not trust his life in the hands of the Roman people. He has been, but unjustly, accused of many acts of simony.

The pope summoned to France the grand master of the Templars, and the head of the Hospitallers (the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem). The grand master of the Templars obeys, but, without the pope's know-

* At present, it seems to be feared that Catholics may have too much enjoyment. Rome still throws her gates wide open. But the other gates leading to her from all parts are closely shut, or at best but set ajar, so that they may come only in single file, so great is the liberty on the subject of religion! Pilgrims in travelling carriages drawn by four horses can come freely enough, it is true; but the pedestrian pilgrim with staff and scrip passes not so easily.

ledge that obedience becomes a mischief. The master of the Knights Hospitallers, who, on his way, attacked the island of Rhodes, was at once less obedient, and more prudent and able. If the Templars had made Cyprus their property, or any other and even smaller island, the misfortunes of their order would probably have been less fatal. Their possessions in France might still have been confiscated, but the lives of the knights would have been safe; and, life being preserved, lost property can always, God aiding, be replaced. We must regret that Villaret, grand master of the Hospitallers, labored too exclusively in the conquered islands for his own glory, and for his own personal aggrandizement, and by that censurable conduct excited a justifiable spirit of revolt in that fiery aristocratic republic, in which a sovereign can hold power only on condition of respecting the right of election and the laws of the State. We shall shortly see Helyon de Villeneuve better comprehending the glorious secret of the pontificate, receiving the crown from the head of Catholicism, and leaving it pure in the hands of the Bailli elected to succeed him.

But the king who allowed Boniface to be insulted, calls upon Clement to insult the memory of that pontiff. The fault, the imprudence, the timidity, and the too lively attachment to life which caused the abandonment of Rome still existed. But that skill which had been transmitted from his predecessors, something apostolic which had ascended the Rhine, and the impossibility of subscribing an iniquitous compact, strengthened Clement in his resistance. He used his right; Boniface was defended, and as the injustice of the period would compel him to allow Boniface to be accused, at least he was able to secure his acquittal. Philip lost his case, and well it was for his memory that he did so. It was enough that in plotting against the Holy See, and still meditating grievous wrong against the Templars, he did not himself incur the severest condemnation. The tamperer with the currency, who thus reversed all the laws of commercial confidence, left Boniface in peace, and did not renew the persecution which at a later period might have served as a welcome rather than as an odious precedent. As yet, we have come only to the trial of kings and queens.

Boniface, then, was still recognized as having been a true pontiff. Prince Gaetani of Anagni was saved by a noble Aquitanian, born in the diocese of Bordeaux. Clement V., exposed as he was to be forced to bend beneath the political yoke of France, yet, in spite of the king of that country, could recognize Henry of Luxemburg as legitimate emperor. To the glory of Avignon, it must be confessed that the rights and the proprieties of the Holy See, under such circumstances, could have been no better protected at Rome herself. We can say here neither more nor otherwise than we have already said about the condemnation and execution of the Templars. History has already said much upon that subject, but history has not yet

developed all. And it must be added, that if the pope had been in Rome the condemnation of the Templars would not have been so easy. Let us pass from that dark and sanguinary scene. The first of the Templars were arrested in 1307. Clement had just begun to reign. In the Council of Paris, in 1310, fifty-four of those religious brethren and chivalrous soldiers were condemned and *burned by the civil courts*.^{*} Afterwards four more, and then nine more, were condemned. But in the Councils of Mentz, Treves, and Ravenna, countries enjoying greater freedom, they were declared innocent. The Holy See must have influenced men's minds to make that generous declaration. On the 11th of March, 1314, the death-songs had ceased. Clement, who had long been sick, died on the 20th of April, thirty-nine days after the execution of the Templars; and Philip the Fair died on the 29th of November of the same year, 1314. If the Templars were entirely innocent, they were avenged in the course of the same year; and if they were guilty on some points, their judges did not long survive, the one his rigor, and the other his subserviency. As I have elsewhere said, as the *study of facts* is now so courageously practised, it is possible that documents may be discovered that will throw some light upon that grave and terrible historical question. At all events, a favorable hearing is secured for those who believe that the condemnation was pitiless, and that the scales were not equally balanced in the hands of justice in that trial of men who had so eminently served religion, and who unhesitatingly had shed their blood in so many honorable battles.

In 1317, John XXII. canonized another Louis, bishop of Toulouse, brother of Charles II. of Naples.

Under the same reign the Teutonic Knights were accused. More fortunate, or perhaps more powerful than the Templars, they, belonging to a princely caste, obtained a patronage which, after all, was but another death. Some of them subsequently embraced the Protestant religion, others yielded their last breath to a dynasty which embraced them, indeed, in its powerful arms, but left them no separate existence, lost as they were into the ranks of the nobility of that country in which all are brave, and in which they could not preserve that independence which, for a time, the Hospitallers had enjoyed. These had carried from one illustrious isle to another, not less celebrated, the immense renown which at length was only terminated by a political earthquake.

The great career of Saint Thomas is one of the glories that surround the reign of John XXII.

Benedict XII., born in a low condition, was none the less one of the most

^{*} At that time all capital crimes were punished by *burning*. That kind of execution must not be attributed to the Inquisition. It was the frightful capital punishment in those days, whatever the condemnation.

honorable of Catholic pontiffs. Urban V. determined to go to Rome; but Rome failed to retain him. Gregory IX. excommunicated Barnabo Visconti, and thus taught Europe that there are some crimes of princes that only a pope can punish, and that in such case other monarchs will applaud the sentence. No other sovereign has the mission openly to repress guilt that terrifies the whole world.

Gregory XI., following the example of Urban V., desired to visit Rome. That city had then a population of only 17,000 souls. An accurate account of the statistics shows that, under her popes, Rome always flourishes, and has a numerous population. Gregory XVI. left to Pius IX. his Rome with a population of 170,000.

Avignon, like some melancholy shade—Avignon, always innocent of revolt, seemed so calm and seductive to Gregory XI. that he was about to quit Rome, but death came, and prevented him from committing that error. It is with regret that we advert to the time of the schism that was to disturb the peninsula and all Europe.

Urban VI. was an Italian; a false Clement VII. was set up against him.

Boniface IX., with the magnanimity of a true pope, resisted the new attacks of the Romans. An antipope, calling himself Benedict XIII., agitated the life of the true sovereign.

Innocent VII., a Neapolitan, is elected by seven cardinals of the obedience of Boniface IX.

We cannot cast a second glance upon the disasters which overwhelmed Gregory XII., deposed by a rebellious council at Pisa, against that peace-loving pope, and renouncing his authority in the fourteenth session of the Council of Constance.

John XXIII. thought it his duty also to yield to the powerful will of that council, and Martin V. (Colonna) was elected. That reign of reparation, and of return to sound principle, to prudent and regular ideas, was a happy reign, after so many griefs and troubles.

We now come to a reign in which the arts already began to flourish. We here begin the medallion series by this pope, conscious that not unfrequently medals are a reign struck in bronze.

Eugene IV. beheld at his feet the emperor of Constantinople and the emperor of Germany.

He loved war, and actually wept when he spoke of the growing power of the Mussulman in Asia.

Nicholas V. celebrated the Jubilee in 1450. Under this great pope learning revived in splendor. He caused many Greek works to be translated. He endeavored to enlist the Christian monarchs in the cause of Catholicity against the Mussulman. But he could not dispel the lukewarmness of the princes, and he died of the grief he felt at their dissensions. The

first pope of the name of Borgia (Callixtus III.), was a pope who did honor to his dignity, and whose virtues, knowledge, and unselfishness are worthy of all praise. He it was, who, by his advice and encouragement, raised the siege of Belgrade, that outwork of Christendom, when it was besieged by Mahomet at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand Turks. But though we owe him these praises, we nevertheless must confess that he was too partial to his nephews, and made no good use of the goods of the Church.

We are not inclined to derogate from the glory of Pius II. ; on the contrary, we have taken particular care to display the great genius of that pope. He retracted his ill-advised writings before his elevation. He was about to depart for the Holy Land. He had done all that God willed him to do. Arrived at Ancona, he sank under his fatigue, but not till he had shown what a man of heart and brain can do, even when aged. The Venetians, learning that Pius would embark on their fleet, hastened, with the doge at their head, to enjoy so wonderful a spectacle. If the pope could have got as far even as the Morea, the crusaders would probably have recovered a portion of that which the Turks had torn from the Greeks, who had no better defended their islands than they had the capital of their kingdom.

Paul II. was a pontiff of magnificent habits ; his whole reign was blessed by all Christendom.

In 1475, Sixtus IV. celebrated the great Jubilee. We must deplore the scenes which accompanied the conspiracy of the Pazzi against the Medicis. There are some things which, though not fully comprehended, are yet sufficiently noted to tarnish an otherwise glorious reign. If, subsequently, greedy nephews endeavored to pillage the property of the Church, it ought to be, if it is not, well considered whether virtues, talents, truth, Catholic zeal, and earnest Catholic works, and great benefits to Rome, should not be taken as great offsets against the errors with which the tiara ought never to be reproached.

Under the pontificate of Innocent VIII., Christopher Columbus discovered America, giving new motives for vigilance and labor on the part of the Holy See.

Another Borgia was to reign. With him came nephews, monsters ; with them came crimes and abominations.

Charles VIII. seems about to enter Italy. A Turkish prince, claiming the rights of hospitality, perishes miserably. If a crime has been committed, public disgust will brand it. The Jubilee of the year 1300 will produce new circumstances. The piety of Christendom will be manifested from all quarters. This pope ascended the throne at a fearful time. Let us see what Voltaire says upon that point : "The long quarrel between the emperors and the popes," says Voltaire, "the obstinate struggle of Roman

liberty against the German emperors and the Roman popes, the frequent schisms, and, finally, the great Western schism,* forbade the popes, elected amidst so much disturbance, to show the virtues with which peaceable times would have inspired them. Might not the corruption of manners reach them also? All men are moulded by the time in which they live. Few rise above the morality of their time. The crimes into which several popes were drawn, and their scandals, authorized and caused by the general scandal and evil example, cannot be buried in oblivion. What can be learned from a description of their vices and disorders? *It teaches how fortunate Rome is since decency and peace preside there.*"†

Pius III. ably rescued Rome from the tyranny of Cæsar Borgia, who seemed to revive the reign of Alexander VI. His usurpation was destroyed, and a similarly tyrannical nepotism has never since diffused the like terror.

We have now reached the reign of Julius II. He was not the first warrior pope. By his strong and perhaps haughty temper he induced the French to grant him a support which, possibly, they would have refused to

* Under Alexander VI. the embers of the fire were scarcely cooled. There was already some little civilization, but there was still much crime.

† Voltaire, *Histoire Generale*, vol. iv., 8vo, p. 468, Desoër's edit., Paris, 1817. No doubt, by this quotation, we shall, in the estimation of our enemies, depreciate the reign of Alexander, but just as surely we shall much exalt, in the opinion of our friends, the angelic glory of Pius IX.

Monsignor Marchetti, archbishop of Anticyra, cites, as I do, the passage of Voltaire, page 175, vol. ii., of the *Critique* on Fleury, 8vo, Rome, 1820. The archbishop adds this note: "Voltaire lived at a time when he could skim rather than read (reading, properly so called, was not his fashion), the thirty-six volumes of Fleury; and perhaps it might be suspected that his levity made him impartial towards the popes. Another writer, *ejusdem furfuris*, professes to have read Fleury more attentively, and he has left us his own testimony to his own experience. It is with some reluctance that I quote it here, so much does it alarm one as to certain consequences that may follow from the bitter gall which, surely without foreseeing those consequences, Fleury scattered over his pages. I speak of the celebrated Count Alfieri. In his *Life*, which prefaces the edition bearing date, Italy, 1809, at page 81, speaking of the studies of his early youth, the count says: "I devoured the thirty-six volumes of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*; I read them with a perfect fury, nearly all through, and I even proceeded to make extracts from them, in the French language, and with these extracts I proceeded as far as the eighteenth book. It was that book that destroyed all my belief in priests, and all that is theirs."

Further on, Alfieri, page 113, speaks of an interview which, in 1767, he was honored with by Pope Clement XIII. The count says: "The handsome old man, of a venerable majesty, and the local magnificence of the palace of Monte Cavallo, produced so much effect upon me, that I did not shrink from the customary prostration and the kissing of the foot, although I had read the *Ecclesiastical History*, and well knew what that foot was worth.

— ' *Chi vuol sapere appieno
Se fu saggio il cultor, guardi il terreno—
He who the farmer's skill would know,
Must keenly look upon the earth below.*' "

Alfieri often mentioned that interview to Madame the countess of Albany, who repeated it, adding that Alfieri was much changed.

a less determined pope. Had Julius been weak, timid, and inclined to trust for safety to his Italian neighbors, he doubtless would have lost some part of the patrimony of Saint Peter. The French granted their aid, sent their most distinguished generals, including Bayard, for an expedition under the personal command of a pope; but, unless under precisely identical circumstances, the example should not be followed. However, the campaigns of that pope should be read as they are reported by the most celebrated publicist of that day, the Florentine secretary, Machiavelli.

Let us honor Julius, who was invincible in adversity, and who so boldly made war upon those same French; and let us now at length prepare to speak of Leo X. Let us be prepared with admiration, with enthusiasm; let us prepare the most brilliant for that picture which others have already attempted, and which neither they nor we can finish. A glory was wanting to the Holy See. Pericles had given his name to his age: Augustus had the same honor. A pope named Medicis saw the most poignant griefs inflicted upon the religion that was intrusted to his care; and at the same time, by his talents, virtues, and what Dante emphatically calls his superhuman generosity, that same pope deserved to have his name transmitted to the most distant posterity as the very type of magnificence. And even after the glory of Louis XIV., who is emphatically called the great king, Leo will merit the tribute of a universal glory, alike before those faithful to him, and those perverse sons who misunderstood their father and their friend.

Leo X., originally named John de Medicis, was born at Florence on the 11th of December, 1475, a year before Michael Angelo, who was born at Chiusa, in the same country. The father of John was Lorenzo de Medicis, surnamed the Magnificent; his mother was Clara, or Clarissa, of the great family of the Orsini.

Louis XI., king of France, granted to John, while he was still very young, the dignity of archbishop; and Innocent VIII., who, when John was only seven years old, had named him apostolic prothonotary, created him cardinal when he was only fourteen, but under the condition that he was not to bear the insignia of the cardinalate until three years later, in 1492. That honor was in compliment to Lorenzo, because he had given his daughter Magdalen in marriage to Franceschetto Cibo, son of the same pontiff.

John, in the same year, was named legate and appointed to reside at Florence.

Julius II. afterwards sent John as legate in Romagna. There he was obliged to be present at the celebrated battle of Ravenna, in 1512. Cardinal John, who had the entire confidence of Julius, and was in command of his troops, was encamped at Budrio, and prepared to relieve Brescia. Unfortunately, his lieutenants spent more time to take counsel than it cost

Gaston de Nemours to take a citadel.* It was only the aged Julius II. who was able to rival in activity a young man of twenty-four.

Gaston was not only a captain of prodigious activity, he was also endowed with great penetration. Fearlessly exposing Brescia, he offered battle to the Spaniards. Fabricius Colonna and Navarra,† who occupied a formidable position on a height, where the artillery, especially commanded by the latter, and well served, endeavored to check the *furia Francese*.‡ But when the hostile banners, commanded by Gaston, were seen, a thrill ran through the till then motionless masses. The soldiers broke their ranks, rushed to the tent of Cardinal John de Medicis, and knelt to implore his blessing, which the cardinal gave with a silver cross blessed by the pope. This pious spectacle could be seen from the French camp. We shall call it to mind at a fatal moment in the reign of Clement VII. Gaston was eager to fight; but Yves d'Allègre prudently restrained his young friend, pointing out to him those kneeling masses of soldiers whose beards were blanched in a hundred fights, and made him take note of the sloping ground which was so favorable to artillery practice. The battle was deferred. The whole of the allied army was under the command of the cardinal,§ as head of the holy league. He had neither sword nor coat of mail; his costume was that proper to his rank, a red robe, a pectoral cross, and the *berretta*. Mounted on a white horse, he passed from the Spanish ranks to the Italian ranks, saluting the officers, and encouraging the soldiers, and exhorting all to do their duty, to serve Julius II., their spiritual master, in the name of Italy, their motherland, or country of adoption.||

If we glance at the French ranks, we shall discern in the corps commanded by la Palice another cardinal, Frederic of San Severino, marching at their head fully armed, helmet on his head, sword by his side, and baldric on his shoulder.¶ He was conspicuous for his tall stature, his thick beard, and the legatine insignia borne before him; for he represented in the French camp the cardinals opposed to Julius.

* Audin's History of Leo X., 2d ed., 1846, p. 205. This book abounds in details of all sorts about Leo X., and, *Italiam redolet*, it shows that it was composed in Italy.

Audin has strength, vivacity, and an impulsive religious fidelity which appears on every page. The Catholic spirit never leaves him.

† In many histories Navarra is spoken of as a prince belonging to the family of Navarre in Spain. That is a mistake. The family name of Peter Navarre is not well ascertained. He was a celebrated engineer, said to be of Moorish descent, and born in Navarre. His skill and experience caused him to be consulted as though he had been one of the leading generals.

‡ Audin, ii., p. 206.

§ Audin, p. 208.

|| Julius II., forgetting the French valor which opened Bologna to him, called the French *barbarians*. There is one style for a state of alliance, and quite another style for the state of war.

¶ The proprieties were better observed by the Cardinal de Medicis than by the cardinal of San Severino.

The battle at length began, and the Spaniards were beaten. John de Medicis was taken prisoner and conveyed to Milan, where the French and the Milanese received him with respect, bowing before the representative of that august papacy that had already done so much to civilize Italy and the rest of Europe. Unhappily, Germany was to reward the Holy See by letting loose the most odious enemies against it. But we must not anticipate disasters till then unforeseen.

Regaining his liberty through the courage of one of his servants, the cardinal succeeded in reaching Rome.

Julius II. was dead, and in a conclave that was opened on the 4th of March, 1513, John was elected pope in compliance with the solicitations of the youngest cardinals, who desired a pope only thirty-seven years old. It has been said that Cardinal Antonio Petrucci, after announcing the election to the people in the ordinary terms, added: "*Ac vigeant valeant que juvenes!* And let the youngest flourish and avail!" But this cannot be true; no cardinal publicly addressing the people can depart from the ordinary form. The cardinal said what it was his duty to say, and nothing more. Moreover, the announcement of the election of John was made by Cardinal Alexander Farnese, the first deacon who made it in the usual form. It is possible that Cardinal Petrucci may have whispered some such words to a cardinal near him, but history takes no note of such frivolous confidences.

Lenglet, in his *Principes d'Histoire pour la Jeunesse* (tome vii., p. 11), affirms that the Emperor Maximilian sought to exchange his imperial insignia for the papal robe. He was a widower, and flattered himself that he could become pope.* The accession of John de Medicis, who took the name of Leo X., put an end to such hopes.

Holy Week approached: the new pope was ordained priest on the 15th of March, and consecrated on the 17th.

The coronation took place on the 19th. The ornamenting the streets alone cost a hundred thousand Roman crowns, and a like sum was given to the poor.†

On the 11th of April, Leo took possession of Saint John Lateran;‡ riding the same white horse that bore him when captured by the French, at the battle of Ravenna.

In this ceremony, he was the last pope who sat on the porphyry seat, placed under the vestibule of the church. The standard of the Church was borne before the pope by the duke of Ferrara, who walked on the right of His Holiness, who was also accompanied by the duke of Urbino and by the

* There is a letter extant written by the Archduchess Margaret, his daughter. The testimony of this strange design was published by Godefroy. See Mariana, lib. xxx., cap. v.

† Life of Leo X., by Fabroni, p. 65.

‡ Novaes, vi., p. 166.

duke of Camerino. Before the pope, mounted on a noble steed, rode his cousin, afterwards Clement VII., bearing the standard of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem.

Leo, before leaving the conclave, had chosen two secretaries, Peter Bembo and James Sadolet. The latter, born at Modena on the 14th of July, 1477, was one of those robust organizations, with massive brow, ruddy complexion, well-developed muscles, and athletic build, such as mountain countries produce, and such as Julio Romano has introduced into his picture of the battle between Constantine and Maxentius. When advanced in years, Sadolet must have resembled one of those old men pictured by Rubens, in his descent from the cross, in the cathedral of Antwerp. Like Julius II., Sadolet wore his beard,*—long, bushy, trimmed to a point, and surmounted by two semicircular moustaches. But for his ecclesiastical habit, no one would have taken this hirsute countenance for a scholar; he would have passed for an old warrior. Sadolet had adopted Virgil as his favorite poet. When eighteen years old, he abandoned Virgil for Aristotle; but he soon preferred Saint Paul to either, and he commented that apostle in search of an explanation of those minor mysteries of which revelation alone could give him the complete solution.

Bembo and Sadolet had been friends from childhood. Son of the patrician, who, at Ravenna, had reared the tomb of Dante,† Bembo had learned Latin under Alexander Urticio. His professor was a skilful rhetorician, with a complete mania for classical antiquity, which he deemed adorable in every thing,—manners, institutions, theogony, and idioms.‡ No doubt he inspired into his pupil that fanatical adoration of paganism of which, even when he became cardinal, Bembo could not entirely divest himself. Thus when the scholar was about to be sent to Sicily, we are astonished at finding him asking for the protection of *the gods*. Amidst such instruction, there was but little room left for sound Catholic teaching, but a prodigious natural wit and the good example of Leo did the rest.

At the age of twenty-six, Bembo was considered one of the best Hellenists of that time. At twenty-eight, he was honorably received at Ferrara, by Duke Alphonso and his wife, the Duchess Lucretia.

Concerning this princess, we quote the following from Audin :

“Lucretia Borgia, who has been charged with more crimes than, probably, any casuist has ever heard of, was then in her prime. If we may credit Bembo, she not only was one of the stars of the Italian sky, a model of grace, but also a young woman who, to all the gifts of nature, had added those of the soul; a Florentine in her sweet tones, and a poet whose strains the nine muses would have owned; another Lucretia, in fact.”

* Audin.

† *Histoire de Dante*, p. 490.

‡ Audin, p. 290.

To her Bembo inscribed his *Asolani*. In the dedication of the work, the author enthusiastically celebrates the charms, the wit, the learning, and the virtues of the duchess. It may be asked how Bembo, rich, of noble birth, and known in the literary world, could have ventured in the face of all Italy to sing the praises of a woman who had even the slightest resemblance to the portrait given of her by Saunazar and Pontano.

Let these writers say on; all is explained by the character of those times, and by the fact that Lucretia was a Borgia, and that in striking at her, they, through her, struck at Pope Alexander VI.

The *Asolani* of Bembo enjoyed great success. He composed that book in the castle of Asola, on a mountain-top. The author is said to have intended to imitate Cicero's Tusculan Disputation, but there is no resemblance between the works, either in subject or in tone.

Sadolet and Bembo were the two men who countersigned those beautiful and eloquent letters left us by Leo X.

A third companion (we may use that word when speaking of the private and domestic life of this pope) adorned a company that all quitted with regret to go into the world of business and of duties. His third friend was Bibiena.* Exiled with Cardinal John, Bibiena had more than once, by his gayety, consoled young Medicis in his griefs. Bibiena was a great admirer of Michael Angelo and of Raphael, whom he compared to Phidias and Apelles.

"There," says Audin (p. 302), "we have the three types of the intellectual life with which Leo X. surrounded himself when he assumed the tiara. Bembo represents the pagan literary element; Bibiena the pagan artist element; and Sadolet the Christian element. Was that single Christian element enough to meet the many disasters about to afflict the Church of Christ?"

Leo had received from nature a loving soul and a heart filled with clemency. Seeing that the Colonnas, who had some reason to complain of Julius II., did not wait upon him early enough, not to ask pardon, but only to show that they valued the favor of the pontiff, he evinced some impatience at their not yet having appeared in the inner circle of his court. Cardinal Pompey Colonna, one of the first who heard of the pontiff's feeling, hastened to kneel in homage at the Vatican. The pope raised him, pressed him in his arms, and with singular kindness restored him the insignia of the purple. He showed the same liberality to Fabricius Colonna, and he gave to them both those fine gardens opposite the Quirinal, and the palace built beside the church of the Holy Apostles. "From that time," says Novaes (vi., p. 167), "the great moderation of the pope caused him to be named the lamb, while Julius II. was still spoken of as the lion.

* Raphael has placed him beside Leo X., in his *Camera di Torre Borgia*, in the Vatican.

One of the first cares of the pope was to endeavor to terminate the nineteenth general council—the fifth of Lateran. It had been commenced by Julius II., on the 3d of May, 1512, and continued to the fifth session, which was held on the 16th of February, 1513. Leo X. terminated it in 1517. It had been attended successively by sixteen cardinals, three patriarchs, and a hundred and fourteen bishops and regular prelates.

On the 17th of December, 1513, in the eighth session, the acts of the pseudo council of Pisa were condemned, and penalties imposed upon two cardinals who had already been deposed by Julius II., Carvajal and San Severino; the latter of whom we have already seen in the ranks of that French army that captured Cardinal John di Medicis. These cardinals, having returned from France, were arrested at Leghorn, placed in prison at Civita Vecchia, and thence secretly taken to Rome. The pope chose the council hall as the scene of the reconciliation of the two sinners to their holy mother, the Church.

The two culprits, being introduced into the hall,* knelt, bowed their heads respectfully, and after some moments, both rose. Then Carvajal, addressing His Holiness, said: "Pardon us our offences! Have pity upon us, our tears, our penitence; and reckon not with our iniquities, which are more numerous than the sands of the sea."

There was a brief silence, all eyes being fixed upon the supplicants. Looking kindly upon them, the pope said: "The Church is a tender mother, she pardons those who return to her. But the Church will not, by a culpable lenity, encourage the sinner to err again. In order, therefore, that you may not glory in your iniquity, we have determined to punish you."

Then, amidst a mournful silence, every one present breathlessly listening for the sentence,† the pope proceeded to put a series of questions to the culprits:

"Have you not," he asked, in a stern tone, "saddened the heart, by your ingratitude, of your benefactor, your father, your judge, Julius II., of glorious memory?"

"Did you not, at Pisa, wicked as you are, incite the people to disobey your holy mother, the Apostolic Church?"

"Did you not place upon the walls of the house of God a sentence of deposition against the vicar of Christ?"

"Answer; and then pronounce your own sentence."

The two cardinals, confused, hung down their heads in silence.

"Well," said the pope, "here is a schedule which you will sign. If you subscribe it, you will obtain mercy from the Holy Apostolic See. Read."

* Audin, *Histoire de Leo X.*, p. 307.

† Ibid.

Carvajal took the document, read it rapidly in a low voice, and laid his hand upon his heart, in token of his formal adhesion to what he had read.

"Read it aloud," said the pope.

"Most Holy Father," said Carvajal, "I cannot; I am ill, and have no voice."

"You cannot?" said the pope, with a slight smile. "There must be no hesitation. You are free: if you frankly subscribe this paper, say so: if not, you can go freely back to France, whence you came, with our safe conduct."

San Severino then took the confession from the hands of Carvajal, and read it aloud, in the tone of a bold captain, addressing soldiers, such as he had commanded at Ravenna, in company with the French. The paper contained a complete disavowal of all the acts of which both had been guilty towards the authority of the Holy See. That done, they took a pen and signed the document, and then knelt and received the absolution of the pope, who pronounced it in a tone of dignity, mingled with paternal tenderness, calculated to draw tears from the most hardened. The pope descended from the throne: he was no longer the judge; he was the Father.* He approached Carvajal, took his hands, and said: "Now you are our brother in our Father, since you have obeyed our will; you are the lost sheep of the Gospel, and are found again. Let us rejoice in the Lord!"

The pope then similarly embraced and addressed San Severino, whom he had seen at Milan, in the position of a conqueror; and these two new sons of the Church, with their former insignia, and their places assigned in a true council, recovered peace of conscience, the friendship of the pope, and the esteem of the members of the sacred college. A single canonical penance was imposed upon them, and it was of the lightest, in order that on that day every thing should be at once regular, pious, and magnanimous. Carvajal and San Severino were to fast at least once a month during the whole remainder of their life.

Three other cardinals had been abettors of the Council of Pisa—Borgia, De Prié, and Brignonnet.

The first was dead, the two others were included in the act of reconciliation which was addressed to the king of France.

In the tenth session the establishment of *Monts de Piété*† was approved, and all were threatened with excommunication who should condemn them, or consider them as favoring usury. The publication of books was forbidden until approved by the bishops, and by those appointed to detect heretical depravities.

* Audin, p. 307.

† Establishments at which, at a reasonable interest, the poor can borrow money on pledges of small value, and thus escape the exactions of usurers and pawnbrokers.

The labors of the council were occasionally interrupted, and Leo vigilantly attended to the numerous affairs which from all parts were sent to Rome for consideration.

Erasmus congratulated Leo upon his glorious labors, and we naturally find in these few words an opportunity to repeat a portion of what we have said of the popes bearing the name of Leo. It will be seen that our judgments cannot contradict that of the illustrious sage of Rotterdam. He thus writes to the pope :

“Leo X., you will give us again the prosperous government of Leo I.; the erudite piety and musical taste of Leo II.; the fertile eloquence of Leo III.; the combined simplicity and prudence, recommended by Christ, of Leo IV.; the tolerance of Leo V.; the love of peace of Leo VI.; the truly heavenly life of Leo VII.; the integrity of Leo VIII.; and the kindliness of Leo IX., which diffused itself upon all. Such are the blessings you will give back to us; we have the guaranty alike of those sacred names, which are as so many oracles, and of your own past, present, and future.”

At this time letters of credit were given to legates, sent on the one part to the Muscovites, and on the other hand to the Maronites; and at the same time missionaries went out to destroy the errors that had been embraced by those nations.

Manuel, king of Poland, who in the preceding year had made himself master of the Erythrean Sea,* where he had found parts favorable to commerce, sent three ambassadors to renew his oath of obedience. He at the same time sent presents, accruing from his conquests in the East Indies. Among other gifts, the prince sent an elephant, called Annon, endowed with singular qualities that are described by Oldoini in his additions to Chacon. The sagacious animal so greatly pleased the pope that he often went to see that he was well taken care of, and supplied with the food proper for him.†

The pope dismissed the ambassadors after entertaining them splendidly, and he sent by them to their king the Golden Rose, blessed, according to custom, on the fourth Sunday in Lent. To the Golden Rose were added the *stocco* (sword), and the *berettone* (hat), which were blessed at Christmas, and which it was already customary to send to Christian princes who had distinguished themselves in battles in the cause of Catholicity.

In 1515, Francis I. succeeded Louis XII. The new king of France, to secure the possession of the duchy of Milan, concluded peace with England,

* The Erythrean Sea is the name of all that portion of the Indian Sea now known as the Gulf of Oman, including the Persian and Arabian gulfs.

† That elephant died two years afterwards, and Raphael was requested to paint him near the tower of the palace gate, where he was buried. An elegant epitaph was placed there, written in the character of the animal's keeper.

and formed an alliance with the Venetians. This gave rise to an opposing league between the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand, king of Spain, the duke of Milan, and the Swiss. At the same time, Octavian Fregosa, doge of Genoa, to rid himself of the insults of the Adorni family, granted, with the permission of his fellow-citizens, the lordship of the republic to the French king. That prince then endeavored to add to his party the pope, who felt more inclined to embrace that of the emperor and the king of Spain. Leo, ill-advised just then by his political affinities, and by fortune, could not divine who would be the victor, and declared against the hero of Ravenna.

Francis I.,* born on the 12th of September, 1494, was great-grandson of Louis, duke of Orleans, son of Charles V., and husband of Valentine of Milan.

"This prince," says Daru, "young, ardent, and full of that hot courage characteristic of the wars of the period and the nation, kept aloof from the army during the reign of Louis XII.; but, roused in his indolent ease by the exploits of Gaston, he wrote to the Venetians, promising to join their General Alviani on the Adda in the course of four months; and he kept his word." Very soon the king appeared in the fields of Marignan, where the Swiss, marching out of Milan, attacked him. Their army marched to the sound of the redoubtable *horns* of Uri and Unterwalden,† reserved for fields of battle. The combat lasted two days. Alviani, who had sought his troops at Lodi, arrived on the field in the middle of the second day's battle, but only at the head of fifty-six cuirassiers, who raised the Venetian battle-cry, *Marco! Marco!* Both armies thought that the whole of the Venetian troops were in line. The courage of the French was redoubled; that of the Swiss began to yield, but they made a skilful retreat, with their redoubtable horns still with their rear-guard, and thus incessantly threatening to resume the battle. After the battle, which Trivulzo called a combat of giants, Francis I. claimed, as his own personal reward, that he should be knighted by the Chevalier Bayard;‡ and afterwards he himself created several other knights. The intrepid Alviani, who had so well seconded the king, belonged to the Orsini family, and was nearly related to Leo X. by his mother Clarissa. The grief of the pope was mitigated by his family joy, which did not last long, for it was very soon known that the heroic Alviani had died of

* *Italie*, p. 236.

† These men of Uri and Unterwalden have contributed in our own day to the victory gained over the radicals at Lucerne.

‡ The constable of Bourbon, whom we may still praise, acted so courageously in this battle that the king laughingly said to him: "Thou sparest thyself in this affair no more than a wild boar." In fact, Charles of Bourbon had behaved with admirable constancy and devotion. And he was to die so unworthily!

his wounds. The consequences of victories gained in Italy are immediate, and often embrace a very long course of years.

A treaty of peace soon attached Rome to the glory of Francis. The pope agreed to break off his alliance with Maximilian and the king of Spain, and to withdraw his garrisons from Placenza and Ferrara, which a short time previously had been restored to the Holy See. Francis, on his part, promised to defend the Ecclesiastical States, the Medicis, and the republic of Florence.

An interview was proposed between the pope and the French king. Some cardinals objected to Leo going to Bologna, where the king was to meet him. But the pope had more extended views; he desired to avoid the mistake of Alexander VI., who awaited in Rome the passage of the army of Charles VIII. Leo therefore commenced his journey, accompanied by eighteen cardinals, thirty prelates, and a portion of the Roman court.

To welcome her illustrious son Florence spared no expense. Painters, sculptors, architects, and especially poets, came in numbers,* eager to show their gratitude to the enlightened prince who reigned at Rome. The architects opened ways in the ancient walls, that the papal procession might deploy in all its magnificence. Scholars invented devices and inscriptions in the antique style; poets improvised odes in Latin and in French, which choirs of youths and maidens sang as His Holiness passed. Leo X. evinced his gratification at these ingenious manifestations of love. He stopped to listen to the songs improvised in his honor; to read the Latin inscriptions which adorned every triumphal arch; to admire the inspirations of the painters, sculptors, and architects; and to contemplate the columns, the statues, and the trophies that Florence had reared at every step. When he beheld the statue of his father Lorenzo, he bowed his head in token of respect, and he was seen to shed tears. He felt a strange emotion as he saw upon the pedestal of the statue the words, *Hic est filius meus dilectus*. The people crowding the streets, and clustering on hastily constructed balconies, and even on the roofs of the houses, shouted, *Palle! Palle!*† The treasurer of His Holiness threw pieces of money among the crowd.

On the 8th of December, the pope arrived at Bologna, and Francis I. reached there three days later. On the day of audience, the pope, wearing his pontifical habits, awaited the monarch in the hall of the consistory. The king walked between two cardinals, the seniors of the sacred college. So great was the crowd in the apartments that for some time the king remained, as it were, imprisoned amidst the swaying mass of Italian and French nobles.‡ He laughed at his misadventure, as he held the hand of

* Audin, p. 403.

† *Palle*—the Balls; the arms of the Medicis.

‡ Account by Paris de Grassi, bishop of Pesaro, first master of the ceremonies to Leo X.

the master of the ceremonies, whom he had taken as his introducer. Having at length got near to the throne, the king knelt and kissed the cross embroidered on the pope's slipper. His Holiness took the monarch's hand and presented him his cheek. Francis I. addressed a few animated words* to the pope, to which Leo replied in a style of which he alone was the master, and which, as we learn from the bishop of Pesaro, seemed on that day even more delicate, witty, and tender than usual. At a sign from the master of the ceremonies, the king took his place on a magnificent seat, at the right hand of His Holiness. The French chancellor, Duprat, then approached, with head bared, and pronounced the address of obedience.

The whole assemblage then admired both the young monarch, already a hero, though only twenty-two years of age, and one of the greatest of the Roman pontiffs, who was only forty. The feeling dominated all minds, whatever efforts they could make to listen to the words of Duprat.

"The address of the chancellor," says Audin, "was a manifesto in honor of the Holy See. The orator proclaimed the titles of Rome to the love no less than to the obedience of the kingdom of France. It was, at the same time, a profession of faith of the Most Christian king towards the authority of the head of the Church."

It was beautiful to hear the victor of Marignano exclaim, by the voice of his chancellor: Most Holy Father, the army of the Most Christian king is yours, dispose of it at your pleasure; the forces of France and her standards are yours. Leo, behold before you your most submissive son, *tuus a religione, tuus jure, tuus more majorum, tuus consuetudine, tuus fide, tuus voluntate*—*Thine by religion, thine by right, thine by the custom of his ancestors, thine by habit, thine by faith, and thine in heart.*

The address being ended, the king bowed in token of his assent, and Leo replied in terms full of benevolence, and, as usual, simple, sweet, and harmonious.†

His Holiness then took Francis by the hand, and led him to an apartment where His Holiness was to take off his pontifical costume. The king went to the window, where the pope soon joined him.

The pope then celebrated Mass in presence of the king in the church of Saint Petrona. The king would not use the fald-stool set before him, but either stood or knelt, with clasped hands and bowed head. The French officers all wished to receive the communion at the pope's hands, but this the crowd prevented. The king selected those whose valor or rank deserved preference. Then one of those not thus selected said aloud: "Most Holy Father, since I cannot receive from your own hand, nor confess to the ear of your

* Audin, p. 408.

† For further particulars of this meeting, consult Spondanus, *Ann. Eccles.*, ad ann. 1515; and Fabbroni, *Vie de Leon X.*, p. 95, et seq.

Holiness, I will confess my sinfulness in public. "I fought with all my strength against the late pope, Julius II." The king, with his natural vivacity and frankness, said: "In truth, Holy Father, it is my case too;* but that pontiff was our haughtiest enemy, and would have been more in place at the head of an army than in the chair of Saint Peter."

Most of the commanders confessed the same fault. Then the pope, with an appositeness full of dignity, and bowing, as though in approval of that brusque reparation, absolved all present from such censures as they might have incurred.

The pope himself, and Chancellor Duprat, had prepared the document which was to be signed by both parties, and which established a host of points tending to make peace between the Holy See and France in all that concerned religious interests.

I will briefly sum up the concordat signed between Leo X. and Francis I., and explain several particulars of this important negotiation.

In the commencement of the Capetian dynasty, the election of bishops, in order to be canonical, had to be made by the clergy. Bulls announcing consent on the part of the Roman court confirmed that right. The metropolitan and the bishops of the ecclesiastical province put the seal upon that choice by adhering to it, and by consecrating the newly elected. It is certain that the Council of Rheims, held in 1049, ordered that the elections should be the attribute only of the clergy. As regards the *people*, to whom it has been affirmed that the same attribution was delegated, we think it may be useful to offer what seems to us to be a judicious explanation. It was true that it was customary to consult the people upon the persons whom it was proposed to elect, but the consent of the *people* was never necessary to render the election canonical. It was only endeavored to avoid the election of bishops who would be unpopular with the mass of the faithful.†

Time, whose action we cannot prevent, modifies the actions of men. About 1215, the chapters had deprived the clergy of their rights, and in so doing deprived the people of the power of approving, by acclamation, the choice of the clergy. At the same time the chapters declared that they would continue to exercise the rights of the clergy, and thus avoid the frequent dissensions of the elections, the intrigues, cabals, quarrels, and the difficulty of concentrating upon one person the suffrages of so many lords and communities divided in views and in interests. Only, before electing, the chapters asked the king's permission.

* Novaes, vi., p. 174.

† Some of these details I owe to Father Hilarion Lucas, Superior of the Missions at Picpus formerly theologian of the embassy of the bishop of Saint Malo, at Rome. Father Hilarion is respected for piety, profound knowledge, and devotion to the Roman court.

Innocent III. then reigning, celebrated the twelfth general council (fourth Lateran), while France was in a sort of spiritual anarchy, fomented by the Albigenses.

In 1458, under Eugene IV., at the assembly of Bourges, the celebrated regulation called the *Pragmatic Sanction* was adopted. It was determined, in spite of the opposition of Eugene, that the bishoprics and other great benefices should be filled according to former custom, without the usurpation of the election by the chapters. While Charles VII. survived, that rule was a law of State; Louis XI. was not its very zealous partisan. The parliaments and university ardently supported the institution.

The Concordat of Leo X. and Francis I. abolished the *pragmatic*, renounced the elective mode in all the metropolitan churches and cathedrals of the kingdom. The *pragmatic* had been a work wanting in regularity and good right, as it recognized in nothing the intervention of the pope and the council. It was now agreed that the king was to name and the pope institute the bishops. The struggle made by the clergy, parliaments, and universities, against the *Concordat* of 1515, was more violent than successful. It lasted until the reign of Charles IX. I have before me, as I write, the actual copy of the *Concordat* which belonged to Louis XIV.

In the exordium of the first bull it is said, in the French of that day :

“Leo, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for perpetual remembrance of what has been done.

“This primitive Church, founded by our Saviour Jesus Christ upon the corner-stone, raised by the preaching of the Apostles, consecrated and increased by the blood of the martyrs, in the times past, when first she commenced by the help of God to extend her arms around the earth, wisely considering how many burdens she had to bear, how many sheep to guard and nurture, and in how many far-distant places it behooved her to keep a watchful eye; by a certain divine counsel instituted parishes and separate dioceses, created bishops and proposed archbishops, in order that, as members obeying one head, they, according to his will, should well govern all things in our Lord; and like little streams proceeding from the unfailing fountain (to wit, the Roman Church), should leave no single corner of the Lord's earth without irrigation, just as the other popes, our predecessors in their times, labored and made it their whole study to render the said Church united, to preserve her in that holy union without spot or wrinkle, and to root out all thorns and briers from said Church, whose property it is, with the grace of God, to love virtues, and to extirpate vices even to the very roots. We, in like manner, in this our own time, and during the present council, should do and procure all things that are known to conduce to the union and preservation of the said Church.”

The commencement of this bull is an admirable piece of ecclesiastical

constitution. It restates in a few words much that we have detailed in this history. The situation of the primitive Church, the organization of the worship, the necessity of *extending its arms around the earth*, the pope the head who must be obeyed; the bishops, little streams proceeding from the unfailing fountain (the Roman Church); the example of preceding popes, the need of unity, the love of virtue, the extirpation of vice—nothing is wanting in this sublime recital. The men of talent sketched as companions and advisers of Leo, did not fail him on this occasion; and the French of that time, where all the clearness of the *langue d'oïl* puts each word in its proper place at the beginning, middle, or end, did no wrong to these periods, worthy of the Roman orator.

After this preamble, which so nobly explains the state of things, the pontiff announces that he will uproot all the thorns and brambles that are injurious to the union. He abolishes the Pragmatic Sanction, which the French king has with a *prompt and frank courage consented to abolish*.

Further on, the pope says that he knows, from the frequent absolutions and restorations asked for and obtained, that many persons have, before the elections, sworn to choose the most worthy, and have voluntarily perjured themselves by knowingly choosing the unfit. He then grants to the king of France for the time being the right to nominate for bishop a grave master, or licentiate in theology, or doctor or licentiate in either or both laws, who has graduated after strict examination in some famous university, aged at least twenty-seven years, and in all other things properly qualified. But if a person not thus qualified be named by the king, then the pope may refuse such person. Within three months after such refusal the king must name another; and if that one be also unqualified, then the pope for the time being will make the nomination.

This article was one of those which excited the most opposition,* because it might on either side give rise to long recriminations and disagreements; and that, finally, a hostile party in the Roman court, by obstinately refusing all, on the plea of not deeming them qualified, might end by pretending to name all. But it should be observed, that to that end there must be such times, and so many wicked men as could not long exist, if at all.

The pope had said, in speaking of the *pragmatic*, that it exposed the Church of France to intrigue, insolence, and simony. Audin says: "This accusation was well founded." It is an undeniable truth, that the canonical elections, as restored by the Council of Bâle, were a mere sham. In every province, the nobles made themselves masters of at least all the principal dignities. They imagined that they in some sort had the right of nomination as patrons of the churches, or as descendants of the pious founders.

* *Histoire du Pape Pie VII.*, 3d ed., tome i., p. 129.

Audin (p. 420) adds: "The great reproach made against Leo by the Gallican clergy, the universities, the parliaments, and the learned, if we may so say, was that his bull destroyed a disciplinary work, which had long been in vigor in the Church of France. In this they evidently misunderstood the rights of the Holy See. Are there not circumstances in which a departure from common rules becomes a necessity? And who is to decide upon the time when such circumstances exist? Is it the priest, who has not the sacerdotal plenitude, but is the branch only, as Thomassin says of the divine tree, of which the bishop is the trunk? Is it the bishop, whose jurisdiction, though divine, can only be exercised within limits assigned by the sovereign pontiff, who can either extend or diminish it, as the cardinal of Lorraine proclaimed in the Council of Trent?"

"The primacy having been given to Saint Peter," says Saint Jerome, "in order to prevent all opportunity for schism, the pope alone has the right to make laws obligatory upon the Church; but these laws, variable in their very nature, cannot bind him, so that he may not derogate from them for just reasons, of which he alone is the judge."

In this clear and absolute passage of Audin, we recognize all the superior wisdom and strong enlightenment of that Italy where he gathered the materials for his excellent history of Leo X., far superior to the life of that pope by Roscoe. If we had undertaken a complete monograph on Leo, we should speak more at length of a conspiracy against him in 1516 and 1517. Soderini, Sauli, Riario, and others of the accused deeply implicated, confessed their guilt and obtained pardon. Notwithstanding the pope's natural clemency, his government caused some of the other conspirators to be punished.

In 1516, Leo beatified Philip Benizi, a Florentine, a zealous extender of his order, *The Servants of Mary*; and at the solicitation of Emmanuel, king of Portugal, he permitted the annual celebration in honor of Saint Elizabeth, queen of that kingdom, subsequently canonized by Pope Urban VIII.

By a brief that same year, the Holy Father permitted the cultus of seven Franciscan martyrs—Daniel, Samuel, Angelo, Donno, Lei, Nicholas, and Ugolino, butchered in the kingdom of Morocco for opposing Mahometanism.

It was about that time that Leo, judicially informed of a felonious act of Francis Mary de la Rovera, duke of Urbino, and being informed subsequently that he had treacherously put Cardinal Alidosi to death, deprived him of his duchy, and gave the investiture of it to Lorenzo de Medicis, son of Leo's brother Julian.

It was an act of the old nepotism, reversed by another, no less contrary to the rights of the Holy See. The successor of Leo X. restored la Rovera to the enjoyment of that principality. We shall see whether Clement VII.,

when in need of the support of Francis Mary de la Rovera, will find that prince ready to serve the Holy See when its very authority was at stake. But those other historical griefs must not just now engage our attention.

Leo, finding the thirteen cardinals then constituting the sacred college not sufficiently favorable, made, on the 1st of April, 1517, a promotion of two cardinals. One of them was the archbishop of Bourges, in France; the other, the archbishop of Cambray, a Fleming.

On the 1st of July, in the same year, Leo created thirty-one cardinals at once. So numerous a promotion had never before been made. Among those cardinals, who were chosen from all the Italian principalities, was John Salviati, a noble Florentine, related to King Francis I.* The last on the list was Alphonso of Portugal, sixth son of King Emmanuel. Alphonso was only seven years old, and was not to receive and wear the insignia of the cardinalate until he was fourteen.† Among the new cardinals, eight were Romans, and three were said to be allied to the family of the pope.

Leo did not lose sight of preparations for war against Turkey. He knew that there were in Germany machinations against the Holy See, and he wished the princes to occupy themselves more about the interests of Catholicity, and to conclude a lasting peace among themselves.

In 1518, Maximilian had assembled, at Augsburg, several German princes, who were to concert measures for securing the success of the new crusade.

To aid these glorious efforts, Leo sent but four legates. Cardinal Campeggio went to the king of England, where for two hundred years a cardinal *a latere* had not been seen; Cardinal Egidio went to Spain; Cardinal Farnesi, and subsequently Cardinal Gaetani, to Maximilian; and, finally, Cardinal Bibiena was to solicit further marks of friendship from the faithful Francis I. A few days after giving their credentials to these cardinals, Leo ordered a solemn procession, in which the pope and his cardinals walked barefooted. This was to return thanks to God that the princes had promised to be at peace with each other for five years, and to make war upon the Turks. Leo addressed fervent prayers to God for the restoration of Jerusalem and Constantinople to the Christian empire.

By order of His Holiness, Cardinal Gaetani delivered to Maximilian the sword and the hat that had recently been blessed by the pope.

But the unexpected death of Maximilian, in 1519, cooled the partisans of the Catholic war. The frenzy of Luther had already declared a fatal war

* At the time of the marriage of Prince Camillo Borghese with Pauline Bonaparte, sister of Napoleon, it was remarked that Prince Camillo was related, through his mother, a Salviati, to the French princes, then refugees in England.

† This cardinal was considered one of the ornaments of the sacred college. He died in 1530. He was the first to introduce into the churches of Portugal the custom of instructing children in the Christian doctrine.

against the Roman Church. This heresiarch was supported by Frederic, duke of Saxony, to whom, nevertheless, the pope had lately sent the golden rose, blessed at Saint Peter's, as a gift justly bestowed upon his wisdom, his courage, his disinterestedness, and his generosity. But all these provisions and others, such as sending the cardinal's hat to Albert (son of John IV., elector of Brandenburg), already archbishop of Magdeburg and Mentz, and the dispatch of letters, strong or pathetic, and requests even to actual supplication, were all useless. A moral conflagration terrified all Germany. Old interests were severed, and pride and greed put on deceitful masks. Never was the Holy See more externally honored: never was its ruin more perfidiously sworn.

The commencements of Luther's schism belong to the reign of Leo X. We shall not notice the attacks of the apostate monk earlier than the year 1521. Those who desire more information than we can give, may profitably consult Audin's remarkable work on Luther.*

Audin opens with these wise and eloquent words:

"The Reformation is a double phenomenon, social and religious. In the outset, Luther found gathered at his hand the elements of that movement that was to disturb the world. He did not create them, as it has often been asserted that he did: he only used them. The germ of Protestantism existed when Luther appeared. The action of the doctor of Wittemberg upon his century has been the subject of hosts of works, in which his language is said to have been more powerful than that of any other writer: his thought represented as piercing intuitively the future. His knowledge of the divine Word is rated above that of all Catholic geniuses, and his work compared to revelation.

"We shall see, in his duel with authority, whether the Augustine monk was not a man, and whether he was free from the frailties of our nature.

"The Reformation was violent from the beginning. It was not contented with expelling our religious from their convents, and our priests from their churches; it calumniated them in their morals and in their doctrines, it belittled them, and dispersed or burned their books, those Catholic books especially, in which the writer, priest, religious, or jurist opposed the doctor on his evangelical mission, on his household, his private life, and his doctrines, and exhibited him, in his turn, upon the stage on which he so pitilessly had exhibited his adversaries.

"When the drama of the Reformation was complete, Luther remained alone upon the scene, without rivals and without contradictors.

"In the interest of history, we in our turn, as of our right, sit in judgment on a man who so severely judged his brothers.

* *History of the Life, Works, and Doctrines of Luther*, by Audin, 12mo, 4th ed., 1845.

"There is not a writer who took even a subordinate part in these discussions, whether for or against us, whose productions we have not carefully studied.

"Such a man as Luther survives not only in his works and in the narratives of his contemporaries; wherever he has set down his foot he has left imperishable traces. The life of the doctor was at once a combat and a pilgrimage across Germany. Enthusiasts now visit the scenes of the great events of the Reformation as formerly our fathers visited the Holy Land. Nor have we neglected to make the same journey. We have visited Eisleben, Eisenach, Erfurt, Worms, Spire, and Wittemberg, gathering recollections and pictures which will assist in explaining our narration, and which will sometimes furnish us with useful lessons. Thus, if, with an idolatrous respect, they show us the glass that was pressed by the lips of Luther, we demand an explanation of their disdain for the bones of the martyrs of our faith. If the Protestant sits with emotion beneath the tree which sheltered Luther near Oppenheim, surely we may demand permission to kiss the hand of one of our saints who preferred death to perjury. And if they show us the drops of ink that fell from the inkstand that Luther threw at the devil's head, we ought to have the less difficulty in obtaining pardon for the legends of some of our provinces. Our history is a book of firm conviction and entire good faith; let it be judged in the same spirit in which it is written."

Martin Luther was born in 1483; his father, Hans Luther, was a poor peasant of the little village of Mæhra (Moer), in the county of Mansfeld. His mother, Margaret Lindemann, was a servant at a bathing-house; she was a virtuous woman, fearing God, and loving prayer. She was considered the ornament of her sex at Eisleben. Hans had abandoned the calling of a husbandman for that of miner; he soon became a master workman, and could maintain a numerous family. At Eisenach, Martin studied grammar, and was soon able to read Cicero, Virgil, and Livy fluently. Then he entered a convent of Augustinians, and became a priest. His superior sent him to Rome; he saw courtiers around Julius II., and conceived a hatred of Rome and of its government.*

Audin's reflections on this predisposition of Luther's mind are laudable, and come naturally into these memoirs. "All the past," says Audin, "was dead for Luther. He knew not what Rome had done for humanity; of all the popes who had been seated in the chair of Saint Peter he ignores the claims to admiration and gratitude. He left a country that was threatened

* Audin falls into an error here in saying that Luther saw nothing at Rome in 1510, and no ray of the crown of the infant Raphael or the youth Michael Angelo dazzled the eyes of the Augustinian. Raphael was born the same year as Luther, and in 1510 was not a child, but a man of twenty-seven; Michael Angelo, born in 1474, was thirty-six.

by the Turk; and he forgot that if the Koran is not the Gospel, it is because a pope checked the progress of the former. He knew nothing of the crusades preached by Pius II., Innocent VIII., and Julius II., and many others. He had full opportunity to see the reign of brute force in Germany, whose barons crushed with their gauntlet every intelligence that was not submissive to their will; yet he never suspected that intelligence has, under God, no protector but the Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth; and that the papacy, in breaking material strength, and compelling it to bow before moral law, gave the most beautiful spectacle that man can look upon.”*

Leo published Indulgences. We have seen that the custom was very ancient.† The pope asked contributions, help towards the building of the temple of Saint Peter, that marvellous work of Bramante which Julius II. could not complete. A new Rome, which the papacy had determined to make more magnificent than pagan Rome, began to spring from the earth.‡ The piety of the faithful was entreated to continue the colossal work. Luther declares that he will preach against Indulgences. But very soon it is not merely the abuse that he combats; he is no less angry with the spiritual remedy.§ The whole future life of Luther is foreshadowed in that sermon; there you will find it with his presumptuous *I*, only *I*, ostensibly supported by the words of the Bible, his disdain of tradition, and his ostentatious contempt of the schools, and that laugh which never leaves him when Scotist or Aristotelian is in question.

Luther said to those who reproached him :

“If this is not from God, it will fall; if it comes from His holy name, it will go on.”

It was the idea of John Huss and of Wyckliff—success making right, the glorification of the Koran.||

Luther, however, paused for a moment in his fury, and Pope Leo said : “Now, then, let us live in peace. The axe strikes no more at the foot of the tree, it only trims the branches.”

The pope was right.¶

“At no Christian epoch,” says Audin, “had the tiara shone with such splendor; all crowns faded before it.** The pope was truly the universal monarch. Kings, princes, the great ones of the earth, and the populace,

* These observations are excellent, and are nobly expressed, as well as germane to the matter. In Audin we never remark more than those slight blemishes, which, no doubt, will disappear from new issues of his excellent book, of which so many editions have already appeared in Paris and elsewhere.

† See reign of Alexander II., A. D. 1063.

‡ Audin, *Life of Luther*, p. 39.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¶ *History of Luther*, p. 55.

** Let us remember Francis I. at Bologna, and Maximilian hoping to exchange the empire for the papacy. Voltaire says of the Middle Age at that time, “*The papacy was—opinion.*”

all were rivals for a glance at him ; he was sung and praised in all idioms, and his image was alike in every palace and in every cottage. For the name of Leo X. awakened at once all the ideas of religion, art, poetry, and of glory."

Yet he was the sovereign whom horrible disorders were, not indeed to arrest, but to harass in his vast power.

Luther published theses subversive of all Catholic order, yet deemed it wise to seek the good-will of the pope.

"Never were words more humble, with a more bitter humility : in his letter there is nothing of inspiration or of spontaneity, it everywhere shows study, restraint, head-work."

Leo X. ordered Gaetani, legate at Augsburg, to endeavor to bring Luther back. Gaetani was a learned man, eloquent, and the enemy of all violence. But all was useless. Luther met gentleness with sarcasms. He appealed to the universities : they condemned him. He replied by railing and insult, and refused to recognize the pontifical authority, without knowing what to substitute for the teachings of Jesus Christ, the Bible rightly read, traditions, and to the representations addressed to him from Rome.

Audin is never beneath the requirements of his task ; he thus continues : "At the same time that the old tree of Catholicity lost some branches, others grew up on it, beneath the sun of America. God raised up a man whose disciples were to carry the faith into the most distant lands, and to win to the papacy more souls than Luther's revolt swept away. Ignatius Loyola was born, and with him that army that for centuries has filled the world with the prodigies of its preaching, learning, faith, and zeal."*

Audin, in his life of Luther, pauses at the moment when the papacy was about to lose Leo X., and he thus enumerates the mischief which Luther had already done to Catholicism :

"Now, would we know the wounds which the Saxon revolt has inflicted upon religion ? These : The abolition of confession, the Mass, prayer for the repose of the dead, the veneration of the saints and of images, sacerdotal unction, monastic vows, fasting, abstinence, extreme unction, good-works, free-will. Will it be believed ? It would stifle even the cry that the suffering soul incessantly sends up to the throne of all mercy. For, says Luther, it is sufficient to pray once or twice, for God has said (Matt. ii. 22), 'Ask, and it shall be given to you.' To pray, and pray repeatedly, then, is to show that you have not confidence in God."†

While these troubles were devastating Germany, Leo X., endowed with a spirit born for great things, continued his labors on the Vatican Basilica ; he determined, if possible, to finish the work of Julius II.

* Audin, *History of Luther*, p. 103.

† *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Bramante had received from that pontiff the order to rear a temple more splendid than that which Solomon formerly built to the Lord. Saint Peter's at Rome may well be styled the work of Julius II. It was his conception,* its gigantic proportions were his dream, in spite, says a contemporary historian, of the opposition of all the cardinals, who grieved over the fall of that old church of Constantine, sanctified by the bones of all the blessed, venerated in all Christendom, and the seat of such high Catholic deeds.

The church to be demolished at the period we describe was precisely that temple, with its flights of steps, its doors, its countless altars scattered here and there, made known already to our readers by the glowing picture of Hurter.†

The Constantinian Basilica received all honorable names. Let us mention these historic titles, since the trace of what they were applied to is about to be entirely effaced. Leo the Great called that Basilica the *Glorious seat of the Principality of Saint Peter*; Gregory IX., *The Star of this Earth*; Nicholas III., *The Head of the Catholic Church*.‡ Bramante had no pity for the imperial work. Every thing crumbled beneath the strokes of his hammer; columns of alabaster, bas-reliefs adorned with gold, marble statues, Greek mosaics, gates of bronze and silver.§

After three years' preliminary labor, the first stone of the new temple was laid. A solemn Mass was celebrated, at which thirty cardinals assisted. As soon as a prelate is clothed in the purple, whatever may have been his previous studies, he is seized upon by the love of the arts, and, with more or less practical knowledge, he becomes one of the patrons of the taste for monumental buildings, which is one of the chief glories of Rome. Julius II., with his cardinals, went down to the foundations of the pillar of the dome supporting the statue of Saint Veronica,|| and blessed a block of marble inscribed thus:



ÆDEM PRINCIPIS APOSTOLORVM
IN VATICANO VETVSTATE ET SITV
SQUALENTEM A FVNDAMENTIS
RESTITVIT JVLIVS LIGVR
PONT. MAX. AN. MDVI.

Bramante was then sixty-six years old. He had finished the four pillars of the dome, and arched the arcades which connect them. He had begun the circular entablature which separates the dome from the arcades on which

* *History of Leo X.*, by Audin, 1846, p. 241.

† See *ante*, p. 673.

‡ *History of Leo X.*, by Audin, pp. 241, 242.

§ Glance once more at Hurter's description.

|| This gives us the exact age of the pillar, the construction of which had been attributed to Pope Clement VII.

it rests, and he was about to finish the western branch of the cross, when he died.

He was buried in Saint Peter's. Unfortunately, no inscription marks the resting-place of the great architect. He carried with him from the world the secret of his plan, for, according to the custom of that time, he had only simple masons to assist him in his work. When dying, he named Raphael d'Urbino to succeed him in the great work, to whom were added Julian de San-Gallo and his brother Jocundo. As soon as the new architects glanced at the work of Bramante they noticed signal disproportions between the dome and the pillars intended for its support. The dome, almost equal in size to the Pantheon of Agrippa, was overloaded with columns and crowned by a cupola. The pillars were overtasked, and threatened to fall. The plan of Bramante had to be modified. To carry out so much magnificence and so much admirable perfection, it was necessary that a Leo X. should succeed a Julius II. Leo did not conceal that he, too, desired it to be a marvellous building. Bembo drew up a brief on this subject, which expresses Leo's confidence and affection.

"Raphael d'Urbino,* independently of the art of painting, in which every one knows your excellence, you, also, according to the testimony of the architect Bramante, possess the art of building. This Bramante testified when about to die, deeming you the man to be intrusted with the care of continuing the building of the Temple of the Prince of the Apostles. You have ably confirmed his opinion by the plan which you have presented to us. Earnestly desiring to complete the church promptly, and with the greatest magnificence, we appoint you superintendent of the work, and award you three hundred gold crowns, payable annually by the superintendents of the funds reserved in our hands, and appropriated to the payment of the expenses of the Temple.

"We further command, that, without delay, and even monthly if you desire it, they shall pay you on demand such sums as at such times shall be due. We further exhort you so to undertake and fulfil the duties of that employment, as to show care for our esteem and for your honorable name. To that end you must, as a valiant young man, look well to the foundation of your reputation, so as to justify the hopes we have conceived of you, and our paternal good-will. You must bear in mind the dignity and renown of that Temple, which has always been the greatest and holiest in the world, and also our devotion to the Prince of the Apostles."

Raphael's plan was a Latin cross, with a dome at the intersection of the arms of the cross.† The interior was to have three naves, each of the wings

* I translate this letter from the original Italian, which forms part of the appendix to the *History of the Life and Works of Raphael*, by M. Quatremère de Quincy, 2d ed., large 8vo., Paris, 1833, p. 438

† Audin's *Life of Leo X.*

five chapels, each pillar a niche; the choir and the lateral galleries also had niches, each over a hollowed base, supported by two pillars and twelve columns connected in four. The façade presented three principal entrances. The portico, raised by steps, rested on thirty-six columns, in three rows, so arranged that the inner and outer lines were always double.

I give these details at once, for the sake of unity. The commencement of the building of Saint Peter's belongs to the reigns of Julius II. and Leo X. This part of the pontifical history should not be divided. We have not, however, told all the zeal of the popes; but must note, especially, that of Paul V., Borghese, whose name is still inscribed on the façade of the finest temple ever erected by man.

There is another point of history that belongs to my picture of the services of Julius II. and Leo X. to the arts. I cannot speak of all the great masters who illustrated these two reigns, so rich in all the most perfect creations of human art and science. We must leave Raphael. We shall not yet close Michael Angelo, whom we shall meet again in 1533, in front of his Moses, the finest sculpture of the tomb of Julius.*

* I may here insert the parallel that M. Quatremère de Quincy has given us between those two great men as painters.

In the first place, we shall give his opinion upon two subjects of study and meditation, which are german to the objects that I have assembled here, so as to render them more easy of comprehension. I refer to the portraits of Julius II. and Leo X., by Raphael.

Upon this point, Quatremère says: "Whatever may have been said in praise of Raphael's portraits, we will observe that they cannot give a full idea of Raphael's talents to any one who has not seen his portraits, in oil, of Popes Julius II. and Leo X.

"That of Julius was painted four or five years earlier than the other. Its coloring is vigorous. Its effect is in the second manner of Raphael, which some prefer to his third, as having more clearness in the tints, more elaboration in the working, yet more simplicity in the finish. Let us add that, as regards this portrait, the head of that pontiff has an energetic expression that Raphael never surpassed.

"It is not merely the common-place merits of resemblance. It is not sufficient praise of such a work, to remark the precision of the handling, the exact form of the head, or of the several features of the countenance; such praise belongs to many portraits which represent only the exterior of the person. But of what consequence is that exterior, if it is not also the faithful mirror of the interior, that is to say, of the morals, habits, passions, and disposition of the man? Yes; to every one who knows the moral history of Julius II., this history is rewritten in his portrait. After so many years, one still feels inclined to say with Vasari, *Faceva temere il ritratto a vederlo, come se proprio fosse vivo*—The portrait inspires fear, as though Julius himself were alive."

I do not agree with Vasari here. Julius II., in Raphael's portrait, meditates rather than threatens; moreover, it must be said that Julius was not so stern as he seemed to be. He did not readily pardon those who braved his authority; but in private life, he was kind and familiar; he could control his own vivacity. The Bolognese, who complained that he was so furious, had richly deserved his anger. Raphael has placed the pope's left hand upon the arm of the throne; the right hand is half closed, and holds a fold of the white robe. In all this there is no indication or preoccupation that would be unbecoming in a pope. Raphael, a wiser friend of truth than Vasari, saw Julius in his home-hours, when more inclined to bless than to anathematize. Raphael needs no teaching; he knows every thing. And, then, what a notion it is to suppose that the painter represented a threatening pope, when Julius, in giving himself, calm

These two men deserve to be thus introduced into the history of the two popes, whom it is our privilege just now to speak of. Michael Angelo deserved to be inspired by Julius II. with terrible scenes, analogous to the stern authority which Julius II. loved to defend. Raphael deserved the

and docile, to the penetrating gaze of the artist, must surely have expected, in exchange for his lost time, that immortality which, like history, gives to the great earthly renown.

"The portrait of Leo X. between two cardinals, is still more remarkable, says Quatremère.

"The pope, at somewhat more than half length, is sitting at a table; he appears to be presiding at a council or listening to a report. Cardinal Julius de Medicis and De Rossi are beside him, as his principal ministers."

If it be insisted upon that the attitude in which Raphael has placed Julius II. indicates a threatening mood, it must be observed that Leo is seated at a table, with his eye-glass in his hand, while Julius is seated on a true pontifical throne. The two rounded ornaments which surmount the pontifical throne in the apartments of the pope, though they are not higher than the head, yet frame it tastefully. Any one may be seated, like Leo X., on an armchair, of small proportions, but not every one sits upon a lofty throne, like Julius II. And it is by design, not chance, that the left hand lightly lies upon the arm of the throne-chair. I further remark, that the flowing robe of Julius II. has one of its folds covering the third and fourth fingers of the right hand. The others are shown, extended, as when the pope gives his benediction. Shall we ever completely *read* Raphael? Vasari and Quatremère are mistaken. Julius II. does *not* alarm, as though he were living, as they have represented; on the contrary, though, as they truly say, he is life-like, yet he inspires respect, not terror.

"It is so difficult, with the pen, or with the living voice, to convey to the mind a full comprehension of the beauty and perfection of the works of the painter, that, naturally, and at all times, hyperbole supplements description by amplifying the idea that the mind ought to form, lest the idea should fall below the reality. Thence arose tales, which, though more or less fabulous, contain at least some truth. This should be our judgment on what is related of the portrait of Charles V. by Titian, and of that of Leo X. by Raphael. Of the former, it is said that the illusion was so great, that the portrait being placed near a table, the emperor's son approached to speak to his father on business. The work of Raphael is said to have given rise to a similar mistake. It is stated that Cardinal de Rossi, datary to Leo X., knelt before that pontiff's portrait to ask for his signature to a bull.

"There is some truth in these tales. It is impossible to look upon the portrait of Leo X., even after the lapse of three centuries must have somewhat dimmed that brilliancy of color which contributes so much to illusion, without feeling that power of art that impels the mind to yield to that prestige which the artist may well ambition.

"Now this power is felt as we look on the portrait of Leo X. We cannot resist it, as we examine the depth of truth and character in the head of the pope; the noble simplicity of his attitude, the accuracy of the whole, the vigor of the coloring, the relief, and the careful and exquisite finish of all the accessories."

Such is Quatremère's parallel between Michael Angelo and Raphael, as painters. Leo, in his intercourse with men of letters, would himself have bestowed upon his judgment its meed of praise. But one epoch does not possess every talent. Leo doubtless felt what Quatremère has so well expressed in our own day, when he says:

"Those two geniuses, in truth, had nothing in common; the germ of the two talents was different, and could not produce the same results.

"To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to imagine ourselves living in their time. Michael Angelo was accustomed, in his study of the outward individual, to see only the physical man—bones, muscle, and the mechanical play. But when anatomical knowledge dominates the rest of the painter's learning, there is this inconvenience, that he is led to replace by the energetic expression of the corporeal form, the moral expression of the inner man; that is to say, of the soul, of the feeling, of the various affections and passions.

"Thus, Michael Angelo, in his paintings, seemed to think more of how his figures should seem

familiar confidence of Leo X.,—amiable, beneficent, great, and capable of recognizing greatness in others.

Many other pontiffs have patronized art, hence I cannot often dwell upon a subject which, otherwise, is so attractive. But when treating of such an age as that of Leo X., who that loves art can be silent? I shall be the less overwhelmed by the name of Michael Angelo when I have to speak of his continued labors at the Vatican, and the tomb of Julius II., at Saint Peter *in vincoli*. And besides, it seems to me that in this digression, I have not lost sight of my real subject. The two magnificent portraits of Julius and Leo are part of my subject; and this mention of them seemed to me a fitting recreation after a grave and stern task.

When printing was making its first essays, the arts, perhaps, had even more power than the sciences. A manuscript book was only elaborated with great toil and trouble, and remained in the hands of a jealous owner. A painting or a fresco instructed the whole world. They, therefore, were privileged to give lessons—to teach virtue, and to denounce crime. Preaching was doubtless powerful: the arts could not strike so certainly, but they had their own strength; and among a people who loved images, and had saved them from the brutality of the Emperor Constantius, they had power over the mind as formerly they had at Athens and at Rome. We do not now see what Raphael may have been. He held high position in the capi-

to *move* (and in that he has no equal), than of how they should seem to *think*. Generally there is no sensibility in his heads, no grace in his compositions, no pretension whether to express beauty or whether to present varieties of age, sex, conditions, costumes, &c. He discerns in forms no qualities but energy and force; in his head, no expression but severity and sternness.

“Raphael’s talent, made up of many elements, was purified and ruled by his taste for the antique. Inclined from his childhood to embrace all the qualities which make the painter, he constantly had an onward and upward tendency, from his first work to his last, towards that sort of moral point of view which places the impressions of sentiment before those of science. This latter was not properly his object; it especially was not his sole object. Science was to him what it ought to be, a means of giving the best form to his thoughts, and fitly to express the disposition of each subject. Thus, while Michael Angelo, in the diversity of his figures and compositions, seems to have but one tone, and, if we may so express it, one model, Raphael changes his at will; or, if it be preferred, he varies his modes and treatment according to his object. Finally, we cannot but remark to his praise, that he has worked upon all kinds of subjects, from the simplest to the most sublime. Biblical, religious, historical, mythological, and allegorical, he has treated all. Of him, if of any painter, it may truly be said:

“*Nihil quod non tetigit—nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*—He revived among the moderns the entire poetical world of the Greeks.”*

“If Michael Angelo was the greatest of draughtsmen, Raphael was the greatest of painters. Now the painter requires many qualities that are not needed by the draughtsman. If Michael Angelo had the advantage, by his scientific and original style of drawing, of being, in that branch of the art, beyond and above all rivalry, Raphael had the merit of daring, in every style, all the points of parallel, and especially those of the antique.”

* Raphael alone could paint a Leo X., after having painted a Julius II. I have the engravings of both portraits before me. (We omit the long note in which the author enters into art discussion of Raphael’s works.)

tal. Celio Calcagnini calls him *vir prædives*—a very rich man; and Vasari says that he lived *non da pittore, ma da principe*—not like a painter, but like a prince.

If grief is to be measured by the loss, no loss of this kind can have caused a mourning comparable to that of the death of Raphael, at the zenith of the highest reputation that talent can give, and snatched away at an age which to most men is not that of mastery, but only of hope. How many master-pieces, pure and Catholic master-pieces, were thus snatched from the admiration of ages! How many grand and beautiful ideas was he ready to give to the light, when the demon of darkness was flashing an evil torch over morality, obedience, and truth! How many grand and beautiful ideas were consigned to nothingness!*

All that lives, every thing in nature reproduces itself; seasons, years, generations, communities, empires, and usurpations, succeed each other. Genius has no successor, and ages will pass away before we can—not oppose, but—compare our painters to Raphael.

Providence sent to Rome an interpreter, chaste and elegant, of the most sacred mysteries of religion. Such was the public lament, and those melancholy thoughts might be likened to a funereal veil cast over all feelings, and, to use Bembo's expression, *over Nature herself*.

Raphael, after death (1520), according to the custom of the time and country, was exposed in his own house in the studio, where still stood on the frame the picture of the *Transfiguration*, finished in parts, but wanting in others *the last finishing touches*. His death drew tears from Leo X., who, in truth, had intended to give a cardinal's hat to Raphael; and, in doing so, be it remarked, the pope would have contravened no custom, and infringed upon no pontifical right. In giving the *hat*, the pope would have conferred a distinction, and secured to the artist the title and the revenue of a cardinal, while dispensing him from all ecclesiastical duties. Leo thought art as deserving of honor as science. More than twenty scholars were invested with the purple; and it is well known that obscure birth, even, formed no obstacle to such favors. We have sufficiently shown that no heraldic quarterings were necessary to reach even the pontificate.

The grief of a whole brilliant court, that mourning which interrupted all business, those tears of an entire generation of the intellectual and the learned, had in some sort mitigated the calamities of the times. Rome, while bewailing her great man, still combated that fanatical monk who was still for the gauntlet, for the bare temples, for war, and for the innumerable evils that accompany war. At length spiritual labors, momentarily interrupted, resumed their conservative influence.

* Quatremère, p. 367.

The East demands our attention for a moment : serious affairs continued to interest the Holy See. An endeavor was made to establish a correspondence with Selim I., emperor of Constantinople, who had just conquered Jerusalem. Of the result of these negotiations we shall speak hereafter.

At this period it was known that the establishment of the Spaniards in America had ceased to prosper ; there was an insurrection of the Indians, in consequence of an outrage that a Spanish officer had committed upon the wife of the cacique, Don Henri, who had embraced Christianity.

That cacique, having vainly demanded justice, retired with his people to the mountains of Beoruko, whence for fourteen years he made war on the Spaniards. Peace was restored in 1533, by the celebrated Las Casas, who was then in Saint Domingo, and of whom we shall hereafter have further occasion to speak.

In 1320, Leo canonized Saint Casimir, one of the thirteen children of Casimir IV., king of Poland. He also beatified Elizabeth, queen of Portugal, and Margaret of Cortona, who was afterwards canonized by Urban VIII.

Charles V., having become emperor in spite of Francis I., asked permission to retain the kingdom of Spain, as well as the empire ; which Leo granted.

France took offence, the accumulation of the two powers being a novelty prohibited by the ancient constitutions.

War ensued. The pope recovered Parma and Placenza, and helped to drive the French from Milan. What excuses Leo in this matter, though he perhaps would have done better to remain at peace with all, is the fact that Charles V. promised to put down the seditious monk, Luther ; and Charles certainly had more power than Francis in the matter. Sometimes, however, God sends joys to sovereigns only on painful conditions. Festivals had been ordered at Rome, but in the midst of the preparations, the pope, although only sixty-six, sank under an attack of apoplexy, after reigning eight years, eight months, and twenty days. He was interred at the Vatican, in a sarcophagus but little worthy of him. Under Paul III. he was removed to the choir of La Minerva, the church of the Dominicans, where a tomb was raised for him beside that of Clement VII., who, like himself, was of the Medici family.

Leo was tall, and well formed, excepting that his head was somewhat disproportionately large. He loved music, conversation, and the chase. In church he was of grave and serious appearance ; and for majesty in the sacred functions, dignity, and sovereign majesty of bearing, he surpassed some of his predecessors. His morals were exemplary. On this point Roseoe defends him against some Protestants. We shall insert a characteristic trait of his generosity. It was his custom after dinner or supper to

distribute among those present, whom he thought deserving, little rolls of paper full of gold crowns. Seeing one day among those who served him at table a man whom he knew to be deserving, he determined to give him twenty-five crowns when he presented the basin for the pontiff to wash his hands. The man, not imagining the pope's kind intention, retired before the repast was over. The pope then said to himself: "This poor man's ill luck must not intercept our liberality." He therefore resolved to double the sum, and to give the man fifty crowns when he saw him again. On the following day the servant again attended, but again left the room before the end of the repast. Still preserving the same intention, the pope placed twice twenty-five crowns for each of the two days. The man did not appear, but Leo would not yield, and at length, at twenty-five crowns for each day of the man's absence, the sum amounted to three hundred. Leo said to himself again: "Why, how unfortunate it is that this servant cannot get this small assistance."

At length the servant appeared. Leo did not wait till the end of the repast, but called the man to him. "Friend, we do not wish you to compel us to give you the papacy; here, take this money, which by five-and-twenties has risen to three hundred. It is, however, a *usury* that we have made for your benefit; take it, and begone quickly, or we shall be ruined!"*

Leo X. instituted an order of four hundred knights, who each received from the alum-duties an income of a hundred crowns. He made sixty new chamberlains, restored the royal academy, and repaired the baptistery of Constantine.

Paul Jovius wrote a life of this pope in 1548, in folio. It was translated from the Latin into Italian by Louis de Domenichi. There is another life by Monsignor Angelo Fabbroni. Roscoe published a life of Leo X., which was translated into French by Henri.

The best life of this pontiff is that by Audin, which we have often consulted, as has been seen by our quotations from it.

I cannot take leave of Leo X. without quoting from the English Roscoe the following judgment. As Roscoe was a Protestant, his testimony will not be suspected of flattery.

"The pontificate of Leo X. is celebrated in the Roman annals as one of their happiest epochs. When he took the chair of Saint Peter the misfortunes of Italy were at their worst, that country having been the theatre of a war in which all its governments had been engaged, and also, and still worse, having been devastated by the French, the Swiss, and the Spaniards. A council that had been established at Pisa, by the authority of the king of

* I take this anecdote from a manuscript in my library, entitled, *Notitia della discendenza, della real famiglia di Medici*, tome i., p. 112, verso.

France, traversed all the measures, and sometimes even affected to deny the authority of the Holy See ; and, independently of all those calamities, Italy was constantly tormented by fear of the Turks, who every now and then threatened a descent upon her shores. His moderation and prudence surmounted the difficulties which presented themselves to him, and during his entire pontificate the territories of the Church enjoyed greater tranquillity than any other State in Italy. Amidst the fierce quarrels that raged between the two powerful monarchs, Charles V. and Francis I., he distinguished himself by his vigilance, his wisdom, and his able policy.”* Robertson also says, that Leo was the only prince who, with a prudent circumspection, watched the acts, views, and pretensions of the rival monarchs, and shared a most generous anxiety for the tranquillity of Europe.†

If we have to deplore the divisions which cut from our communion so many reared in the same faith, it is right to add that subsequently there were illustrious Protestants who, amidst all their accusations, manifested a wise regret. Leibnitz, who won the admiration of Europe by the singular variety of his labors, gives, in one of his letters, the following opinion ; and it must be well borne in mind that it is a Protestant who thus speaks after the Reformation :

“The result was, that those who asked too many advantages lost those which were justly theirs, and which it was the interest of Christianity that they should preserve.”†

In his letter to Fabricius§ (tome v., p. 228), he goes still further :

“As God is the God of order, and the body of the Church is *one*, Catholic and Apostolical, under a government which is *one*, and with a hierarchy which includes all its members, is of right, *divine* ; it follows that there must

* Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de Medicis*, vol. ii., p. 347.

† Robertson; *History of Charles V.*, book i.

‡ Preface to *Codex juris gentium diplomaticus*. Hanover, 1693, fol.

§ Before I pass to another reign, I will justify myself from a charge which may perhaps be brought against me on account of what I have said about the arts. Some Aristarchus may say : “Why have you given so much space to a temple, a tomb, a painter, and a sculptor, and to the two portraits of two popes?” It is because these two popes, who have full right to command, on moral and physical grounds, themselves gave such great space to the men and the arts here treated of. The books of science and literature composed at Rome have their glory. But is there one of them which, at first view, excels the glory of the geniuses that reared Saint Peter’s? What sight more potently commands the gaze of the traveller? He hastens to Saint Peter’s, or to the tomb of Julius II. ; the first wish is to contemplate at the earliest moment the works of the two popes who so thoroughly understood their century. Rome is the land where artists are themselves a power. We have not yet mentioned that the coffin of Raphael was carried by four cardinals, and that the dean of the sacred college and four other cardinals were the pall-bearers. The works of the great publicists, and the meditations of the learned, have done good service to the noble cause of Rome, but who, in distributing titles of honor, would refuse to assign an immense part to arts? And we say this, not overlooking the pre-eminence due to the spiritual acts, to the salutary bulls, the regulating briefs ; and we are the less likely to do so, because the arts were the first to promulgate, in favor of the popes, this right divine to occupy the place of honor.

be, by that same right, in the same body, a spiritual sovereign magistrate, confining himself within just limits (I now add these words, provided with a directing power, and with the faculty of doing all that is necessary to discharge his duties), for the interest and safety of the Church."

The Holy See remained vacant one month and seven days.*

222. ADRIAN VI.—A. D. 1522.



ADRIAN VI. was originally named Florian Boyers, He was born at Utrecht; his father being, as some say, a weaver, a shipbuilder, a pilot's mate, or a brewer. His father sent him to the college of Louvain, and Adrian subsequently received the title of doctor from the university of that city.

Margaret, aunt of Charles V., daughter of Maximilian, king of the Romans, and governor-general of Flanders, made Adrian vicar of Louvain, and dean of the cathedral. In the latter capacity, he held the office of vice-chancellor of the university. Maximilian appointed him tutor to Charles V., when that prince was seven years old. Adrian was then sent

Let me, in conclusion, cite the homage of Pope to Leo X.:

"But see! each muse in Leo's golden days
Starts from her trance, and trims her withered bays.
Rome's ancient genius, o'er its ruins spread,
Shakes off the dust, and rears his reverend head.
Then Sculpture and her sister arts revive;
Stones leap'd to form and rocks began to live;
With sweeter notes each rising temple rung;
A Raphael painted and a Vida sung.

* In our collection we have three medals of Leo X. Around the head are these words: LEO X., PONTIFEX MAX. On the reverse of the first medal are the arms of the Medici, surmounted by the tiara and the keys (six besants, ranged 1-2-2-1), with the fleur-de-lis of France. The inscription is, GLORIA ET HONORE CORONASTI EVM. ROMA—*Thou hast crowned him with glory and honor. Rome.*

The second and the third have on the reverse the words: LIBERALITAS PONTIFICIA—*Pontifical Liberality.*

The third is larger than the second: on one side a mitre and cardinal's hat; on the other, musical instruments. In this conjunction there is, perhaps, something inconsistent with pontifical gravity. Flattery has gone so far as to strike this medal in two sizes. Sovereigns never escape from flattery; it is partly their own fault.

Du Molinet gives four other medals: SCVTA COMBURET IGNI—*He will burn up the bucklers with fire.*

This reverse is imitated from the Psalmist, who says: *Confringet arma, et scuta comburet igni—He will break the weapons, and give the bucklers to the fire* (Ps. xlv., 10). This medal was struck on the occasion of peace with Francis I., and the signing of the Concordat.

by Maximilian ambassador to Ferdinand, king of Spain, who gave him the bishopric of Tortosa.

Charles having become king of Spain on the death of Ferdinand, his maternal grandfather, that prince intrusted his former tutor, Adrian, with the management of all his affairs. Adrian was already a cardinal, having been appointed by Leo X. in the month of July, 1517. He became, in succession, inquisitor-general, and absolute master of the kingdom,—which Charles, king of Spain, under the name of Charles I., had to leave in order to take possession of the empire, under the name of Charles V.

Thirty-nine cardinals were in conclave on the 27th of November, 1521, the greatest number, says Spondanus, that had ever met in conclave. Then Julius de Medici, and the Cardinal Gaetani, without even knowing Adrian, with the single opposition of Franciotto Orsini, raised him to the pontificate on the 9th of January, 1522. He was then sixty-three years old. All this took place quickly, though Adrian was absent, a stranger, without birth, and unacquainted with Church government. The sacred electors argued, that as Adrian enjoyed the favor of the emperor, he was better qualified than any other to put down the Lutheran impiety, which was then the most important business of the Church.

But the sacred college forgot that Adrian, raised so high in Spain, had not realized the idea formed of his talents. At Madrid there had arisen a kind of revolt, called the Holy League, caused by the general discontent of a portion of the nobility, the clergy, and the populace, who felt offended at the preference that had been shown to the Flemings. The greatest proof of that preference was the almost sovereign authority conferred upon the son of a Louvain burgher. Adrian acted feebly, and it was not by his exertions that the insurrection was put down in Madrid.

The election was not pleasing to the Romans; they thought that the new pope would remain in Spain, and remove the Holy See to that country; and

A medal without inscription represents an antique chariot drawn by four horses. Victory hovers in the air in front, presenting a crown.

Another represents Rome seated upon bucklers, and holding Victory by the hand. In the field are the letters C. P., signifying, Carissimo Parenti.

A fourth medal has on the reverse: VICIT LEO DE TRIBU JUDÆ—*The Lion of the Tribe of Judah has conquered.* A lion has his foot upon the world; above, a winged Victory. Bonanni, who wrote upon pontifical numismatics after Du Molinet, notes these other medals in his *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum*. Rome, 1699.

1. SVAVE—*Gentle.* This word is above a yoke. The yoke of wise laws is a gentle authority.
2. LEO PONT. MAX.—S. P., S. P.—Leo, Sovereign Pontiff.—*Saint Peter, Saint Paul.* Haloed heads of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, with the besants of the Medicis below.
3. PACEM MEAM DO VOBIS; in the exergue, ROMA.—*My peace I give unto you, Rome.* Jesus blesses his kneeling disciples.
4. LVX VERA IN TENEBRIS LVRET. ROMA.—*The true light shineth in the darkness.* Rome. The three Magi on horseback, watching the star.

accordingly, when the cardinals left the conclave, they were subjected to serious insults.

When Adrian received the news of his election, he was at Vittoria, in Biscay. He accepted it after mature deliberation. Singularly enough, he declined to change his name, though the popes had for five centuries been accustomed to do so. He fitted out a fleet of fifty vessels, under Ferdinando de Andrada, and on the 8th of July he went to sea, with a numerous escort of prelates, and four thousand soldiers,—leaving in Spain, as his vicar-general, with the title of Apostolic Nuncio, Bernardino Pimentel, a married man. This novelty caused much remark. On his arrival at Genoa, he was complimented by the duke of Milan, the marquis of Pescara, and Prosper Colonna, captain of the papal and imperial army. As Genoa had been given up to an unbridled soldiery, and as those who had done so had incurred censures, they asked to be absolved from them. Adrian replied: “We cannot, we should not, and we will not.”*

On the 28th of August, Adrian landed at Ostia: there he re-embarked on the Tiber, and landed at Saint Paul, outside the walls. There he stayed one night in the convent of the Benedictines, to whom that church had been granted in 1425, by Pope Martin V.

Being informed that a triumphal arch, costing five hundred crowns, was commenced before the Portese gate for his entrance, he ordered the work discontinued, and observed that pomp of that kind better became pagans than Christians and religious. It was already discussed in the councils, whether the pope ought not to be crowned at Saint Paul, so that he should enter Rome as a crowned pontiff. But the general opinion was, that it was best to abide by the old custom, and crown the pontiff in the church of the Vatican.

On the 20th of August, the cardinals went in solemn conclave to Saint Paul's. The pope said Mass, and then went down into the cloister, where the cardinals kissed his hand and paid him obeisance.

Thence Adrian went into the sacristy, and thanked the cardinals for his election. He explained the cause of his delay in arriving. He then begged that they would harbor neither criminals nor debtors in their palaces as places of sanctuary, and he asked that the barigel (chief of police) should be at liberty to enter the palaces of the cardinals, to which they instantly consented. Then, all got on horseback. His Holiness, carried in a chair to the front of the door of Saint Paul's, there mounted a white horse, with the Holy Sacrament carried before him (this custom has been abolished), and rode towards the palace of the Vatican. On the 31st of August, the

* Those noble words were borrowed by the French parliaments in their refusal to register the ministerial edicts, and by Pius VII. in his disputes with Napoleon.

pope was solemnly crowned by Cardinal Mark Cornaro, first deacon, upon the staircase of the Basilica. There was no great concourse present, on account of the pestilence.

One of the first measures of the pope was to issue an edict against persons found carrying weapons. This year, too, Adrian summoned Erasmus to him. "Arise, arise," said the pope to Erasmus, "arise in defence of the Lord, and for his glory; use, as hitherto you have done, the marvellous gifts that he has bestowed upon you."

Audin records the correspondence between the pope and the great scholar.

Erasmus hesitated; he did not dare to join in the work which was proposed to him by the head of the Church. He gave hesitating and doubtful apologies on the score of age, infirmities, his imagination as frozen at his fingers; and he especially dwelt upon his unfitness to journey, as the pope wished him, to Rome. To hear him, however, he saw the evils of the Church and their remedy. But the remedies, he wrote, he could explain only by trustworthy messengers, and he had none such. He ended by saying, that his advice had already been rejected. Adrian soon understood that he could not reckon upon the co-operation of Erasmus.

Audin thus gives the portrait of Adrian:

"Pope Adrian was thoroughly German; German in language, attire,* manners, and faith; which last needed not, like that of the Italians, the aid of symbols and images to excite it.† He was a true Christian of the primitive Church, who, unfortunately, did not perceive that the external forms, if they are to endure, must change with the manners and customs of the people.

"More than plainly dressed,‡ he was only to be distinguished, when going about the streets of Rome, by his escort of the halt, the lame, and the blind, the poor and the mendicant of both sexes, who thronged upon his path, and to whom he distributed alms.§ No artists were there, for he loved them not;|| he taunted them with 'robbing the poor.'"

* It is difficult for a pope to be German in attire. Every fold of his dress is studied for him. Manners, countenance, and tastes may remain German, but the robes, the capes, the cap, etc., must be Roman. The masters of the ceremonies at Rome see to that.

† Too severe; images in Italy do not injure faith, though faith was before images.

‡ What does this mean? German as he was, he must have been dressed as he fittingly should be on the day of his enthronement; admitting all difference of taste and preference.

§ My readers can testify that I have more than once shown them such papal pictures. Without reckoning the thirteen paupers of Saint Gregory, have we not seen very many pontiffs walking with that escort of paupers, and giving them at once benediction and alms? The true pontiff of Rome must thus be called *pastor amans inopum*.

|| True, but we think, not the better. The greatness and the poverty of Rome might both be attended to without mischief to either. The poor profit largely by the influx of travellers who come to admire the magnificence of art.

Further on, Audin shows himself just to Leo X.; and he was very near failing worthily to appreciate that magnanimous sovereign. "Leo X.," says Audin, "and Adrian VI., both did their appointed work. Leo, in associating himself to the movement of ideas, in raising and magnificently endowing the artistic, showed the populace that the papacy, far from being inimical to enlightenment, glorified it as the gift of God. Adrian, when art was beyond the sweeping of the tempest, forgetting for a moment the outward form, thought only of the ills of the Church; that is to say, to do a work which has its own greatness, and for which Adrian was well qualified."

When the balance is thus held, a grain of sand would turn it either way, and the reader is kept in a line of moderation, in which he always should be kept. But, what was going on in that city of which we lately spoke as being scourged by the plague?

In the month of December, the contagion redoubled its ravages; the courts had to be closed, many of the cardinals left Rome, and the pope and his servants shut themselves up in the palace, into which those only were allowed to enter who were summoned, and from which no one was allowed to go without permission.

In the spring of 1523, the pestilence ceased, and the courts resumed their sittings. The pope did not take possession of Saint John Lateran, although, in a consistory in January, it had been debated whether the pope could take possession by proxy.

Much was said about the disorders of this Roman court. Innovators made complaints, which were not always well founded, and urged the pope to make reforms. Adrian, harassed on all hands, and besides, urged by his own zeal to establish order, especially in ecclesiastical discipline, called to his aid two of the most distinguished men for goodness, learning, and prudence,—John Peter Carafa, archbishop of Chieti, and Saint Cajetan *Tièné*. In concert with them, the pope began to examine attentively the question which had first kindled the Luthern fire—the question of indulgences. Abuses had crept in, which the pope and the cardinals determined to repress. They began by being very chary of those indulgences which were to the advantage of the chancery office, which gave universal satisfaction. Disinterestedness on the part of men in power, is always agreeable to the people.

On the 1st of September, after the coronation, Adrian revoked all indults granted by the cardinals, at which they were displeased. The referendaries were at that time thirty in number; Adrian reduced them to eight, so that the apostolical chamber might economize in that direction.

On the 9th of that month, he received solemnly, and in the midst of an immense concourse of people, the palfrey and the tribute of seven thousand ounces of gold for the kingdom of Sicily; they were presented by John

Monoel, ambassador from Charles V., and Jane, queen of Aragon and Sicily. On that occasion, the pope ratified the investiture of the kingdom of Naples in favor of Charles.

On the 9th of December, Adrian published the revocation that he had made in the month of April, at Saragossa, of all the *expectatives* of benefices. These *expectatives* were a kind of privilege granted by the popes, the cardinals, and the bishops, to ecclesiastical persons, who thus were secured the *survivorship* of the actual *titularies*; or, what we now call, as to bishoprics, *coadjutorships*, and, for seculars, *reversions*.

The Holy Father was absolutely bent upon putting down Lutheranism. He wrote urgent letters to those princes who had remained faithful, and he sent his nuncio, Francis Chérégat, to the Diet of Nuremberg. It was there determined to enforce the decrees of Charles V. and Leo X., against Luther. The apostate monk seemed to pay little attention to these decrees, as he was protected by several princes who held his doctrines, and were repaid by his granting to them bishoprics and the greater part of the ecclesiastical property.

By the same Chérégat, Adrian sent a paternal brief to Frederic, duke of Saxony, in which, reminding him of the piety of his ancestors, he exhorted him to abandon Luther and return into the bosom of the Church.

Terms offensive to the Roman court have been ascribed to Adrian. In his instructions, he said: "Avow frankly that God has permitted this schism and this persecution on account of the sins of men, and especially those of the priests and prelates of the Church." This avowal, made in deep humility, but scarcely in accordance with human prudence, contained an implicit censure of many acts prior to his pontificate; and it was a subject of triumph for the partisans of the Reformation, and of blame for writers attached to the court of Rome. On this subject, the Cardinal Pallavicini said of Adrian VI.: "He was an excellent ecclesiastic, but, in the main, a very ordinary pope." Moreover, those proceedings belonged not exclusively to the Roman court, pernicious examples had been given everywhere. We have seen how often the popes had to reprove and call to better sentiments the ecclesiastics of various countries. Schisms had been maintained only by compliances, by abuses, and by forgetfulness of all dignity and of all duty. The pope was disobeyed, that men might buy and sell in the house of the Lord.

Adrian learned that the nations of America solicited missionaries, and he sent them some Franciscans, full of zeal for the propagation of the faith; giving those courageous athletes a proof of confidence and genuine love. A bull, to be found in Verricelli,* enacted that in the Indies, wherever no

* *De Missionn. Apost.*, tit. iv, p. 221.

bishopric had as yet been founded, or where, though bishoprics existed, the bishops and their vicars could not go, religious, expressly authorized by their superiors, might exercise episcopal authority, except in such things as absolutely required the personal authority of a bishop. Formerly, John XXII. had, by bull, granted to the Franciscans, on missions, the use of a *quasi-episcopal* jurisdiction, in places where there was no Catholic bishop. This privilege was recognized by the Congregation of Rites, on the 5th of April, 1704, as is shown by Lambertini.*

At this time, the island of Rhodes, the residence of the knights of that name, was besieged by two hundred thousand Turks, commanded by Soliman II. Adrian sent provisions to the knights, but contrary winds delayed the flotilla, and the besieged were reduced to the last extremities. However, as the knights continued to display their usual courage, the Turks prepared to raise the siege. Then the chancellor of the order, Andrew d'Amaral, a Portuguese, irritated because Philip de Villiers l'Ile Adam was preferred to him for the dignity of grand master, caused a slinger to throw a paper into the Turkish camp, giving the besiegers notice that the place was no longer defensible, and Soliman consequently continued the attack. After a siege of six months, the place was surrendered on honorable terms, and the sultan, who entered in triumph, paid the highest honors to the grand master. The knights had wrested the island from the Saracens two hundred and thirteen years before, and had held it as sovereigns. It was the fifth residence of those brave knights, and they now only lost it by the treachery of the Portuguese knight. They afterwards wandered about from place to place, until Charles V. gave them the island of Malta, on condition of their presenting a falcon to the king of Naples, the sovereign of that island.

Though the warlike disposition of Julius II. cannot be entirely justified, yet we must not be too strongly prejudiced against it. We now find Adrian, though opposed to such habits, and accustomed to retirement and prayer, forced into sending against Malatesta, lord of Rimini, the Spanish army which had escorted the new pontiff to Italy. The same army was employed to restore the duchy of Urbino to Francis Mary de la Rovera, who had been deprived of it by Leo X. Alphonso d'Este at the same time received the duchy of Ferrara. The same pope labored to separate the Venetians from the league with the French. Not content with this success, he engaged the republic to contract an alliance with the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria, and the duke of Milan. By that means Adrian deemed himself secured against any attack by the French.

These politic provisions were successful, but Adrian at the same time is

* *De Canonizatione S. S.*, lib. ii., cap. 11, No. 4.

censurable for having shown such an excessive gratitude towards the imperial court, as to render it in some sort the arbiter of the decisions of the Vatican.

In the midst of so much condescension, Adrian, little accustomed to government, did not discover that Cardinal Soderini, in whom he had great confidence, had a secret understanding with Francis I., and advised him to take advantage of the disturbances to conquer the island of Sicily. The treachery was at last discovered, the property of the cardinal confiscated, and he was confined in the castle of Saint Angelo.

It is but justice to Adrian to say, that what he could least forget was the interest of the priesthood. On the 13th of May, 1523, he canonized Saint Benno, abbot and provost in the city of Hildesheim, and then bishop of Meissen, in Lower Saxony, and apostle of the Slavonians. He had been a great defender of Gregory VII. against Henry IV., king of the Romans, whom he even ventured to excommunicate. A thousand griefs and pains, aggravated by his great age, caused his death on the 16th of June, 1106, in his seventy-sixth year, after being the most courageous of bishops during forty years. The process of his canonization had been pursued under Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X.

In the same solemnity, Adrian also canonized Saint Antoninus, thus named on account of his small size—Antoninus being the diminutive of his real name, Antonio. He belonged to the Dominicans, and had been archbishop of Florence. Adrian extended to the kings of Spain the right granted by Leo X. to the French kings, to choose and nominate bishops. At the same time the kings of Spain obtained the privilege of being perpetual grand masters of the orders of Saint James, of Calatrava, and of Alcantara.

Adrian, worn out by the fatigues and anxieties to which he was subjected between Luther and the Turks, found his health daily failing, and he at length died on the 14th of September, 1523, at the age of sixty-four, after governing the Church one year, eight months, and six days. He had created only one cardinal. He had long suffered with the stone. He was interred at the Vatican, between the two Piccolomini popes—Pius II. and Pius III.*

Adrian was afterwards removed into the Church of Santa Maria, *de l'Anima*, the national church of the Germans, built after the designs of Balthazar Peruzzi, by Cardinal William Enchenvoert, the single member of the sacred college created by him.

Adrian, though a stranger to *family* nepotism, was not so to *national* nepotism.

* Novaes (vi., p. 215) relates that upon his tomb was placed the shameful inscription :

*Hic jacet Impius inter Pios—
Between the pious, here the impious lies.*

Adrian had a handsome countenance : it was a pleasure to look upon his fair and ruddy face. He was tall, but naturally, or from the effect of age, his head drooped down. He seemed inclined to gayety of temper, and every one found his conversation frank and agreeable. There was much to admire in the courage with which he said—*We will not adorn the priests and the churches, but we will adorn the church with the priests.* He often issued bulls, and insisted on their being gratis.

Adrian, as we have said, had, like some other popes, no inclination to family nepotism. Many of his relations ventured to go to Rome in hope of making their fortune. Adrian gave them a small sum of money to pay their travelling expenses, and sent them back to Flanders on foot. He, like Adrian IV., said that he owed more to Christ than to the flesh, *on which he would not build.**

Adrian was not splendid ; he was reputed to love neither poets nor luxury, and we have seen that he was no patron of antiquarians. At Rome this was deemed a great misfortune. As to the reproach that he did not spend

* Before they discovered, in an excavation, the statue of Patroclus,† killed by Hector in the Trojan war, and carried out of the battle by Menelaus, there was a tailor, named Pasquin, famous for his witty sayings, and the idlers of the time used to haunt his shop to hear him, and to draw out his satire. After the death of that buffoon, his friends having no longer occasion to assemble in that shop, hit upon the plan of putting their witticisms in writing, and stick them on the statue of Patroclus, newly discovered, and set up on a spot near that on which afterwards the Braschi palace was built. That mutilated statue received from the populace the name of Pasquin, and the satires pasted on it were called Pasquinades. For a long time, nobles, prelates, and foreign princes were exposed to these always biting satires. It was astonishing that a city where impertinence can as easily be silenced as elsewhere, no means could be found to silence a mutilated marble, devoid of nose, legs, and arms, although of such exquisite sculpture that Bernini considered it the finest he had ever seen, and always stopped to admire it when he was in that part of the city. Pope Adrian VI., little acquainted with the habits of the Romans, and unaware that in that often disturbed city civil war had only ceased on being replaced by the Pasquinades, and that the bitterest of taunts and jeers were very much preferable to assassination and civil war—Adrian, who, moreover, attached but small value to antiquities, and lacked Roman sagacity on the matter, thought of having the statue removed and thrown into the Tiber, or burned. But one of his courtiers diverted him by telling him that if Pasquin were thrown into the river, a croaking would be heard louder than of the frogs in their marshes ; and that if he were burned, the poets, with a natural turn for evil speaking, would yearly assemble at the place of the execution of their advocate‡ to celebrate his funeral, and to blacken the memory of the pontiff who had condemned him. This was sufficient to stop a man of sense like Adrian ; Pasquin lost neither his existence nor his privilege, and he continues to this day to lacerate with impunity the living and even the dead, and especially those who lay violent hands upon the country.

Generally, Pasquin is feigned to converse with another statue called Marforio, supposed to be so named from having been found in the forum of Mars. One statue asks a question, and the other replies. Marforio, according to Fea, is an ancient statue representing the river Rhine, and probably belonged to the colossal bronze statue of the Emperor Domitian, formerly standing in the Forum.—(Fea, *Description of Rome* : Rome, 1821, p. 196.)

† See Cancellieri, in his notices of the two famous statues of a river and Patroclus, vulgarly called Marforio and Pasquin. Rome, 1789, 8vo.

‡ Novæ, vi., p. 218.

much, it may be replied that he found the treasury empty, and that all Christian princes, and even Charles, had refused to aid him. However, by dint of effort and solicitation, and, especially, self-denial, he sent Cardinal Gaetani, a Dominican, to Hungary, with a succor of 40,000 ducats, the utmost that he could raise.

Adrian sometimes said that his greatest misfortune was that of being in power. His epitaph, ascribed to himself, thus states that fact: *Adrianus VI., hic situs est, qui nil sibi infelicius in vita quam quod imperaret, duxit—Here lies Adrian VI., who deemed his being called to reign his greatest misfortune.*

This pope ranks among the ecclesiastical writers, by his *Commentary upon the book of Sentences*. Paris, folio, 1512.

This book, first printed when he was a professor at Louvain, was reprinted without the author's sanction when he was the head of Christendom. In it one proposition is, that *the pope can err even in what concerns the faith*,* a proposition which proves nothing in favor of the Protestants, though they often repeat it in their attacks upon the infallibility of the sovereign pontiff, as it may be understood of the private opinions of the popes, and not be essentially applicable to their solemn decisions, still less to their decrees accepted by the body of the bishops. Adrian, on the throne, retracted the censurable opinions contained in this book. He was the author, also, of the *Quæstiones Quodlibeticæ*, 8 vo., 1521. Gerard Maring wrote a life of Adrian VI., in 4to., printed at Louvain in 1536. Paul Jovius, bishop of Nocera, published the life of Adrian VI., at Florence, 1548. This life, translated into Italian by Louis Domenichi, was published in 8vo., with that of Leo X., by Paul Jovius. Gaspar Burman, published in 1727, at Utrecht, another life of Adrian. Millot treats this pontiff with unjust and cruel severity.† The Holy See was vacant two months and four days.

* Feller, i., p. 55.

† We present two medals of this reign. They represent the head of Adrian covered with a large white cap. Around are these words: ADRIANVS VI., PONT. MAXIM. On the reverse of the first we read: QUEM CREANT ADORANT, ROMÆ—*They adore whom they create, at Rome.* We have seen this type under the reign of Martin V. This piece, therefore, is a restoration.

The second bears in the exergue ROMA, and around, SPIRITVS SAPIENTIÆ—*The Spirit of Wisdom.* Open books, surmounted by the keys and the tiara; above, the Holy Ghost. Du Molinet gives this medal, and speaks of Adrian in the most pompous terms. Medals with the effigy of Adrian VI., struck at Louvain, are believed to exist. I am not acquainted with them.

Bonanni (vol. i., p. 184), gives the following medal: VT IPSE FINIAM—*That I shall finish it myself.* A tower building, surrounded by scaffolding. Bonanni thinks that by this tower commenced, is to be understood the sending of an envoy to Nuremberg to combat Luther. The pope reserved the finishing strokes to be given by himself, in the endeavor to put down the adversary, and to oppose a tower to the invasion which menaced Catholicity. De Glen, in his *Histoire Pontificale*, p. 862, already quoted, thus speaks of Luther a century after: "Satan, wishing to make a final effort against the Church, found a proper tool in the apostate Martin Luther, the noted architect or renovator of all the heresies that had been condemned and buried centuries before." De Glen, like Adrian, was a Fleming, but speaks in unbecoming terms of his fellow-countryman.

223. CLEMENT VII.—A. D. 1523.



CLEMENT VII. (Julius de Medici) was the legitimate son of the Julian de Medici whose assassination by the Florentine conspirators of the Pazzi faction on the 26th of April, 1478, a month before the birth of Julius, we have already described. His mother was Antonia del Cittadino, or of the *Gorini*. To prove the authenticity of her marriage with Julian, two cardinals were appointed to make inquiry, and they found witnesses who had been present at a secret marriage.

During his exile, Julius, at the age of eighteen, entered the order of the Knights of Rhodes, and was prior of Capua. He next became archbishop of Embrun, and then obtained the archbishopric of Florence. In 1513, Leo X., his cousin, created him cardinal-deacon of Saint Mary *in dominica*. He was legate in the league of Leo X. and Charles V., against the French, and did not quit the army sent to meet them.

After the funeral of Adrian VI., thirty-three sacred electors entered into conclave on the 1st of October. The guard was intrusted to the grand master of Rhodes, L'Ile Adam, who had been summoned to Rome by Adrian VI., and received with the most flattering honors.

Julius, aged forty-five, was elected pope on the 18th of November, 1523, and promulgated on the 19th, after fifty days of conclave—that is to say, the very day on which, two years before, he had entered Milan as a conqueror. He owed his elevation especially to the younger cardinals. He had been named by way of *adoration*—that is to say, publicly and by acclamation; but he desired that there should be a scrutiny, declaring that, though it was in his power to invoke an act of adoration, he would forego all right resulting from it. It was possible that, on the scrutiny, his election might be lost, but it elected him unanimously, with the exception of his own vote; and Cardinal Mark Cornaro crowned him under the name of Clement VII., at Saint Peter's, on the 26th of December, but he did not take solemn possession of Saint John Lateran. He thought of doing so on Saint John the Baptist's day, in 1525, but the project was not carried into execution.

The new pontiff received into his good graces Cardinal Soderini, who left the castle of Saint Angelo to enter the conclave, though in the previous negotiations as to the choice of a pope, he had been opposed to Julius. "On this occasion," said the Romans, "the pontiff showed himself Clement

by both name and nature." Some authors affirm that he wished to keep his own name of Julius, but it was objected that a pope who preserved his own name would die in a few years, as had been the case with Adrian. He accordingly consented to change his name to Clement VII., paying no attention to the fact that an antipope, in the time of Urban V., had usurped the name.

The pope immediately sent into Germany Cardinal Campeggio, the most skilful member of the sacred college, and one of the most respected for piety and virtue. It was he who, with many princes of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, published a reform of the clergy, consisting of thirty-five chapters. Subsequently, Clement, whose views were truly pacific, diligently applied himself to restore the most perfect concord among the Christian princes, to diminish the scandal of their dissensions, and thus to show a more formidable front to the enemies of religion. But if the commencement of this reign was pacific as the pontiff himself, the continuation became so frightfully painful, that the Church, from its birth, had never, under any other pope, experienced so much misery, violence, and unforeseen catastrophe.

By a bull of the 24th of June, 1524, Clement approved the order of the Theatines, regular clerics, instituted by John Peter Carafa, then archbishop of Chieti. *Theate* is the Latin name of Chieti, and thence these religious took the name of *Theatines*. The other founders of the order were two persons of an exemplary piety, Boniface del Calle, an Alexandrian noble, and Paul Consiglieri, a Roman knight, aided in that great work by Saint Cajetan Tiénée, a noble of Vicenza, commonly called the Founder. He recommended to his religious so austere a poverty, that he said: "You must have no reliance but on Divine Providence." They are still known under the same name. They were chiefly in Italy; having only four houses in Germany, five in Spain, one in France,* three in Portugal, one in Poland, and one at Goa, in Hindostan. The Theatine nuns who, in 1583, were founded at Naples, are scarcely known beyond the limit of that kingdom. They are divided into two congregations, those who take simple vows and those who take irrevocable vows: the superiors of both are the Theatines.

In the year 1525, Clement celebrated the Jubilee of the Holy Year—that is to say, the eighth after that of Boniface, and the second since the celebration was fixed for every twenty-five years.

On the 1st of May, after the pontifical Mass of Saint John Lateran, Clement published the league concluded against the Turk, between Charles V., the kings of France and England, the Florentines, and the dukes of Milan

* They were established in that kingdom in 1647, by King Louis XIV. and Cardinal Mazarin. The latter left them in his will a hundred thousand crowns to build their house.

and Mantua. In this ceremony, the pope granted to all present plenary indulgence and the pontifical benediction.

On account of the pestilence, there were not many pilgrims present this Holy Year; they dreaded the wars in Italy, rebellion in Germany, and tumults in Hungary; and, finally, there were the troubles excited by Luther, who, that same year, in the forty-fifth year of his age, had married the nun Catherine de Bora, abbess of a convent of the city of Nimptsch, near Grimma, a city of the kingdom of Saxony, about seven leagues from Leipsic. He lived with her until the 18th of February, 1546, on which day the apostate died, after a fit of debauchery. From this wretched and sacrilegious union there were three sons—John, Martin, and Paul.

At the entreaty of Andrew Gritti, doge of Venice, Clement beatified Saint Lawrence Giustiniani, patriarch of that city, subsequently canonized by Alexander VIII.

But we must now prepare to contemplate fatal scenes. It has been easy to anticipate the evils that Luther caused; we now behold his partisans marching in arms on Rome. The Catholic reader must summon up all his courage. The Constable of Bourbon, irritated beyond measure by the injustice he had suffered at the court of France, resolved on vengeance for it. He abandoned the service of Francis I., and by an inexcusable desertion passed into the service of Charles V. While weakening the king of France, this augmented the strength and influence of the king of Spain and of the king of the Romans.

Francis I., defeated at Pavia, could not defend Clement, who was on bad terms with Charles V. In 1526, at the moment of his deliverance, Francis concluded a treaty with the pope, and desired to drive Charles from the peninsula; but neither at Rome nor in Paris were the requisite measures taken to prevent the enemy from marching upon Rome. Bourbon commanded this army, made up of Lutherans and Spaniards, and he advanced without artillery, baggage-wagons, or munitions. Such boldness deserved a better cause and a nobler aim. It would be difficult to prove that the Romans then did not regret the absence of the warlike energy of Pope Julius II.

Renzo di Ceri, of the Orsini family, undertook to save Rome, but the pope had sent away some foreign troops on whom he could rely, and the city was left to its own citizens, long unused to war.

On the 4th of March, 1527,* Charles de Bourbon led his soldiers to the assault. Benvenuto Cellini, in his life, states that he was an eye-witness, and thus proceeds: "The whole city took up arms. We then proceeded along the walls of the Campo Santo, and thence we saw that immense army

* *Italy*, p. 245.

making every effort to remain at that part of the wall which we were approaching. We saw the bodies of many young men, killed by the assailants. A dense fog prevailed. I turned towards Alexander *del Bene*, one of my companions, and said to him: 'Let us get back to the house as soon as possible, for there is no remedy in the world. You see the enemy enter, our people flee.' Alexander, much alarmed, exclaimed: 'Would to God that we had not come!' and then he hastily turned to go away. But I detained him, saying: 'Since you have brought me here, we must do something honorable.' And pointing my arquebus where I saw the soldiers thickest, I aimed at a person taller than the rest. The fog prevented me from being sure whether he was mounted or on foot. Looking at Alexander and my other companion Cecchino, I told them to fire their pieces, and I placed them so that they would not receive a shot from the enemy. When each of us had fired two shots, I looked cautiously over the wall; I remarked a great bustle among the assailants, because one of our shots had killed Bourbon, and he was the first man that I saw taken up by the others, as we afterwards clearly perceived.

"We retired by the *Campo Santo*, and entered by Saint Peter's. Coming out behind the church of Saint Angelo, we with great difficulty reached the gate of the castle, for Renzo di Ceri and Horace Baglioni wounded or killed those who avoided fighting at the walls. The drawbridge was lowered, for the enemy was already in the city, and I got into the fort at the moment when Pope Clement arrived by the corridors."*

Furious on learning the death of their general, killed early in the assault, either by Benvenuto Cellini, or some other hand, the soldiers at first gave no quarter. The first day, nearly eight thousand Romans were butchered in a single portion of the city, although they implored mercy on their knees.

"Never, probably, in the history of the world," says Sismondi, "has a great capital been abandoned to a more atrocious abuse of victory; never has a powerful army been composed of more ferocious soldiers, or more frightfully shaken off the yoke of discipline. It was not enough that the whole wealth, sacred and profane, that piety or industry had amassed, was given over to the rapacity of the plundering soldiers, the very persons of the unfortunate inhabitants were equally delivered over to the brutal caprices of the soldiers. While women of rank fell victims to insatiable lust, those suspected of possessing hidden wealth were tortured. They were forced by torments to sign notes, and to exhaust the means of any

* There are corridors leading from the palace of the Vatican to the castle of Saint Angelo. They are built like aqueducts. When they extend the length of a street, they are, as it were, built against the wall, and intercept the light from the first story. Few persons visit those corridors, which still exist. To do so requires express permission, but it is a very curious and memorable journey.

friends they might have in other countries. Many prelates sank under those sufferings. After paying ransom, and believing themselves safe from any further attacks, they were obliged to ransom themselves anew; and many died of violence, grief, or fear. German soldiers, doubly drunk with wine and blood, led bishops about mounted on asses, and clothed in their canonical habits, or dragged cardinals through the streets, loading them with blows and insults. In their greed, those soldiers broke open the tabernacles and mutilated master-pieces of the arts. The Vatican library was sacked; the squares and the churches became markets, where the soldiers sold young women and horses; and these abominable excesses, committed even in the Basilica of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, an asylum venerated by Attila,* the pillage of which, under Genseric, lasted only a fortnight, was now kept up without mitigation for two months."

Amidst so many atrocities, no respect was paid even to that class of talents which, having no great wealth, offered no temptation to cupidity. Relying on that feeling of dignity which is venerated by the most barbarous nations, artists of all nations who lived in Rome, after asking for liberty and life, uttered words of honor, of courage, and of piety. But what could you say to those monsters, nurtured in crime and bloodshed, who, during five years, had pitilessly plundered and overwhelmed with grief other provinces of the peninsula? What was your mistake! You adorned the temples with elegance, you embellished them with sacred images, and you placed in the tombs the allegories of the Church; against you, also, war is declared. The iconoclasts of Leo, that low-born, wicked soldier, have returned. What need of you and of those fictions? they ask. The temples must be bare; like the other Romans, you will perish if you do not flee. The very soldiers who revered Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and doubtless asked pardon at her shrine on their return, even they, led away by the fatal society of their companions in wickedness, forgot the voice of their priests, and would blush to kneel even before their Saint James of Compostella.

Halberds in a moment scattered the learned school of Michael Angelo and of Raphael.

Let us specify, as Rome in her enthusiastic and poetic language has done, the ravages that she had to deplore.

Antonio Sangallo abandoned his pilasters, half reared in Saint Peter's, where they had burned even his scaffolding. From the summit of the castle of Saint Angelo, sole refuge of Catholic Rome, scarcely can he distinguish the last stories of the Vatican which he has been appointed to adorn.

Polydore takes flight in Salerno. He only risks returning towards Naples. Julio Romano only resumes his brushes when he reaches Mantua.

* *Italy*, p. 247.

Pellegrino carries his grace, his taste, and his freshness to Modena. Gaudentio Ferrari gives lessons of the *loggia* and of the *stanze* to his admirers in Milan. Perrino del Vaga establishes an academy at Genoa. One artist alone, Rosso, who afterwards constructed and ornamented with pictures the great gallery of Fontainebleau, would not hide in Rome, where religion is no longer free or art protected. Rosso is bound, beaten, chained, called impious and idolatrous. If he appeals to the Spaniards, the violence is repeated; as he loves and defends his life, he of course must have hidden gold!

The pupils of him who placed in the church of *La Minerva*, *Christ embracing the cross*, which no one any longer respects, rush to the side of Michael Angelo, who, throwing down the compasses, has seized the sword, and offers himself for the defence of Florence, which is also threatened.

So, many illustrious fugitives carry everywhere with them their resentment of those outrageous wrongs. In their language of imagination, eloquence, and ardor, they recount their sufferings. I do not speak of the outrages inflicted upon the learned. That was not the day when the house of Archimedes was to be respected.

As it is pleasing to see arts and sciences lavish their gratitude on a protector, a gratitude which survives even an empire, equally painful it is to perceive that when outraged they give way to the passion of vengeance. This idea must always pain our Christian feelings. When the day of grief and terror comes to those whom Luther calls to discord (that fatal day will come before the end of the century, and as the History of the Popes is endless, we shall have to give an account of that day) in Rome herself, the still indignant arts will too well remember their disasters.

During that time Charles V. went in mourning for his victory! The hypocrite had public prayers offered for the liberty of the Holy Father, who was besieged in the castle of Saint Angelo, and for the return of that peace in Christendom which he alone disturbed. What dastardly in his orders sent from Aranjuez for the deliverance of Rome, so long in the power of the Lutheran soldiery! He who thus commanded prayers was the very head and master of that army to which, a very *Janus* of piety and revolt, he privately sent re-enforcements from Germany.

At this news, and having so odious an enemy, the pope deemed that he ought not yet to think of yielding. They required four hundred thousand gold ducats to allow him to leave the castle of Saint Angelo; and further, to deliver to the *Mussulman's* troops, who held him besieged, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Parma, Placenza, and Modena, without any stipulation for their eventual restoration. The pope hesitated to accept these conditions. If he had not the military courage of Julius II., he had civil courage and the gift of prudence.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Pompey Colonna, another enemy of Clement VII.,

had entered Rome at the head of a troop of the tenants of his fiefs. He had, with a sacrilegious ardor, embraced the cause of the emperor. The cardinal enjoyed at first the humiliation of the pope, and the annoyance of Renzo di Ceri; but we must quickly add, that this prince of the Church, this Roman, could not long endure the sight of the profanation of the temples, and the grief of his country. The peasantry of Colonna wanted to pillage what had been left by the Spaniards and the Lutherans. This was too much. Colonna was moved by a deep pity; he shed tears of repentance; he promptly sent away the brigands whom he had brought, and kept with him only a faithful and obedient troop. Very soon he threw open his palace to those who desired shelter there; with his own money he ransomed the captive cardinals, without distinction of faction, friend and foe alike. In the generous frankness of his penitence he would have held out his hand even to an Orsini! He distributed provisions to crowds of wretched people, who, having lost all, were perishing with hunger. Great crimes often call forth great virtues.*

When the Spanish-German army consented to acknowledge a general, it was Philibert de Chalons, prince of Orange, who commanded it, and in time he enforced some respect to his authority.

Clement VII. again entreated the duke of Urbino to encamp on Monte Maria, a very strong position, whence it was easy to harass or attack Rome. What could the conqueror fear? All that he did not fear. But La Rovera, enemy to the Medicis and to Leo X., who for a time had deprived him of his principality [a new instance of the evil results of nepotism], with the vilest obstinacy, incessantly repeated that his army was not sufficiently supplied with munitions. The Venetians conjured him to act, but he was deaf to all entreaties.

Rome had been sacked by the Gauls three hundred and sixty-two years after its foundation; by Alaric, king of the Goths, on the 24th of August, A. D. 410; by Genseric, king of the Vandals, in 455; by Odoacer, in 467; by the Ostrogoths, in 536; by the Goths, in 538; by Totila, king of the Goths, in 546; and again on the 17th of September, 548,—on that occasion the first families were reduced to such misery that patrician ladies were forced to beg at the gates of the Goths; by the Emperor Constantius II., on the 5th of July, 665; by the Lombards, in 750; by Astolphus, king of the same nation, in 755; by the African Saracens, in 896; by the Emperor Arnold, in 996; and by the Emperor Henry IV., in 1084. But the excesses and the carnage committed by the army of Charles V., caused the Romans to forget the rapacity of the barbarians who had despoiled them.

* *Italy*, p. 249. On Saint Bartholomew's day, the duke of Guise, guilty as he was, saved a hundred Protestants in his house.

The German Lutherans and Spanish Catholics, after having committed the most bestial enormities, insulted Rome with yet one more act of audacity. Assembling in one of the chapels of the Vatican, and wearing the insignia of the cardinalate, they deposed Pope Clement, and proceeded to elect a new pontiff. Imitating the ceremonies of the conclave, each gave his vote to Luther, the patriarch of the revolt, and in Rome herself he was created pope by that crew of miscreants.

Meantime, Clement, overwhelmed by so many frightful misfortunes, dragged on a life of grief and tears in the castle of Saint Angelo. He was besieged seven months, from the 6th of March to the 9th of December, and was at length obliged to submit to the severest conditions. His ransom was fixed at four hundred thousand golden crowns, which he was obliged to pay. He was called upon for hostages, and he had to deliver up some of his best friends—Cardinals Franciotto Orsini, Paulus Emilius Cesi, Alexander Cesarini, Augustine Trivulzi, and Nicholas Gaddi; as well as John Matthew Giberto, bishop of Verona; Antonio Pucci, bishop of Pistoia, and Onofrius Bartolini Salimbeni, archbishop of Pisa. All were shut up in the palace of Cardinal Pompey Colonna, and thence removed to Naples.

The pope, who still had thirteen cardinals with him, was closely kept prisoner by the Spaniard Alicornio, who had been the jailer of Francis I., when captured at Pavia. The Spaniard treated the pope as though he had been a chief of banditti. Then Clement, more than ever doubtful of the good faith of Charles V., fled to Orvieto, disguised as a merchant, and escorted by Louis Gonzaga. There he was hospitably received by his relative, Nicolas Ridolfi, bishop of that city. In the interval, Bourbon's army having left Rome, Clement, at the invitation of Cardinal Campeggio, legate of the Holy See, went to Viterbo, and thence to Rome, which city he re-entered on the 6th of October, 1528.

When the Emperor Charles V. learned the continued calamities of the Catholic capital of the world, and of the head of the Church, he continued to feign the most lively grief, suspended the festivities that had been ordered on account of the birth of his son Philip, exaggerated his outward garb of mourning, and caused other prayers to be put up for the assistance of Heaven against so many evils. But every one perceived the imperial hypocrisy when Charles, instead of setting the pontiff at liberty, still kept him prisoner, and still dishonored himself by his illusory prayers for the deliverance of his own prisoner, whom he might at any time have restored to Rome in less than a month, had he chosen. Such spectacles form a dark page in history. It is affirmed that Charles would have willingly removed Clement to Madrid, to show the populace a fettered pope, after having so long gratified them with the sight of an imprisoned king of France; but Charles feared that this fresh excess might render him odious in the sight

of his own people, and especially of his bishops, who detested the mere idea of so violent an outrage upon the vicar of Jesus Christ.

Clement, shortly before these sad scenes, had beatified Peter of Luxemburg, of the counts of Ligny, a celebrated family which had given kings to Bohemia and emperors to Germany.

It is known that Henry VIII., king of England, had married Catharine of Aragon, widow of his brother Arthur, and aunt of Charles V. To that end he had obtained a dispensation from Julius III., as mentioned in our life of that pope. But that prince afterwards plunging into illicit connection with Anne Boleyn, although he had been twenty-eight years the husband of Catharine, solicited in 1528 from Pope Clement, then at Viterbo, that the Holy See should annul his marriage with Catharine, so that Henry might marry Anne Boleyn. It was not his mere love of Anne Boleyn, however, that impelled him to make that demand. Courtiers, theologians, disobedient to Rome, persuaded the wretched king that he ought not to consider valid the dispensation that had previously been granted, and that he ought not to have married his brother's widow. We repeat it, these scruples tormented the perverse prince after twenty-eight years of cohabitation with Catharine, and after that long reliance upon the validity of the dispensation granted by Julius II., legitimately elected pontiff. The jurisconsults who gave such advice were actuated rather by the love of gain than by reasoning. It is evident that such a dispensation, which is absolutely and undoubtedly within the power of the pope, had not been of rare occurrence. Martin V., a predecessor of Julius II., had granted to the Count de Foix permission to marry the widow of his brother; Pagi, Thomassin, Rainaldi, and Natalis Alexander, all confirm it.

Alexander VI. gave a dispensation to Manuel, king of Portugal, who successively married two sisters. And, to quote later examples, after the Council of Trent, Clement VIII. allowed the king of Poland to marry his brother's widow. Louisa Maria de Gonzaga successively married, with the pontifical dispensation, the two brothers—Ladislas Sigismund and John Casimir, both kings of Poland. Urban VIII. granted thirteen dispensations; Alexander VII. granted eight; the same number were granted by Clement X.; two by Innocent XI., and the same number by Innocent XII.; various others were granted by Clement XI.; and all those pontiffs, both before and after the time of Henry VIII., were men illustrious alike for their doctrine and their virtues. They were convinced that the prohibition of transversal affinity is not a law of nature, and they knew that the Mosaic law ordered that, on pain of infamy, a brother *should* marry his brother's widow.*

* Novaes, *Elementi della Storia de' Sommi Pontefici*, vol. iv., p. 241. I am not familiar with such important doctrines, and I only insert this summary statement because I am supported by so respectable a writer as Novaes. If he did not actually write the note, he at least permitted

I return to Clement VII. He gave provisionally a severe reply to the request of Henry VIII.; at the same time intrusting the examination of the question to Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey. Queen Catharine appealed from a judgment that she rightly considered too favorable to the debauchery of the king and insulting to the memory of Julius II. We seem to be almost brought back to the time when men sought to compel another Clement to brand the memory of one of his predecessors.

The cause being carried to Rome, was placed in the hands of Paul Capiucchi, dean of the Rota, who examined it during three years, in the hope that the king, repenting, would abandon his demand.

Henry then had the audacity to constitute himself judge in his own cause, and assuming that he was a fitting arbiter in such a dispute, he married Anne Boleyn in 1533. She had constantly irritated the king's desires by protesting that she would never consent to his wishes, unless as his lawful queen, although it is said that she had previously been less severe with others to whom she had sacrificed her honor, as both her mother and sister had sacrificed theirs to Henry VIII., the fatal debauchee who was to work so much evil to the Church.

Henry had sent Cardinal Campeggio out of Great Britain, and had withdrawn his favor from Wolsey. The pontiff, informed of what was passing in England, issued a bull excommunicating Henry, unless within one month he took back his lawful wife Catharine, and dismissed the courtesan Anne Boleyn. But entreaties, wholesome advice, threats, exhortations, and promises of affection, were all alike ineffectual upon the mind of Henry. This business was treated with much delicacy, and all Europe knew that an excommunication was almost always followed by pardon, when the guilty made the least show of repentance. Clement assembled a consistory on the 23d of March, 1534. There were present twenty-two cardinals, all who were then in Rome, and there the pope declared the marriage between Henry and Catharine valid. Only three cardinals were in favor of granting the divorce; the other nineteen condemned the king to respect the marriage. The sentence pronounced by the pope, the cardinals consenting, was a consequence of this decision; the censures were confirmed, and it was said that the king had already incurred them.

Those who, from an unforeseen case, make a rule for anterior facts,* accuse Clement of imprudence in this deliberation. They say: "If that pontifical sentence had been deferred, as suggested by Francis I., king of France, the English schism would not have occurred; for, six days after

it to be written by a skilful theologian, at Rome, for insertion in this work. I will add that such dispensations were granted during the ministry of the Cardinal de Bernis, and that, in my own time, at Rome, such were successfully solicited.

* Novaes, vi., p. 243.

the excommunication was pronounced, letters arrived at Rome, in which the king of France announced that Henry submitted to the Holy See, and promised to obey the pontifical judgments, provided that the pope did not cut him off from the communion of the faithful. Henry further desired that those who were under his suspicions should be excluded from the examination of the cause, and that commissioners should be sent to Cambray to hear the arguments, motives, and excuses that would be presented by the king's delegates."

Moreover, Clement's accusers add that scarcely twenty-one months elapsed between the separation and the death of Catharine, and that with her death the controversy would necessarily have ended, had it lasted till then. But it will be replied, in favor of Clement, that he had not, with the pontificate, received the gift of prophecy, and that he had to deal, not with what might (or might not) be in the hidden future, but with what was before him in the active visible present. Catharine might long survive, and Henry, who had married Anne Boleyn in 1533, remained in a state of divorce. Clement had long waited: perhaps some of his advisers hoped that circumstances would arise to change the state of the question. The frightful debauchery of Henry, the sanctity of the sacrament of marriage trampled under foot, the arrogant contempt with which he had treated the words of the head of the Church, all these circumstances demanded that *power should remain with God*. And then, who knows whether the promises of the king, blinded as he was by passion, promises which came only after sentence, would have proved sincere, docile, and durable?

Novaes here praises Bercastel, whose sentiments he entirely approves. There are other motives to add. The king no longer listened to the suggestions of reason, and would not yield: the English clergy was rich, and might be plundered without the king renouncing his passion.

Immense abbeys, considerable lands, income, benefices, a portion of the landed revenue of England, passed into the hands of the king's minions. Clement, who had waited so long, might have waited still longer, and the same events would have taken place, without allowing history to praise, as it can, and must do, the firmness of the Roman pontiff, and his inflexible attachment to the rules of church discipline. Those rules Clement never for an instant lost sight of.

We grieve to have to give these details upon the extinction of the faith in England. The Britons received the Catholic faith by the preaching of Joseph of Arimathea: that faith, when almost forgotten, was revived by the son of King Lucius, who solicited Pope Saint Eleutherius to send him missionaries. They induced the king and his people to receive the faith, which reigned there until the fury of Diocletian almost entirely destroyed it. It flourished again by the zeal of Gregory the Great, who, towards the close

of the fifth century, sent thither some holy monks ; and from that time, for a thousand years, the faith flourished : always solid, pure, and spotless.*

On receiving news of the excommunication, Henry entirely abolished the pontifical authority in his kingdom. He refused the annual tribute which had been paid to the Holy See from the days of Ina, king of the West Saxons of England, under the reign of Innocent III. He threatened with death all who recognized the pope's supremacy. He forbade prayers for the pope, for which he substituted those impious words : " From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and from detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us." He compelled the clergy to recognize him by oath as head of the Church, constituted immediately by Christ. For this, he made a new ordination of bishops. He adopted a host of the Lutheran errors, and they named him the *Postillion of the Reformation* ; and, finally, from all the various sects, he formed such a mixture as banished the Catholic religion from the entire kingdom.

Meanwhile a Diet had assembled at Worms, to which Clement sent his nuncio, in order to conciliate the Lutherans, who had so greatly increased the disturbances in Europe. Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., had decided, in that Diet, in concert with most of the princes and cities of the empire, that the decree should be acted upon, which the emperor had published at Worms, with some orders calculated to arrest the progress of heresy. But some other princes, partisans of Lutheranism, John, elector of Saxony ; George, elector of Brandenburg ; Ernest and Francis, dukes of Lunenburg ; Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, with but too many of the imperial cities—Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Memmingen, Lindau, Heilbronn, Saint Gall, and others—protested against the decree of the Diet. It was by this act of protestation that the Lutherans acquired the name of *Protestants*, which distinguishes them from other heretics.

During all these misfortunes, during all these poignant griefs of the faith, other disasters seemed to menace the Church. Soliman, with a terrible military array, prepared in person to invade the kingdom of Hungary. King Ferdinand called on the Holy Father for assistance. Clement, still generous, in spite of all that had occurred in Rome, neglected no opportunity to connect himself more closely with Charles V. He asked that prince whether he would receive the pontiff in Spain, or would himself go to Italy, that they might hold a conference. Charles, with a respectful deference, replied that the pope should himself appoint their place of meeting. It was agreed that the pope should go to Bologna, and that Charles would

* The Jesuit Father Parsons wrote, in English, "*The Three Conversions of England, from Paganism to the Christian Religion.*"

meet him there. But Clement, worn down by a cruel disease, was obliged to defer his journey, and even for some time to renounce the fatigues of government; and, accordingly, he named for the temporary government of Rome four cardinals—Alexander Farnese, Andrew della Valle, Augustine Spinola, and Paul Cesi. Shortly afterwards, his health enabled the pope to set out.

We have already adverted to some facts relating to the English schism, more recent than those which now occupy our attention; but we could not interrupt our recital of such misfortunes, and we are obliged to revert to circumstances which preceded that most lamentable separation. In the congress which took place at Bologna, the pope had the happiness of seeing peace concluded between the emperor and the Venetians, and the dukes of Milan, Savoy, and Mantua.

On the 24th of February, 1530, Clement solemnly gave the crown to Charles V. He was the last emperor who received it from the hands of the pope. The ancient ceremonies were observed. Charles V., wearing the crown, held the stirrup of the horse that the pope mounted for the solemn cavalcade. The ceremony was also fulfilled of receiving the emperor elect as canon of the Vatican, previous to the coronation, in the chapel of Saint Mary, between two towers which are near the Basilica. In the church of Saint Petrona, at Bologna, a magnificent chapel was built, which was to replace that of Saint Mary.

Several days after, the pope published a bull to make up for any ceremonies of the old rite that might have been omitted. Then, following the example of Leo X., Clement granted that the kingdom of Naples should, during the life of Charles, be considered part and parcel of the Germanic empire.

Clement, thus friendly with Charles V., would not neglect to become also more intimately and undoubtedly the friend of Francis I.

On the 9th of September, 1533, the pope proceeded to Pisa. Thence he embarked on the French galleys, and disembarked at Marseilles to discuss the proposed marriage of his niece, Catharine de Medici (afterwards mother of three kings—Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III.)—to the duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II.

On this occasion, Clement, considering himself a traveller, renounced an ancient custom, and sat at table with the queen, wife of Francis I. Bercastel, in the *History of the Church* (vol. xvii., p. 343), describes the magnificence of Clement's entrance into Marseilles.

Clement returned to Rome, where he had decided that his successor should be chosen in case of his own death during this journey. At Rome he fell sick, and after six months suffering, died on the 25th of September, 1534, after governing the Church ten years, ten months, and seven days.

He appointed as testamentary executors Cardinal Cibo, Salviati, Ridolfi, and Medici; leaving them a sum of money to pay the expenses of his tomb and that of Leo X. The tomb, in the church of La Minerva, contains the bodies of Leo X. and Clement VII.

Clement VII. was a pope of invincible firmness in the calamities and miseries of his time, which oppressed not only Rome, but all Christendom. He had been a successful cardinal; for, under Leo X., he administered all things prosperously.

But it is certain that his pontificate was fatal to Rome, if we take into consideration the progress of Lutheranism, the English schism, and that abominable invasion of Rome.

Many writers say that Clement was odious to the courts, suspected by the princes, of doubtful faith, niggardly, and but little addicted to distributing benefits; but they cannot help confessing that, in his actions, he was grave, sagacious, and of great genius, when unforeseen circumstances did not compel him to change his resolution.

One of his greatest virtues was the clemency with which he pardoned Cardinal Soderini, who was his sworn enemy, and who afterwards was his friend and panegyrist. On the provisional tomb, erected for him at the Vatican, the following inscription was very justly placed: "To Clement VII., sovereign pontiff, whose invincible firmness was only exceeded by his clemency."

Clement enriched the Vatican library with a great number of volumes. A great many of this pope's letters are extant, to the king of France, the king of England, and some men of learning. His letters to Charles V., published under the title, *Epistolæ Clementis VII. ad Carolum V.; alteræ Caroli V. Clementi respondentis* (4to, 1527), are very rare.

We mention here the connection of Michael Angelo with this pope.

After continuing the plans relating to the mausoleum of Julius II., Michael Angelo, previous to the misfortunes of Rome, went to Florence,* thence he returned to Rome. He intended, on settling there, to divide his time, according to the wish of Clement VII., between preparations for the new painting in the Sixtine chapel and finishing the works on the mausoleum of Julius II., which were to be terminated on an extremely reduced plan.

Under Clement was commenced the fresco of the Last Judgment, which was not finished until 1541, under Paul III. In connection with that work,

* We have in our cabinet an original document in his autograph. Michael Angelo, when he wrote this, must have been in bad circumstances, for he speaks of being obliged to sell his horse for a very moderate sum. This document, in which the great artist writes his name *Buonarroti* correctly, is, I believe, the only autograph of that great man to be found in France.

we may apply to Michael Angelo a passage of Pliny, lib. xxxv. : *Pinxit et quæ pingi non possunt—He painted even those things which cannot be painted.*

We shall speak hereafter of this sublime composition.

The Holy See remained vacant seventeen days.*

* The medals of Clement VII. have around the head the words : CLEMENS VII. PONT. MAX.

The first has on the reverse, the words, GLORIA ET HONORE CORONASTI EVM—*Thou hast crowned him with glory and honor.* It is a repetition of that of Leo X., of which we spoke in our life of that pope. In the field are balls or besants of the Medicis.

A second represents the opening of the Holy Gate: M.D.XXV. RESERAVIT ET CLAUSIT—*He has opened and shut.* It is a repetition of a medal of Alexander VI.

A third medal in this collection has these words on the reverse, at the top of the field: EGO SVM IOSEPH FRATER VESTER—I *am Joseph, your brother.* Joseph, seated on a kind of throne, is making himself known to his brethren. This is an allusion to a convention made by Clement, when a captive, promising Hugo Moncada, one of the generals of Charles V., that he would pardon the Colonna who had brought his army into Italy.

Du Molinet gives other medals:

1. The opening of the Holy Gate, with a different exergue: SVNT ET PORTÆ CÆLI APERTÆ—*The gates of heaven are opened.*

2. POST MVLTÀ PLVRIMA RESTANT—*After many, still more remain.* Alluding to the captivity of the pope. Christ is bound to the pillar; below are the rods with which he has been scourged.

3. CLAVDVNTVR BELLÌ PORTÆ—*The gates of war are closed.* Discord chained near the gates of the temple of Janus. Alluding to the peace between Francis I. and Charles V. Abundance appears with the cornucopia in hand.

4. VT POPVLVS BIBAT—*That the people may drink.* Moses smites the rock with his rod. The pope had caused a well to be constructed, into which, by descents, even mules, with their burdens, could be taken down.

Without epigraph: Joseph, standing, receives the homage of his brethren; some on horseback.

Bonanni (vol. i., p. 185) gives other medals of Clement VII.:

1. HODIE SALVS FACTA EST MVNDO; in the exergue, CLEMENS VII., ANNO JUBILEI—*This day salvation has been granted to the world. Clement VII., the year of Jubilee.* The stable, the infant Jesus, the Virgin, Saint Joseph, the ox, and the ass; above, the star, which has stopped.

2. MISIT D. ANGELVM SVVM ET LIBERAVIT; in the exergue, ME—*God has sent his angel and delivered me.* An angel conducts Saint Peter, who holds the keys. Alluding to the deliverance of Clement VII., leaving the castle of Saint Angelo, where he had been besieged. Louis Gonzaga, who awaited him in the neighboring meadows, conducted him to the mountain of Viterbo.

3. CANDOR ILLÆSVS—*An unalterable candor.* A leafless tree alludes to the burning of Rome. The sun darts its rays upon one of the besants of the Medicis. This medal, with a few variations, has been thrice repeated.

4. In the exergue: IVSTITIA EX DEO—*Justice comes from God.* Clement VII. on a mule, and wearing his mitre; two soldiers, disguised as Spaniards, are at his knees. The artist would not represent the pope as disguised. The disguised soldiers are Louis de Gonzaga and one of his generals.

5. ECCE HOMO, in the field; around, the words, PRO EO VT ME DILIGERENT—*Behold the man! I have suffered for him, that they should love me.* ECCE HOMO are the words of Pilate, the rest is spoken by Clement for Jesus Christ: "I have received this insult that Christians might love me." Christ, robed, has his hands bound.

224. PAUL III.—A. D. 1534.



AUL III., previously styled Alexander Farnese, of an ancient Roman family, was the son of Louis Farnese and of Giovanella Gaetani, daughter of the duke of Sermoneta. He was born at Rome, on the 28th of February, 1468. The tutor of his earlier years was Pomponius Leti; but being subsequently sent to Florence, he there made rapid progress in Greek and Latin.

On his return to Rome, he was appointed apostolical prothonotary, by Innocent VIII. Alexander VI. made him treasurer of the chamber; and on the 21st of September, 1493, created him cardinal, when he was only twenty-five or twenty-six years of age.

When Charles VIII. entered Italy, the pope sent Cardinal Alexander to meet the king. Julius II. made him bishop of Parma. It was Cardinal Alexander Farnese who crowned Leo X., by whom he was created bishop of Frascati.

The rare qualities of Farnese made him a favorite of Clement VII. That pontiff, when at the point of death, exclaimed: "If the pontificate was given by bequest, we should in our last will and testament name Cardinal Farnese as our successor."

For forty years Cardinal Farnese had maintained the dignity of the purple; he was wanting in no qualification, and all judged him worthy of the tiara.

After the funeral of the deceased pope, on the 11th of October, 1534, thirty-seven electors met in conclave; the first day by inspiration, and the second by scrutiny, they elected, as pontiff, Cardinal Alexander Farnese, who was then sixty-seven years of age.

There was universal joy in Rome; it was the first time, since Martin V., and after the lapse of one hundred and three years, that the city had seen a Roman seated in the chair of Saint Peter.*

Alexander took the name of Paul, because he was born under the reign of Paul II.

* De Thou is mistaken, when he says in his *History* (lib. i., p. 25), that, after the election, this pope wished to take the name of Onofrius V., and that, at the coronation, he changed that name for that of Paul III. Where did De Thou find four popes *Onofrius*, that Alexander Farnese should be the fifth of that name? Other authors say that Farnese wanted to take the name of *Honorius V.*, and that the electors persuaded him not to do so.

Henry VIII. continued to exhibit his senseless rage. It was discovered that long before he received the bull of excommunication he had already decided in council upon the fatal separation with which he threatened the Holy See.

Rome had not been wanting in prudence, and throughout the affair had fulfilled her most sacred duties, without neglecting any of the rules of circumspection, humanity, or that spirit of concord which distinguished her. It was not in the power of Rome to do more, and no human power could have warded off the blow. Henry at length sent Anne Boleyn to the block, and married his third wife, Jane Seymour, one of Anne Boleyn's maids of honor. A fourth wife, Anne, sister of the duke of Cleves, succeeded Jane, who probably escaped the axe only by dying in childbed. Let us pass over the execution of the fifth wife, Catherine Howard, convicted, it was said, of adultery, and condemned to be beheaded.

Henry had destroyed two cardinals, three archbishops, eighteen bishops, thirteen abbots, five hundred priests and monks, and quite innumerable victims among the lower ranks.

From all parts arose loud protestations against so hateful a ferocity. Paul, by a bull of the 29th of November, 1535, again excommunicated Henry. That prince was cited to appear at Rome, in person or by ambassador, within ninety days, to answer for his abominable conduct. As he did not obey, the Holy Father confirmed the excommunication on the 27th of December, 1538.

The Church was now afflicted by a vast number of heretical sects. Besides Luther and the Anabaptists, the lists had to be kept against no less hostile writers, the adepts of Zuinglius, Picard, Occhin, Bucer, Melancthon, Beza, and Calvin. The partisans of this last received different names in the different countries in which they spread themselves. They were called Calvinists in Germany, Sacramentarians in Switzerland, Picardins in Bohemia, Gueux (or beggars) in Flanders, Puritans in England, and Huguenots in France.*

The apostacy of Occhin was one of the liveliest sorrows of Rome. He was general of the Capuchins, and the extinction of that order had been spoken of, on the plea that it was infected by the errors of its head. Paul held a secret consistory, and proposed, in presence of all the cardinals, to abolish that order. All the cardinals were on the point of agreeing with the Holy Father, when Cardinal Antonio San Severino spoke. In an eloquent and generous speech, he urged that it was necessary to act with perfect justice in the matter. He dwelt upon the services which the Capuchins

* For a full account of Calvin and his work, see the remarkable life of that heresiarch by Audin, translated by the Right Reverend J. McGill, D. D., bishop of Richmond.

had rendered, their learning, their zeal for preaching, and the courage with which they suffered poverty and gloried in it. Cardinal da Caspi was appointed to examine the dogmatic conduct of the members of the order; and those useful friars, so beloved by the people, so simple and so docile, were maintained in their privileges, which the pope was even inclined to augment.

For the purpose of endeavoring absolutely to destroy all the heresies, the pope dispatched nuncios to all the Christian princes to announce his intention of assembling a general council, to afford a remedy for all those evils; and on the 2d of June, 1536, he published a bull, which was signed by twenty-six cardinals. In it he declared that the sacred congress would assemble at Mantua. Duke Frederic having suggested reasons why that would not be the fitting place, the pope decided, in 1537, that the council should be held at Vicenza. The German bishops raised some difficulties; at that time difficulties were raised at every step towards doing good to the Church. At length the city of Trent was named, situated on the German and Italian frontier, and much desire was felt for the first session, which was not commenced until later.

The complaints of the opponents had chiefly related to infractions of ecclesiastical discipline. Paul knew the evil, and he desired to give satisfaction on that subject to all good Catholics. He formed a congregation consisting of nine persons, equally distinguished for learning and piety, from among those superior persons who are never rare in Rome. They were Cardinals Gaspar Contarini, John Peter Carafa, James Sadolet, Reginald Pole; Frederic Fregosa, archbishop of Salerno; Jerome Aleandri, archbishop of Brindisi; John Matthew Giberti, bishop of Verona; Gregorio Cortese, abbot of Saint George of Venice; and Thomas Badia, master of the sacred palace.

These commissioners drew up a book which contained the principal articles necessary to the good discipline of the Church, and presented it to the pope; but he deferred its publication, wishing that, being first received by the council, it should have the greater authority.

The chapters contained in this work were then published in Germany, with explanations by the heretic Sturm. That is the reason why this *counsel* of this commission is named in the *index* of forbidden books, as is proved by several authors; but that is explained by *the poison of the explanation* which Sturm added to a work otherwise advantageous to the Church.

Paul, grieving that war was kindled between Charles V. and Francis I., and judging that it was likely to be prejudicial to religion, proposed to those two great kings that they should meet him in consultation, and mutually give proofs of a union proper to extirpate heresies fatal to both kingdoms. The place for that interview was to be the city of Nice. Paul

set out from Rome, while the emperor disembarked at Villa Franca, and the Most Christian king went by land to Villanova.

The princes separately paid their homage to the pontiff, but he could not induce them to meet him together. In the interview with the king of France, the pope confirmed the privilege given by Eugene IV. to Charles VII.; which indult authorized the parliament of Paris, even the lay members, to name, at their pleasure, persons qualified mentally and morally to the benefices beneath two hundred livres tournois.

The Holy Father had the sweet consolation of inducing the princes to sign a truce for ten years. Another piece of intelligence gladdened the heart of Paul. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, wrote word that it would probably be not difficult to bring about an agreement between the Catholics and the Protestants, if His Holiness would send into Germany some envoy illustrious alike for morals and for learning. Paul immediately cast his eyes upon the Cardinal Aleandri; but he, constantly deceived by the evasions of the Protestants, could effect nothing, and, by the pope's order, returned to Rome.

About this time the mausoleum of Julius II. was completed. Clement VII. wished the ornamentation of the Sixtine chapel to be *all* Michael Angelo. He freed the artist from his disputes with the family of Julius. The original plan, as we mentioned sometime back, was very limited. Michael Angelo was only to make three figures; the others, to the number of seven, were to be modelled, only, by Michael Angelo, but finished under his direction.*

* To describe the new composition, we must observe that Julius, everywhere the first, is represented on the second elevation, reclining, and scarcely visible. But it is generally true, that when one is dead, much attention is not paid to one's living claims. As if some sort of fatality* had denied that he should occupy, even in his funereal monument, a place proportionate to his ambition, his figure is so placed and so treated, that it scarcely attracts the eyes of the spectator. Beneath, and in a niche, is the figure of the infant Jesus, the work of Scherano de Settignano, who, according to Vasari, executed it according to a model of Michael Angelo. The two other side-niches, of that elevation, are occupied by statues in a sitting posture. One represents a prophet; the other is a sibyl, and is the work of Raphael de Montelupo, with which Michael Angelo is said to have been ill pleased.

This description starts from the summit of the monument, which is finished with an entablature with the arms of the pope, an oak, and candelabra. In the lower portion are the works which properly belong to Michael Angelo, and which consist of two statues, in niches, representing the *contemplative* life, and the *active* life, under the names of Rachel and Leah.

The figure of *active life*, larger than nature, is on the left of the statue of Moses; the statue of *contemplative life* is on the right. Notwithstanding the genius of Michael Angelo, and the wealth of Julius II., who had striven to prepare for himself yet one other earthly glory, while awaiting the heavenly judgment, this monument shows a relapse into errors of the preceding century.

I have always suspected that Michael Angelo, fettered in his imagination by jealousies, had

* M. Quatremère, *Hist. de Michel-Ange*, p. 107.

Meantime, Ignatius Loyola had founded the Society of Jesus. In spite of the immense opposition and formidable warfare carried on against it, this society increased with marvellous success. On the 15th of September, 1539, Paul, at Tivoli, approved the institution, *vivæ vocis oraculo*, and confirmed it by bull, dated 27th of December, 1540. This delay proves with what wisdom and prudence affairs are decided upon at Rome. It was only on the 31st of July, 1543, that the pontiff approved the *Spiritual Exercises*, composed by the illustrious founder.

Ignatius was the first writer of his order. A century later it could number as authors no fewer than two thousand two hundred and thirty-eight of its sons, a number which increased wonderfully up to the time of the suppression of the society under Clement XIV.

In fact, it may be asserted, that, up to this sad epoch, the order, in the course of a little more than two centuries, reckoned among its sons about twenty thousand writers, without reckoning those who wrote after its suppression. Zaccaria began to make a catalogue of them, and was only prevented by death from continuing that really prodigious series of authors.*

In the year 1539, some citizens and zealous Romans, formed, in the church of the *Minerva*, of the Dominican Fathers, the Society of the Most Holy Sacrament. It was to see that the Blessed Sacrament was exposed, in all the churches, with becoming decency and veneration: it was also to take every care that the Viaticum was conveyed to the sick. The pope approved that holy institution, and granted it indulgences and privileges enjoyed by other societies under the same name, whether already then existing or subsequently to be instituted.

In 1541, on Christmas-day, Paul III. ordered the uncovering of the great work of Michael Angelo, representing the Last Judgment.†

In some sort been compelled to underrate Julius II., and that he loved to represent in this Moses, at once pontiff and warrior, that politic and warlike pope; and that the secret has been long kept, if, in truth, Michael Angelo really felt that regret, and desired to bring his hero once more (and may we not add, *permanently*) upon the stage. Be that as it may, the colossal statue of Moses excites universal enthusiasm.

This work has many merits, and in more than one part. Certainly the head and face of Moses are the work of a lofty thought, and of a most practised chisel. There are a breadth of design and a firmness of touch, animated by a lively and deep feeling, and a grandeur of form, an imposing boldness, and an expression of power and of activity, that makes us cast down our eyes and shun criticism.

Such is the opinion of all who, on arriving in Rome, *rush to the Moses*, unless they have first rushed to the *Last Judgment*, of which we shall presently speak.

* The Belgian Jesuits, the Fathers De Backer, have, in a series of volumes, since given a full bibliography of the writers of the Society of Jesus.

† Quatremère says, at p. 117 of his history of Michael Angelo: "We ask you if the subject of the Last Judgment, altogether beyond or above the order of sensible things, a subject unknown, immense, innumerable, infinite, and beyond all expression and all conception—we ask you whether such a subject is of a nature to be treated by any kind of imitation? We boldly reply: No!

At this period he gave the cardinalate to Henry, infant of Portugal, whom hereafter we shall have to mention as king of that country.

We now hasten to record one of the most glorious epochs of the reign of Paul III.

"If you insist that it is, we reply, that according to all that the imagination can suggest of such an immense catastrophe—of the convulsion of all the elements, of the appearance of the Supreme Tribunal, before which all mankind must appear, and of the resurrection of the dead—to give to such a scene, not indeed its full extent, but even a mere sketch proportioned to the visual faculty, would require in a single painter an assemblage of all powers, many of them incompatible with each other, from the mere nature of the human faculties."

According to Quatremère, it would be possible, if we admit the merely imaginary possibility of the assemblage of all the qualities necessary for a subject so multitudinously composite—it would be possible, we say, to picture to one's self the upper part, or that of the angels, with the effects of luminous harmony, which only a Tintoretto or a Rubens could paint. The middle portion, or that of the blessed surrounding Christ, uniting all the beauties of the predestined, already introduced into the celestial escort, would be rendered visible by the brush of a Raphael or a Corregio. The lower region would belong, of right, to Michael Angelo; it would be the portion of his bold drawing and violent expression, and, if it is to be said, of his execution, in a manner which seems to find facility only in the difficult. As much as to say, consequently, that such a subject, if not inaccessible to painting, is so to any single painter.

"Yes," exclaims Quatremère, "such a subject can in truth belong only to the art of the poet."

Poetry can do all, because it addresses itself to the moral sense of mankind, which itself is capable of following it and travelling with it into all the worlds.

Well! that is what Michael Angelo, working within the limits of his art, and especially of that portion of his to which the nature of his talent confined him, ably conceived and executed, within a space which, though undoubtedly large for a picture, must still be very limited for such a subject.

He could command but a small space. And so, starting from the top, and in the semicircular spaces formed by the springing of the two arches, at the end of the chapel, Michael Angelo painted groups in the air, bearing the instruments of the Passion.

A dozen of those young persons, in attitudes more appropriate to art than to the duties in which they are engaged, are carrying the cross; another group of five or six similar figures, accompany the cross, bearing with them the crown of thorns.

In the corresponding curved space is a group of eight or ten young men (or angels without wings), of the same proportions and apparent age as the preceding, gathered around the instruments of the Passion, which they carry, such as the pillar, the ladder, the spear, and the sponge.

Below the spaces occupied by these groups, on both sides, and on a much larger scale, are two crowds, not mere groups of personages, composing the celestial army of the patriarchs, of the just of the Old Law, of the prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all the heroes of the Old and New Testaments, carrying or presenting, in homage to the Supreme Judge, the instruments of their martyrdom, or the wounds received in it.

What wise and good servants of God, what skilful, generous, and vigilant sentinels have been those pontiffs, who, seeing the influx of Christians to this chiefest of earthly temples, addressed to them so powerful a precept, a lesson so ardent and so true, while these Christians still imagined that they only came in search of a pleasure, an emotion of joy, a satisfaction of curiosity, a mere recreation after so long a journey! This was one of the noblest inspirations of the popes; and it was not one of them alone who was inspired by that noble thought. Julius II., Leo X., Adrian VI. himself, in not prohibiting, and Paul III., all joined in contributing to the same end; each of them, in turn, held, as it were, the painter's brush. And yet some deem the journey to Rome unproductive! It has brought into the bosom of the Church more than one Protestant, unable to resist such teaching.

But after duly returning thanks to the patrons who so long and so firmly supported Michael Angelo, let us deprive him of no portion of his glory.

On the 13th of December, 1545, the twentieth general council, known as the Council of Trent, and extending to 1563, held its first session in that city. The eighth was held on the 11th of March, 1547. At that time a terrible epidemic prevailed in the place, and the council was transferred to Bologna, where two sessions were held, in spite of the repugnance of Charles V., who pretended that the French had offended him, and who continued publicly to manifest serious discontent. That prince also showed great irritation against the pope. Paul, in 1545, had given Parma and Placenza in fief to Peter Louis Farnese. That prince being killed by a conspiracy among his subjects, the emperor wished to treat Parma and Placenza as belonging to the imperial domain, under the pretext that they formed part of the duchy of Milan.

We have said that in the composition there are two crowds. In fact, only those of the first places around Christ are represented fully. In the perspective, on either side, are a multitude of heads, difficult to number, which more or less diminish in height, in the distance of each group. In the midst of these groups appears the figure of Christ, at whose side is the Blessed Virgin. He seems to turn towards the spot where the reprobate are seen. At some distance below, Michael Angelo has depicted a group of eight young people. No doubt, though they are not winged, they represent the angels sounding the trumpet that is to call up the dead. Michael Angelo seizes, in turn, all the arguments that the Church uses to encourage the good and to alarm the wicked.

The group of angels separates two other groups, of which the one on the side of Christ consists of the risen ; some of whom, by their attitude and apparent motions, are about to ascend to heaven ; others, to whom protecting hands, and efforts variously expressed (the effect of generous prayer could not be more generously expressed), facilitate the means of rising to the regions of the blest.

The other group, in parallel as to place, but in opposition as to subject, is the mass of those whom the supreme sentence hurls into the abyss. As in the preceding group, the action of rising in accordance with physical laws is made sensible to the eye by the aid of those who evidently facilitate the ascent ; so, by the motions of a contrary action, all the reprobate bodies are seen carried and urged towards the abyss in positions and attitudes most frightfully complicated, but with a tendency that indicates most clearly a diametrically opposite direction, leaving no doubt that they are drawn towards the regions of the damned.

Fea said, that in the countenances of those who aided in causing that fall, he could perceive the physiognomies of flatterers, of perfidious advisers, and of all those who in life urge others to yield to the passions. This supposition of Fea's, however, would imply that all these perverse sinners would still have the mission to continue their crimes. It would be more reasonable to believe that the celestial sentence has caused a supernatural force to inflict that punishment. All at that moment is mysterious, prodigious ; a miracle the more should not astonish us in a cataclysm which proves to men of little faith what they deserve by their abandonment of justice, of charity, of honor, and of the virtues by the aid of which eternal beatitude is to be attained.

It is in these groups that Michael Angelo has multiplied, beyond the powers of description, with a bold disregard of the greatest difficulties, and yet with incredible truth and correctness of design, multitudes of figures, in attitudes that seem possible only in dreams, and in which, however, truth and correct drawing defy criticism.

Such is the first painting one seeks at Rome, after viewing the paintings of Raphael, or before ascending to the chambers and lodges. And what emotion is felt when a ceremony in which the pope officiates, calls you to the Sixtine chapel, and this master-piece is before your eyes for some hours !

Among the cardinals created in the eleventh promotion by Paul was Charles de Lorraine, son of Claude de Lorraine, first duke of Guise, and of Antoinette de Bourbon, and brother of cardinals John and Louis de Lorraine, and of Mary of Guise, wife of James Stuart, king of Scotland. Charles was born at Joinville, in Champagne, on the 17th of February, 1525. In 1538, when only thirteen years old, he was named archbishop of Rheims, and as such he successively crowned three kings of France—Henry II., in 1547; Francis II., in 1557; and Charles IX., in 1561. He was a prince endowed with eminent qualities, but of such imperious disposition that Pius V. called him “the tramontane pope.” Pius IV. had already named him “the second pope.”

In the twelfth promotion of cardinals, 1548, were included Charles de Bourbon, son of the duke of Vendome, brother of Anthony, king of Navarre, and uncle of Henry IV., king of France; and the other, Cardinal de Bourbon, who was proclaimed king by the League on the 21st of November, 1589. Peace was not restored between the pope and the emperor. That monarch thought fit to publish at Augsburg a profession of faith that was drawn up by the bishop of Nuremberg, the bishop of Sinodia, and some writers; but at Rome it was considered that the emperor, in endeavoring to terminate the differences with the religious dissenters, had overstepped the rights of a temporal sovereign. For, in the twenty-six chapters of which that confession consisted, it treated on the principal dogmas of religion, on the sacraments, and on the ceremonies of the Church. There were two chapters contrary to the discipline of the Latin Church; one of them granted marriage to priests, the other permitted the laity to receive communion under both kinds. This formula having been published in Germany, to serve as a rule there until the council should decide and regulate points of faith, the name of *Interim* was given to this celebrated imperial determination. It is quite true that many other formulas of the same name were at various times granted by Charles V. on the subject of religion, until formal decisions could be given by the council; but that which had the greatest circulation under the name of *Interim* was the one published on the 15th of May, 1548, when the council was actually in session. It was also called *Interitus*, because it was mortal to those who embraced it.

Some authors compare this formula to the similar ones called *enoticos*, *ecthesis*, and *type*, and compare Charles V. to the emperors Zeno, Heraclius, and Constantius, authors of those three famous formulas.

It is certain that the *Interim* was disapproved by the pope, who thought it extraordinary that the emperor should undertake on his own part to regulate matters of religion in the empire. The *Interim* was also attacked by Catholic and even by Protestant writers. Among the former were Robert, bishop of Avranches; Conrad Clingius, theologian of the order of Saint

Francis at Rome ; and Francis Remée, general of the Dominicans. Among Protestants were Gaspar d'Aquila, Philip Melancthon, and John Calvin himself.

To obviate the evils which might arise from that *Interim*, the Holy Father sent into Germany the bishops of Fano, Verona, and Ferentino, as apostolic nuncios. They had full powers to treat with Charles V., and induce him to desist from his unfortunate course. The pope recommended a conduct full of mildness : he gave them faculty of dispensation as to the two articles, provided always that the purity of our religion should suffer no prejudice.* But the nuncios soon perceived that the obstinacy of the Protestants would yield not a jot on the subject of the partaking of the cup, and that their preachers, who, for the most part, were apostate monks, would by no means consent to leave the women with whom they had contracted a sacrilegious union ; so the vigilant and courageous pope could effect nothing by the negotiation. It is established, then, that in this affair Paul was only conciliatory, and merits none of the reproaches which have been rashly addressed to him after the event. No less under Paul than under so many other popes, has the most consummate prudence constantly guided the wise Roman court.

Charles V. had occupied the State of Placenza, and the pope had ground to fear that the State of Parma would also be occupied. The son of the assassinated prince claimed to rule, as successor to his father. All these affairs, besides other circumstances that might be blamed, could not be brought to a happy issue, because the pope was old and suffering. The conduct of Octavius Farnese so violently irritated the pope that he became dangerously ill. Prompt remedies brought him to himself, but the death-blow was struck. A fever came on, which terminated the pontiff's life on the 10th of November, 1549, at the age of eighty-one years, eight months, and ten days, after having governed the Church fifteen years and twenty-nine days. It has been remarked that he created seventy-one cardinals, among whom two were his nephews, and four his successors, Julius III., Marcellus II., Paul IV., and Pius IV.

Paul died in the palace of the heirs of Cardinal Carafa, at the Quirinal, which he had occupied on account of the purity of the air. He was then removed without pomp to the Vatican Basilica, and placed in a temporary tomb. Afterwards he was laid in a magnificent tomb, the work of the famous William della Porta, called the *Lead Brother* (*del piombo*), because it was his office to affix the leaden seal to the pontifical bulls. This tomb was executed under the direction of Michael Angelo, and the superintendence of Annibal Caro.

* Novaes, vii., p. 49.

It is said that Paul III., just before his death, repeated these words: "If mine shall have no dominion over me, then I shall be without spot, and I shall be cleansed from the greatest sin."—Ps. xviii. 13.

In the *Biographie Universelle* (vol. xxii., p. 74), it is said: "Paul III. was naturally gentle and moderate; he loved poetry, and wrote it with facility. His letters to Erasmus and Sadolet are full of erudition. Feller (iv., p. 278) says that this pope wrote dissertations on some of the writings of Cicero."

Novaes, in his notice of Paul III., bestows great praises upon his virtue, his prudence, his justice, his greatness of soul, his firmness in adversity, his moderation, his magnificence, and his acquaintance with both divine and human things.*

* Our collection contains three medals of this reign. In one, the head is bare; in the second, the head is covered by the long white cap worn by aged popes. The third has the tiara. On the embroidery of the copes are seen the opening of the Holy Gate, acts of benediction, and a temple like that of Vesta.

On the reverse of the first, we read: ANNONA PONTIFICIA. Abundance holding the cornucopia in the left and a statue in the right hand. A basket of fruits and flowers. On the left a helmet.

On the reverse of the second is seen the palace Farnese, with thirteen windows. Legend: FVNDATOR HARVM ÆDIVM. This, the finest palace in Rome, was begun by Paul III., after the plans of Antonio de Sangallo, and finished by Alexander Farnese, under the direction of Michael Angelo.

The third medal has the legend: $\phi\epsilon\rho\eta$ Ζηνὸς $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ —*The favor of Jupiter refreshes and gladdens*. Ganymede watering lilies. The word $\phi\epsilon\rho\eta$ alludes to the name Farnese. The idea is somewhat complicated. The water is the gift of the sky (Jupiter). We give this explanation only for just what it is worth. The lilies in the arms of France are doubtless alluded to by the flower. The pope restored peace in France, and that peace rejoiced her provinces as water rejoices plants. The young man is too naked, but is very elegantly modelled on the antique. Some think that the sculptor should have written the word $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota$, instead of the word $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota$.

Du Molinet gives also: 1. NEC PRIMVS TERTIO, NEC SECVNDVS. In the field, FVTVRA VIRVM OSTENDENT—*Neither the first nor the second is greater than the third. The future will show the man*. This refers to the three popes who have borne the name of Paul. Saint Paul I., a great pontiff; a friend of King Pepin of France, and a zealous patron of images. Paul II., a Venetian, was active in preventing the progress of the Turks. He was a zealous upholder of ecclesiastical discipline. The legend is not a happy one. Erasmus praised Leo X., without doing wrong to the other Leos, whom he mentions. Here preference seems to be given to the third Paul. Legends of medals require tact, and great delicacy of expression. The illustrious Pope Paul III. might have been differently and yet fully enlogized.

2. SAVLE, SAVLE, QVID ME PERSEQVERIS. In the exergue, VAS ELECTIONIS—*Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute me? The vessel of election*. In the field, Saint Paul is seen falling from his horse on the Damascus road.

3. DOMINVS CVSTODIT TE. DOMINVS PROTECTIO TVA—*The Lord guardeth thee; the Lord is thy protection*. Two horsemen struck by lightning, but not injured: in commemoration of an accident which befell Cardinal Farnese before he was pope.

4. An ancient chariot, drawn by four horses. In the front, Peace holding an olive-branch. Without epigraph. Struck to commemorate a victory over the Perugians.

5. SECVRITAS TEMPORVM—*The security of the times*. In the field, three horses prancing.

6. In the field, SECVRITATI PERPETVÆ—*To perpetual security*. Around, PAVLVS III., PONT MAX. LEONIANAM AGGERIBVS COMMVNIVIT—*Paul III. surrounded the Leonine city with walls*. That part of Rome in which the Vatican is situated. The churches, walls, and certain of the seven hills are shown.

Rome was disfigured by many deserted and neglected streets: the houses were isolated from each other. Paul gave them a better form: he made the streets straight and clean. The Romans thanked him by dedicating a statue to him in the capitol. He it was who set up the bronze equestrian

7. SECVRITAS. P. R.—*The security of the Roman people.* A young Roman sleeping on an antique seat; beneath, an extinguished torch.

8. OMNES REGES SERVIENT EI—*All kings shall serve him.* We have seen this same coin under the reign of Callixtus III. In the medal of Callixtus III. there is a cross surmounted by a tiara; a temple towards which three persons extend their hands. On the left, Rome, helmeted, holding a buckler in the left hand. One of the persons is supposed to represent Andrew Doria. The allusion is to a treaty of peace between the pope, Charles V., and Venice, against the emperor of the Turks.

9. DOMVS MEA DO. OR.—*My house is the house of prayer.* Christ, armed with a scourge, is driving the dealers from the temple.

10. DIRIGENTVR PEDES MEI IN VIAM PACIS—*My feet will be kept in the paths of peace.* In the midst of the field a lily of France beneath the rainbow, and then these words: FÆDERE TVO, DEVS—*By Thy alliance, O God.* Struck at the peace between Charles V. and Francis I., brought about by the mediation of Paul.

11. ALMA ROMA—*Sublime Rome.* Rome covered with buildings, and surrounded by walls. The temples, streets, and several hills are seen.

12. In the field: FARNESINA DOMVS CVRA EJVS. IMPENDIIS Q. In the field: A SOLO EXCITATA—*The Farnese palace, built by the care and at the expense of the same pontiff.* Façade of the Farnese palace. It is the same we have seen above, but with some variations. Here we must not omit to say, that to build this palace, a great part of the stones were taken from the Coliseum. Such a profanation of so fine an ancient monument could not take place now.

13. RVFINA, in the middle of a great mass of fortifications. In the exergue, TVSCVLO REST.—*Tusculum restored.* Rufina, now the Rufinella house, which belonged to the Jesuits, and was afterwards occupied by Lucien Bonaparte. The Rufinella is built not far from the ruins of Tusculum. The restoration must have been inconsiderable, for it is deserted now.

14. ANNO IVBILEO M.D.L.—*The year of Jubilee, 1550.* The church of Saint Peter was something as it now is. I think, therefore, that this medal is more recent. However, Bramante had received his instructions from Julius II. The two side domes are higher than they now are. The central dome terminates in a point, in a kind of Gothic form.

In the exergue, PETRO. APOST. PRIN.—*To Peter, prince of the Apostles.*

15. The Holy Gate, in which are the words: HÆC PORTA DMI—*This is the gate of the Lord.* Around: JVSTI INTRABVNT PER EAM—*The just shall enter through it.*

16. HANC PETVNT MIRACULA SEDEM—*Miracles seek this holy seat.* In 1538, Michael Angelo, by Paul's direction, removed the ancient equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius to the capitol square.

17. FLEXV APTO PRÆCVRRE. A figure in a two-horse chariot, about to pass the goal. Clæcon says that Paul could guide hearts as he would guide coursers. (Du Molinet.)

18. PIETATI ET COMMODO PONTIFICVM—*To the piety and convenience of the pontiffs.* The Pauline chapel of the Vatican.

19. VNITÆ MENTES VNIVNT—*United hearts shall unite.* Allusion to the eloquence of Paul, who united the efforts of the kings of France and Spain against the Turks. The cascade of Terni is seen for the first time. The waters, amassed by the care of the pope, rush swiftly down and prevent the flooding of the neighboring lands of Rieti.

20. BENEDICTIO DOMINI SVPER VOS—*The blessing of the Lord upon you.* The pope blesses a fleet going to meet the Turks.

In Bonanni, vol. i., p. 199, there are some other medals:

1. AVITÆ FARNESIORVM STIRPIS—*The ancestors of the Farnese family.* In the shield six lilies, placed 1, 2, 2, 1. A mark of affection for the French.

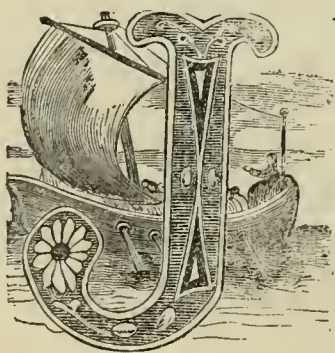
2. Without inscription. A serpent entwining a Griffin in his folds. It is thought that the serpent is *Prudence* (the Holy See) resisting the efforts of the Griffin, Henry VIII.

statue of Marcus Aurelius on the capitol square. In the barbarous tenth century the populace called it the statue of Constantine. Sixtus IV. removed it to the square of Saint John Lateran, as being an admirable sculpture of the ancient Romans. Whenever Pietro of Cortona passed that horse, he would exclaim, "Why do you not walk; do you not know that you are alive?"

To those readers who have been at Rome, we should say, that it was Paul III. who opened the street that connects the bridge of Saint Angelo with the Strada Ginlia, which, finished in 1543, still bears the name of the Pauline street. On the Aventine, he constructed a very fine bulwark, which is still the admiration of engineers. He completely restored the Basilica of Saint John Lateran. To him also the Vatican is indebted for the Pauline chapel and the Royal Hall, in which solemn embassies were received. Rome was not the only recipient of his favors; the fortress of Perugia is also due to him, and he added some fine defensive works to the citadel of Ancona. The whole Christian world lamented the death of Paul III.

The Holy See was vacant two months and twenty-five days.

225. JULIUS III.—A. D. 1550.



JULIUS III. (John Maria de' Ciocchi del Monte), the son of a famous Roman jurisconsult, was born on the 10th of September, 1487.

Julius II., in 1512, made him archbishop of Manfredonia, when he was only twenty-five years of age. Paul III. created him cardinal in 1536. He was the first who presided as apostolic nuncio at the Council of Trent. On all occasions, Cardinal del Monte displayed so much intellect, justice, prudence, and skill, that he had the reputation of being the most distinguished member of the sacred college. It was he who, in concert with the Cardinal Guidiccioni, reformed the tribunal of the Rota.

As soon as the death of Paul III. was known, Cardinals Salviati, Gonzaga, Cibo, della Rovera, Madrucci, del Monte, Truchsess, Doria, and Pacheco, who were at Trent and Bologna, set out for Rome. The electors formed three factions—the Cæsarians, the French, and the Farnesians. Before they assembled in conclave, they resolved to choose the best candidate among those worthy of the tiara, and in that number were Cardinal

Pole, Sfondrati, father of the future Gregory XIV., da Carpi, and Ridolfi. Serious fears were felt in the conclave, because Pompey Colonna, after the death of the pope, had occupied Palliano, and other castles of his family which had been confiscated, and which he had retaken, as he stated, to maintain his rights. In consequence, the protection of Rome was intrusted to Horatio Farnese, who had four thousand men under his command, and who was supported and assisted by four tribunes—Torquato Conti, Julius Orsini, Nestor Baglioni, and Papirio Capizucchi. Usually the conclave met on the eleventh day after the death of a pope, but, on this occasion, it did not meet until the nineteenth day. The delay was solicited by the French cardinals, to give the other cardinals time to come from France. For the first time, there were introduced into the conclave six physicians and six surgeons, of various nationalities.

After the customary ceremonies, Cardinal Pole, of the royal blood of England, was proposed for pope. He was illustrious for both knowledge and piety. In a scrutiny he needed only two votes, and the cardinals immediately determined to elect him by way of adoration. The day was drawing to a close, and it was believed that this impulsive movement of adoration, which leads the cardinals to proclaim aloud the name of the pontiff elect, was about to decide the question, when Cardinal Pole, with unmoved countenance, and opposing the strength of his virtue to that lively impulse, observed that, God being the author of light, it was not right thus to decide in the dark, and he entreated the conclave to postpone the election until the next day. Nothing could be more welcome to his adversaries. They made use of the authority of Cardinal Carafa, afterwards Paul IV., who was renowned as a learned and pious man, and they insinuated that Pole was suspected of Lutheranism, because, when legate at Viterbo, he had not displayed great energy against those accused of heresy. Then Cardinal Alvarez de Toledo was thought of, a relation of the duke of Albá, viceroy of Naples. He had the favor of the emperor and of Cosmas, duke of Florence; but he also lacked two votes, which he could not obtain.

Farnese was favorable to Cardinal Cervini, but the emperor was against him. The French proposed Salviati, a Florentine, and Rodolph da Carpi;—

3. *MAIVRE—Speedily.* A dolphin fights a crocodile, and pierce his back with fins armed with sharp points. Allusion to the aid given by the pope to the Venetians, when at war with the Egyptian Turks. *Mature* means that the assistance arrived in time, and was the cause of the victory.

4. Without epigraph. *NIKHITHPION—The prize of victory.* The ancient Romans used to strike medals after victory, and throw them among the populace, and the custom was preserved in modern Rome. Allusion to the defeat of the Tunisians by Charles V., to whom Paul III. had sent galleys to re-enforce his fleet.

5. *PAVLVS III. PONT. MAX. AN. XIII.* In the field, *APXIEPEI τῷ ΠΑΝΥ*—*To the sovereign prince of the priests.* Another allusion to the above-mentioned victory.

the former celebrated as a negotiator under Leo X., Clement VII., and Paul III.; the other, recommended by Catharine de Medici, queen of France. Neither of them was agreeable to Cardinal Farnese. The king of France had vainly put forward Cardinal d'Este. The struggle lasted two months, and an agreement seemed impossible, when the votes suddenly centred on Cardinal del Monte, though he had been opposed by all three parties, the Imperialists, the French, and Farnese himself. The election was decided on the 7th of February at three o'clock at night, by Italian reckoning of time (*i. e.*, nine o'clock in the evening). The conclave consisted of forty-eight cardinals,—twelve French, two Germans, five Spaniards, and one English. The other twenty-eight were Italians or Romans. Thirty-two votes, two-thirds of the whole, were requisite.

The new pope was sixty-three years of age. He was crowned on the 22d of February by Cardinal Cibo, first deacon, and took the name of Julius III., in memory of Julius II., who had given the cardinal's hat to Antonio del Monte, uncle of the new pontiff.

On the 24th of June, 1550, the day of the Feast of Saint John, Julius took possession of Saint John Lateran.

On the first day of his pontificate the pope reduced the amount of imposts, and especially that on wheat. This measure, contemplated by Paul III., had been prevented by his death.

During the conclave, the forty-eight electors had agreed that whoever should be elected would be held pledged to recall Orsini, governor of Parma, and restore that principality to Octavius Farnese. Julius III., on his accession, was faithful to his engagement, and gave the government of Parma to Octavius, with the title of *Vessilifère* (standard-bearer) of the Holy See.

The Jubilee, announced by Paul III., was then opened, and it was in this year (1550) that the pious institution of the *Santissima Trinità de Pelegrini* commenced its charitable operations. This distinguished work, founded by Saint Philip Neri, may, as Novaes* suggests, be called the *miracle of Christian charity*. It is intended for the reception of all convalescents who are discharged from the hospitals of the city, and of the pilgrims who go to Rome to visit the holy places. Pilgrims receive hospitality there for three days.

This year Italy suffered much from a great scarcity, and Rome was burdened by the presence of an immense number of paupers. Julius imported breadstuffs, and his action restored plenty.

During the Jubilee, the Indulgences are suspended throughout the world. The pope excepted those which were granted to the Society of Jesus. At Trent, Julius had known Faber, Lainez, and Salmeron, theologians of the

* Novaes, vii., p. 66.

pope, and therefore he gave the society numerous marks of his favor, and confirmed it by new bulls.

On the 31st of May, 1550, Julius made his first promotion of cardinals; he gave the hat to Innocent del Monte, who, it is said, had been adopted as a son by Baldwin del Monte, brother of the pope. This selection made an unfavorable impression; Innocent del Monte not appearing worthy of such an honor. On account of the care he had bestowed upon a domestic animal belonging to the pope, this favorite was called at Rome the Cardinal *della Scimia*. He had neither talents nor conduct to recommend him: the other cardinals never showed him any regard. In a second promotion the selection was wisely made, and included men from all parts of Christendom who were worthy of such a dignity.

Julius knew how useful the Council General, of which he had been president, might be made, and he convoked it to meet at Trent, with the Cardinal Marcellus Crescenzi as president. To that cardinal he added, as nuncios, Sebastian Pighini, bishop of Manfredonia, and Louis Lipomani, bishop of Verona, desiring to do honor to the episcopacy that the heretics sought to abase.

The council, notwithstanding the opposition of the Protestant princes, opened its eleventh session on the 1st of May, 1551, and continued to its sixteenth session, celebrated on the 28th of April, 1552. Then the labors of that august assembly were interrupted by the war of Parma, and by that which the Lutherans had declared against Charles V., in concert with Henry II., king of France, who desired to weaken the emperor, and could not see that he at the same time was allying himself with the enemies of the faith.

In this conjuncture a Diet was assembled at Passau, on the Danube, in which the Protestant princes, by a solemn treaty concluded in the year 1552, obtained liberty to exercise their religion.* This treaty is called THE RELIGIOUS PEACE, and formed part of the public law of the empire. By this agreement, confirmed at Augsburg in 1555, the emperor, and the members of the empire, both Catholic and Protestant, engaged that they would do no violence to princes or States who embraced the *novelties* of Luther, or who persisted in the old and true religion. They promised that this union should not be disturbed by any differences of faith. The two parties, weary of the wars produced by the new heresy, concluded that treaty in which Charles V., besides restoring liberty to the Landgrave of Hesse, who had been arrested in breach of good faith, made numerous concessions to the Lutherans, thenceforward called *Protestants*, because they had protested against the decrees of the Diet of Spires, which ordered all

* Novaes, vii., p. 76.

the members of the empire to respect the ancient doctrine. Hence Protestants may call that *Religious Peace* the real foundation of the liberty which they have since enjoyed. How much of evil to the Church!

However, the belief that peace was perfectly restored was but vain; the heretics took advantage of various wars to propagate their errors. In order to obviate new afflictions, the pontiff, who feared that the ravages of the schism might extend still more in Germany, founded at Rome, by the care of Saint Ignatius Loyola, a college for the instruction of young Germans and Hungarians. They were intended for the priesthood in their own countries, to sustain the Catholic faith if it were shaken, and to restore it if it were destroyed. The pope contributed from his own funds towards the maintenance of the college, and each cardinal contributed according to his means. There was thus provided an annual income of three thousand and sixty-five crowns, which the beneficent Gregory XIII. subsequently increased to the sum of ten thousand.

By a brief of the 31st of July, Saint Ignatius was himself invested with the direction of the college; his order, the Jesuits, being the principal professors.

At that time the Siennese expelled the Spanish troops from their city, and from the military posts on the coast, and gave their allegiance to Henry II., king of France. Peter de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, then sent into Tuscany an army of twenty thousand infantry. It had to pass by the frontier of the Ecclesiastical States; and Julius, fearing a repetition of what had happened to Clement VII., guarded his frontier with eight thousand men. But the French and the imperialists carried into all the neighboring States the furies of the war. Julius endeavored, but in vain, to mediate between the belligerents. He then resolved to aid Cosmas de Medici against the Siennese.

By a bull of the 26th of January, 1554, Julius ordered that there should never be two brothers cardinals at the same time in the sacred college.*

Edward VI., king of England, dying on the 6th of July, 1553, Mary, his sister, succeeded to the throne. Julius employed the fitting means to bring back that nation to the faith. Cardinal Pole, whose sentiments were widely different from those attributed to him by Cardinal Carafa, was sent to negotiate the return to concord and unity. Already, even, a solemn embassy was about to leave London for Rome to offer respectful obedience to the pope. But Julius had not the consolation of receiving these ambassadors; he died on the 23d of March, 1555, at the age of sixty-seven, after reigning five years, one month, and sixteen days.

* That bull was confirmed by Pius IV. on the 12th of January, 1560, but subsequently became obsolete. I have seen in our own day two brothers, Joseph and Antonio Doria, in the sacred college together, and in 1851 there were two princes there named Riario.

Various reports have been circulated as to the cause of his death; the true cause was an uninterrupted succession of fits of the gout. He went to inspect the works going on at the famous *villa*, outside the Gate of the People, which still bears his name: braving the weather too much, he was attacked by the fever under which he sank.

Julius was of lofty stature. His eyes sparkled, his nose was long, and his countenance sometimes indicated irritability. But habitually he was mild, liberal, the friend of justice and of peace; and to those virtues he added knowledge and the gift of a captivating eloquence. Repenting of having annoyed the cardinals by giving the purple to the adopted son of his brother, he tried by every means to destroy the repugnance which that choice had caused to his own authority. Julius loved to grant to the cardinals all just and possible favors that they might ask, and even suggested such favors, and tried every method by which to make himself agreeable to the sacred college. If he had not done something to oblige them, he was sleepless on the ensuing night. It is also remarked that Julius was often obliging to his enemies. Bercastel describes him as one of those subaltern spirits that shine in the second rank, but suffer eclipse in the first; a firm soul, but short-sighted: fit to execute, but not to command. But too much has been said about that villa and the recreation that he sought there; which could be not otherwise than pure and innocent, as many cardinals daily visited him there, when the pope, retired for the time from strict etiquette, could welcome them to his table, and loved to assemble them there.*

* Medals of Julius III.—1. JULIUS III. PONT. MAX. In two medals, the head is bare: in the third, it is covered by the tiara. 1 and 2, the embroidery of the cope shows the pope on his throne, giving the staff of command to a captain-general of the Church; 3. A part of the church of Saint Peter's, which a procession of various personages is approaching. On the reverse of the first medal is the Greek word *κρατούμαι*—*I am conquered*. Prudence, with the symbols of the serpent and the mirror, seizes fortune by the hair. This is copied, with questionable taste, from a Greek medal, struck by Agathocles, and bears the same device. The workmanship, both on the side of the head and on the reverse, is exceedingly delicate.

2. VIRGO TVA GLORIA PARTVS—*O Virgin, the nativity is thy glory*. Halo around the heads of the mother and child. The Virgin, imitated from Raphael.

3. FONS VIRGINIS. VILLÆ JULIÆ—*Fountain of virgin water, at the Julian villa*. The medal represents the villa built by the pope. It is now abandoned, but there are still traces of the building. That cool and shaded villa, watered by the *Acqua Vergine*, or virgin waters, was a pleasure-house, to which the pope retired for restoration from the fatigues of his sovereign station; though, even there, he sometimes convoked the cardinals, to consult with them on political affairs. The *Acqua Vergine* had formerly been brought to Rome by Marcus Agrippa, but the aqueducts had fallen into ruin. Julius rediscovered this fountain, renowned among the Romans. Adrian I., as early as the year 790, intended to conduct it to Rome. Julius successfully finished the works that Adrian had begun. When the aged cardinals, to whom the ascent of the lofty staircases of the Vatican was irksome, consented to pass the October evenings at the villa, the pope frequently went there. Absurd accusations have been made against him on that subject. It has been written, for instance, that on one occasion, a master of the ceremonies accosted His Holiness with the inquiry: "*Beatissime pater, cras erit consistorium*—*Will there be a consistory*

We shall enter, with Novaes, into details upon some important acts of Julius.

He introduced reforms into the Roman chancery. He founded a congregation of six cardinals, whose duty it was to ascertain the needed improvements in the collation of benefices. He ordered that any cardinal who possessed several bishoprics, should choose one, at his own pleasure, and vacate the others within six months. He published a bull against laymen who meddled in the investigation of points of heresy; his object was to check the Venetians who had added lay inquisitors to the ecclesiastical inquisitors. Julius was incessantly watchful to preserve the peace of the

to-morrow, most Holy Father?" and that the pope replied: "*Cras erit vinea—To-morrow there will be Villa.*" That reply has been ignorantly blamed. The most important business was transacted by the pope and his cardinals at the Villa. And as to the word *vinea*, vineyard, it is just simply a mere modest synonym of the word villa. The country-seat of a great man of Rome is called a villa; the country-seat of a citizen of Rome is called a vineyard.

Du Molinet gives two other medals of Julius III.:

1. D. IVLIVS III. REIPVB. CHRISTIANÆ REX AC PATER—*D. Julius, king and father of the Christian republic.* D. may be an abbreviation of *Divus* (saint); but if so, the artist has erred, as that title did not belong to Julius. More probably, the D. signifies *Dominus*. This medal also shows the Holy Gate. It is a repetition of a medal of Paul III.

2. NULLA CARIOR. In the exergue, BONONIA—*None dearer. Bologna.* Bologna seated on a trophy, with books, presents one on the right hand; in front, wheat on three little hills, symbolic of the name of the pope, who studied in his youth at Bologna.

3. GENS ET REGNUM QVOD NON SERVIERIT TIBI PERIBIT—*The people and the kingdom that will not serve thee will perish.* An allusion to the English schism. The threat has not been verified.

4. PAX ITALIÆ RESTITVTA—*Peace restored to Italy.* Italy seated, holding out the right hand in sign of alliance, the cornucopia in the left. Julius III. never commenced a war, and he, as speedily as he could, put an end to that which was forced upon him, on account of Parma. On that subject, Chacon says: "However the popes may abound in the spirit and sense of their duty, and however pacific their habits, it is impossible but that they shall be sometimes removed from the port of tranquillity to the stormy sea of public affairs."

5. NOS AVTEM POPVLVS EJVS ET OVES PASCVÆ EIVS—*For we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture.* The English are supposed to say this when negotiating for a return to the Holy See. Upon the mountains, in imitation of the seven hills of Rome, appear sheep and shepherds' dogs. This medal was circulated in Great Britain, and especially in Ireland, and rejoiced all Christians who had remained faithful.

6. PORTVS ET REFVGIVM NATIONVM—*The port and refuge of the nations.* Emblem announcing that Rome is the Catholic city. This medal was struck on the arrival of Simon Sulaca, patriarch elect of Babylon, by whom the inhabitants of this country sent letters to the pope in Syriac, protesting their attachment to the Holy See. A fortified port has one opening, by which two ships are entering at full sail.

7. PONDVS IMMANE, VIRES INFRACTÆ—*An enormous weight, strength invincible.* Atlas, kneeling, supports the globe. Adrian IV., less confident, speaks differently. He says, "The pontifical dignity is a weight that crushes the strongest."

8. ANGLIA RESVRGES. In the exergue: VT NVNC IN NOVISSIMO DIE—*England, thou shalt rise again; as now, at the last day.* In the field, Julius, with the tiara on his head, between two kings, supposed to be the Emperor Ferdinand and Philip II.; on the right, Cardinal Reginald Pole; on the left, a third sovereign—probably, like the two others, a mediator for peace.

9. EGO SVM VIA, VERITAS, ET VITA—*I am the way, the truth, and the life.* The Eternal Father in a cloud, holding in the left hand a globe and cross, and blessing with the right hand

Church and of Europe. He maintained the ecclesiastical immunity which many magistrates had violated in Spain, and which the French had attacked in Corsica. He restored the Concordats of Nicolas V., for the collation of benefices in Germany.

In Naples he appeased the disturbances caused by the censures of the holy Inquisition, in such wise that while the guilty, who had agitated the kingdom, should be punished, their property should accrue to their nearest relatives, and not to the treasury, as the viceroy Peter de Toledo wished, who maintained that there, as in Spain, the property of heretics should go to the king's treasury.

Aided by Cardinal Cervini, he reformed the college of the cardinals, and freed it from some abuses. He repressed the cupidity of several religious who were ambitious of the mitre, by ordering that no one of them should ever be made bishop, unless with the express consent of his superior, and of the cardinal-protector of the order.

Julius with inexpressible joy received Simon Sulaca, monk of Saint Basil, patriarch elect of the East, sent by the Nestorians, who wished him to be confirmed and consecrated at Rome. Simon received this favor, and was sent back to his country with considerable gifts.

Julius founded at Rome the archiconfraternity of the Holy Sepulchre; he wrote to all the Catholic princes, exhorting them to give alms for the restoration of the churches in Syria; and he granted to the society of the Holy Crucifix, at Saint Marcellus, the privilege of annually delivering one prisoner condemned to death, provided that he was not guilty of the crime of treason. The same privilege was granted to many other cities in Christendom.

The Holy See was vacant sixteen days.

226. MARCELLUS II.—A. D. 1555.



HIS pope was celebrated for his horror of nepotism; he forbid all his nephews to come to Rome. He was born on the 6th of May, 1501, at Monte Sano, in the March, in the diocese of Osimo, near Loretto, and was originally named Marcellus Cervini de Spannocchi. In his infancy he was of very feeble constitution, but gifted in mind. He became versed in Greek and Latin; he loved arts, and himself drew and sculptured with elegance.

A false report obtained circulation in Italy. It was affirmed, with all the effrontery of false science, that Italy was threatened by a general deluge, which would make no less ravage than that of Noe. It was even reported that Clement VII., at the advice of some fanatics, had taken refuge at Tivoli, hoping that its mountains would protect him against that scourge. But, if he went there, he no doubt had some sounder reason for it. Be that as it may, the populace, and a great number of noblemen (for on such occasions all ranks sink to the populace), took precautions, as if any could avail them to escape! Marcellus thought that it was only needful for him to oppose to such absurdity the language of reason, wisdom, and sound natural philosophy. He wrote a dissertation upon that panic terror, and presented it to the pope; and the rumors which had disturbed the peninsula were quieted.

On the death of Clement VII., Marcellus was regarded with favor by Paul III.

On the 18th of December, 1539, Marcellus being in France as apostolic nuncio, was created cardinal-priest, and then sent to Germany as legate *a latere* to Charles V., and subsequently accompanied that prince to Madrid.

When the nuncio left Spain, Charles V. wished to reward him with a pension of ten thousand dollars. But Marcellus declined, saying: "Hitherto I have been the minister of the pope; and such I wish to continue, without binding myself to any foreign prince." He had the title of bishop of Reggio; but the friendship of the pope retained him at Rome, and to administer his diocese he deputed James Lainez, one of the companions of Saint Ignatius.

In 1545, Paul created Marcellus president of the General Council of Trent, but recalled his friend to Rome when that *Interim* was published.

On the 5th of April, 1555, the electors, to the number of thirty-six, entered into conclave. Cardinals Ranucci Farnese, and Guido Ascanius Sforza, immediately thought of placing Cervini, then aged fifty-four years, upon the throne of Saint Peter. That report having reached the ear of Cardinal Carafa, he approached Cervini, and kneeling, venerated him as pope, exhorting all the cardinals to elect him.

Thence they went to the chapel, where he was unanimously elected. On the 10th of April he was consecrated under his own name of Marcellus, because Saint Marcellus had always been invoked by the Cervini family.

The new pope had always been known for his piety, his knowledge, and his constant virtue. The universal Church expected great good from this pontiff. From the first moment he showed great courage. The ambassador of his Catholic majesty solicited the pardon of a criminal condemned for murder. Marcellus replied that it did not seem fitting to commence a pontificate by pardoning a homicide.

He always rose early, and, without calling for any of his servants, lighted his own lamp. This pope was accustomed to quote the words of Adrian V. : "No man is more wretched than the Roman pontiff; all his felicity is bitterness. The chair of Saint Peter is full of thorns; and, moreover, its weight will oppress the strongest."

The austerity of Marcellus was such that he thought of banishing music from all the ceremonies of the Church. Palestrina, then chapel-master in the Vatican Basilica, begged him to postpone the execution of this project until he heard a Mass composed according to true ecclesiastical style. When Marcellus heard it sung by six voices, on Easter-day, he was affected even to tears, and he abandoned his first idea. This Mass was published under the title of the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, and dedicated to his successor, Paul IV.

Marcellus, the implacable enemy of luxury, loved temperance alike in his food and in his expenses. It has been said that he intended to suppress the Swiss Guard, saying: "It would be better for the pontiff to die by the hands of the wicked, should such a thing happen, than set an example of a disgraceful fear, or an unnecessary pomp." Yet without exaggeration, there are circumstances under which the Swiss Guard at Rome is indispensable. Moreover, a motive of policy has always existed for employing such troops. The Swiss, who have been on guard at the Vatican, take back into their own country a love of Rome which especially maintains the Catholic feeling of Uri, Unterwald, Luzerne, and of many other cantons.

The maintenance of our religion in Switzerland is a miracle, traversed as that country has been by schisms and grievous separations. The residence of some Swiss at Rome, during a certain time, has been a remedy for a part of those evils; and I repeat, that those frank and candid people take back into their mountain homes habits of respect for Rome that no system of negotiation could replace.

I speak now of the Swiss Guard of the Vatican; with respect to the Swiss regiments, if Clement VII. had had two thousand men of that nation in Rome, it is probable that the city would not so easily have been taken by the army of Charles V. The Swiss are brave, true warriors. No general when opposed to them attacks without great caution.

The zeal of the pontiff for the reform of clerical discipline caused him to say that ecclesiastics with the care of souls should never be employed in public occupations. And it was his intention to confide the civil government of his States to laymen. He allowed none of his relatives, not even his brother Alexander, to approach Rome, where, says Novaes,* the relatives of new popes always flock to receive the fertilizing dews of the Vatican.

* Novaes, vii., p. 99.

Being urged to receive his nephews Richard and Herennius, and give them apartments in the palace, Marcellus replied: "What business have our nephews in the apostolical palace? Is it their patrimony?"

Whatever he promised he hastened to perform. "We would not have to blush," said he, "for being unfaithful, should we have promised and not kept our word."

All these virtues were extinguished by a violent fit of apoplexy, and he died after governing the Church only twenty-one days. He was interred at the Vatican. A surgeon was accused of having poisoned a wound in this pontiff's leg, caused by his fall from a horse; but the autopsy proved that that was false.

Marcellus was distinguished by his lofty stature. His face was thin, his eyes black, and his countenance agreeable. One of his eyebrows was higher than the other. He rarely smiled; but sometimes he suddenly showed gayety. Theodore Bibliander, a Protestant, praises this pope as being both holy and learned. Pietro Polidori wrote the life of Marcellus in very pure Latin.

The Holy See was vacant twenty-one days.*

* Medals.—1. Head of Marcellus, bare: MARCELLVS II., PONT. MAX.—*Marcellus II., Sovereign Pontiff.* Reverse, HILARITAS PONTIFICA—*Pontifical joy.* Female figure, standing. A palm and a crown of wheat ears.

2. Reverse, CLAVES REGNI CÆLORVM—*The keys of the kingdom of heaven.* On the exergue, ROMA. Jesus Christ, head surrounded by a glory, gives the keys to Saint Peter kneeling.

Du Molinet describes two others:

1. Without epigraph. A female seated, and having a book in her right hand; in her left a helm.

2. FIAT PAX IN VIRTUTE TUA. In the exergue, MEMORIE OPT. PRINCIPIS.—*Let peace be from thy courage. To the memory of the excellent pontiff.* Figures of Peace, Justice, and Abundance, standing.

Bonanni mentions other medals of Marcellus II.:

NOSTRA LATENS—*Ours is hidden.* In the field, a star above an antique altar, upon which are bright flames. Typotius gives this explanation: "A star shining and an altar smoking must allude to tortures and vows." Bonanni justly rejects this explanation. Perhaps, however, it may mean: A star gives light, a fire gives flame and smoke. Our lot is hidden from us, we know not as yet God's judgment upon us.



227. PAUL IV.—A. D. 1555.



PAUL IV. (John Peter Carafa) was born on the 28th of June, 1476, at Capriglia, in the kingdom of Naples. At an early age he applied himself to the study of Scripture, and afterwards made great progress in the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages. By order of Leo X. he resided at Venice. He was able not only to discuss points of dogma with the Greeks, but could with facility converse with the Jews in their own language.

Julius II., in 1505, made him archbishop of Chieti. It is not correct to say that in his youth he took the habit of the Dominicans, nor that he resigned his archbishopric to assume the habit of the Benedictines; it is certain that he was always attached with the sons of Saint Dominic. It is also thought he at one time wished to enter the order of the Camaldulensians, but their superior, Paul Giustiani, his great friend, would not receive him. As our readers know, he subsequently, with Saint Cajetan, founded the Theatines.

Julius II. sent him to England, to collect the "*Peter's Pence*" which that kingdom paid to Rome. During the siege of Rome, John Peter was violently persecuted by the Germans, and to escape the sight of such disasters he retired to Verona, and afterwards to Venice, with his monks.

Paul III. summoned him to Rome to aid him with his advice, alike as to the reform of church discipline and the labors of the council. Carafa firmly and modestly refused, but the pope having thrice repeated his request, he was obliged to comply.

On his arrival at Rome he fell ill, and the pope resolved to give him the purple, which he received on the 22d of December, 1536. It is said that when the secretary, whose duty it was, presented the red hat with the usual compliments, Carafa briefly thanked him, and then said: "Now hang the hat up on a nail."

Paul III., on the 15th of December, 1549, named John Peter Carafa archbishop of Naples; but in consequence of the opposition of the viceroy, Peter of Toledo, Carafa was unable to take possession of that See until 1550, under the reign of Julius III.

After the funeral of Marcellus, forty-five cardinals, then in Rome, met in conclave on the 15th of May. The imperial ambassador at that time warned Carafa not to become a candidate, as the emperor had excluded

him. On receiving this unbecoming notice, Carafa bravely replied: "If it is the will of God that I become pontiff, the emperor cannot prevent it; and I shall be all the more thankful, because I shall owe it to God alone."

The electors were upright. The imperial partisans preferred cardinals da Carpi, Pole, and Moroni; but the cardinals attached to France would have none of them. To remove all subject of difference, Cardinal Alexander Farnese, in conjunction with Cardinal d'Este, proposed Carafa. The French, who did not dislike that proposal, hastened to his room. Then da Carpi and the cardinal of Toledo arrived, and they conducted him to the Pauline Chapel. Carafa excused himself, and proposed the nomination of Cardinal Nobili, a man of exemplary piety; but his appeal was disregarded. Carafa was placed in a chair to receive adoration. He resisted, and endeavored to get away. Farnese detained him. Cardinal Carafa was almost infirm, and his hands were fastened to his chair. His lips alone still resisted, and asked to be spared, but exclamations drowned his words. However, notwithstanding the noise, it was perceived that three votes were wanting, and in that case the mode of *adoration* often becomes mischievous to the objects of it. Then cardinals Pazzo, Moroni, and Sforza, leaders of the imperial party, clearly perceiving that they would lose in the scrutiny, gave their votes; and Carafa, dean of the sacred college, at the age of seventy-seven years, was elected by the way of *adoration*, on Ascension-day, May 23, 1555.

He declared that he retained his see of Naples, and that he would take the name of Paul, in evidence of the devotion he had always felt towards Saint Paul, and also to show his gratitude towards Paul III. and the Farnese, who were the chief authors of his exaltation.

On the 26th of the same month he was crowned by Cardinal Pisani upon the steps of the Vatican, near the portico.*

On the following day, reviving an old custom, he gave a banquet to the cardinals, the dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, and the ambassadors of the princes. So sumptuous a papal coronation was not previously known. The ceremony took place on a Sunday, according to ancient custom, which, however, had not been observed by Julius II., Leo X., Clement VII., Paul III., or Julius III.

The taking possession of Saint John Lateran occurred on the 28th of October, 1555.

Shortly after his exaltation, Paul summoned to his palace, as his secretaries, Casa, Gualenghi, Bini, and Fiorabelli, the most skilful Latin and Italian writers of that day.

Although the new pontiff, up to the time of his exaltation, had lived in

* The steps of the portico are shown on a medal of Paul III.

the poverty prescribed to the Theatines, he determined to support with due splendor his sovereign dignity. His steward, inquiring how he desired the appearance of his court and person to be provided for, he replied, *magnificently, as becomes princes*.

Subsequently, considering the austerity of his former life had inspired the Romans with some fear, he showed himself great and generous. He loaded them with favors, renewed old privileges, and gave them the city of Tivoli, the administration of which he took from Cardinal d'Este, whom he recompensed otherwise. The Romans soon learned to call him the delight of their city, and in their gratitude erected a marble statue to him at the capitol, the work of Pirro Liguorio. Still more, they formed a company of one hundred and twenty horsemen, as an unpaid body-guard of the pontiff. Ten of them daily did duty in that honorable service, with which the pope showed himself much gratified. These guards were known as Knights of the Faith, or Knights of the Dove. Circumstances, however, brought about difficulties. The pope's declaration of war against Philip of Spain occasioned discontent in the guard, which depriving it of the pope's favor, it dwindled to insignificance.

Three English ambassadors arrived in Rome. They were sent to the Holy See by Philip, and Mary, his wife, queen of England. They asked pardon for the past errors of England. Paul affectionately embraced them, released the kingdom from all the censures it had incurred, and to increase the dignity of its sovereign, he erected the island of Ireland into a kingdom, a title which had been given to it by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but without the sanction of the Holy See.

In his first promotion, Paul created only one cardinal, his nephew, Charles Carafa.

Charles V., weary of governing Spain, where he had reigned thirty-eight years, and Germany, where he had reigned thirty-six years, a period during which he had gained forty victories, and undertaken fifty journeys—nine in Germany, six in Spain, seven in Italy, ten in Flanders, four in France, two in England, two in Africa, eight in voyages on the Mediterranean, and two on the ocean—determined upon a voluntary abdication.

In 1556 he resigned the government of Spain to his son Philip II., husband of the queen of England, and the administration of the empire to Ferdinand I., his brother. He reserved for his personal disposal a hundred thousand crowns, twelve servants, and a horse which he needed for exercise, and he retired to the monastery of Saint Just, of the order of Saint Jerome, upon the confines of Castile, where he died in 1558.

Ferdinand was then elected emperor; but Paul refused to approve the election, because, he said, it derogated from the apostolical dignity. Neither the abdication of Charles V., nor the election of Ferdinand, could

be recognized without the consent of the Holy See, and the empire could only be considered vacant on the death of Charles V.

Meantime, the East Indies had in a great measure been converted to the Catholic faith, by the apostle of the East, Saint Francis Xavier, one of the coadjutors of Saint Ignatius in founding the Society of Jesus.

While the Lutherans in Europe were calling for the destruction of the order, Francis, with his own hands, had baptized in Asia a million two hundred pagans. In fact, according to the calculation of Segner and Pichler, Francis won to the Church more souls than had been taken from her by all the heretics from Simon the Magician down to Luther and Calvin, in the course of fifteen hundred years! When God in his goodness designs to grant a recompense, he usually gives a thousand for one.*

At the solicitation of John III., king of Portugal, the Holy Father, in the month of February, 1658, erected the Church of God into an archbishopric, and established new sees in the places converted by Xavier.

On the 16th of December, in the same year, Paul published a bull against all engaged in intrigues to reach the pontificate. Saint Charles Borromeo so strongly approved of this bull, that when he returned to Rome he absolutely declined to talk about the future pope, to either the duke of Florence or Mark Antony Colonna.

For some months Paul had felt suspicious of his nephews, and his love for them began to cool.

The first to speak to the pontiff about the conduct of his nephews was the duke of Guise, who on his return from an unsuccessful expedition against Naples, told the pope that his nephews had betrayed the Holy See. On the other hand, Philip, king of Spain, ordered his ambassadors to prevent the pope from giving his confidence to Cardinal Carafa, who had prevented the prince from giving his favor to Mark Antony Colonna.

In this state, it happened that the pope, in a congregation of the Holy Office, spoke warmly against an abuse which was charged against Cardinal del Monte, whom on that account the pope proposed to deprive of the purple. Cardinal Pacheco attributed the fault to the youth of del Monte. Then, the pope, inflamed with a holy zeal, exclaimed, "Reform! Reform!" "Most holily spoken," replied Pacheco, "but it must begin with us, with ourselves." The Holy Father was silent, thinking that these words applied to his nephews, who were guilty of greater excesses than those imputed to del Monte.

The last blow to the influence of the nephews was given by Bongiano Gianfiliazzi, minister of the duke of Florence, who complained of grave

* That was the remark of Cardinal Borgia, prefect of the Propaganda at Rome, and he spoke on the authority of innumerable and incontestable documents in his keeping.

insults received from Cardinal Carafa. The cardinal had closed the door in the face of that minister, who had waited upon His Holiness on important business, to expose, in the name of his prince, great wrongs on the part of the cardinal; among others, that of levying intolerable contributions upon the clergy. The pope then privately consulted a pious Theatine, in whom he had full confidence, who completely enlightened him as to the disorders of which the Carafas were guilty.

Paul, convinced of the misconduct of his nephews, assembled an extraordinary consistory, explained his family misfortune, and by a decree ordered that his nephews and all belonging to them, their mother, the wife of one of them, their sons, and all their servants, should leave Rome within twelve hours. And then he deprived his nephews of their dignity, and of the power which they had abused.

Cardinal Carafa was exiled to Civit  Lavinia, near Albano, and then to Marino. John Carafa, duke of Palliano, general of the pontifical State, and prefect of the galleys, lost those high offices, and was exiled at Gallese. Anthony Carafa, marquis of Montebello, was compelled to retire to his marquisate, situated in Romagna. All three were to be tried for high treason if they should leave their place of exile.

Some cardinals endeavored to intercede for the culprits, but the pope forbade their names to be mentioned. However, he retained near him Cardinal Alphonso, son of Montebello, a young man only eighteen years old, because he was of an ingenuous disposition.

When the three exiles had left Rome, the pope said: "*Now*, we both can say, and ought to say, *Of our pontificate the first year*."

Paul could say that, believing himself freed from the fetters of nepotism, but he might have added that it was also *the last year* of his pontificate, for very soon after he was attacked by a fever, which, at eighty-three, he had no strength to resist, and he died three months after his severe but most just sentence. Like Vespasian, he said that a sovereign ought not to die in bed, and he ordered his pontifical vestments to be brought to him; but he was so weak that he could not rise, and he breathed his last on the 18th of August, 1559, after governing the Church four years, two months, and twenty-seven days. He was interred in the Vatican. In 1559 his remains were removed to the Dominican church of *La Minerva*, by order of Saint Pius V.

The *Biographie Universelle* thus speaks of this pope's opinion of medicine: "This pontiff was passionately fond of the science of medicine, but though he considered physicians the first among the learned, he kept himself free from needing their cares. He had read the best authors on that science, especially Galen, in the Greek original. Caraccioli, in his manuscript life of Paul IV., spoken of by Marini, says that that pope was his own physician

to the end of his days, and kept himself in an invariable state of vigor. He took no medicine and was never bled. Yet he so honored and favored physicians, that all of them who were distinguished in Rome for their skill, desired the title of *archiatro*, or chief physician to the pope, in the hope that by this title and the pope's favor they would attain success.

Paul IV. was of lofty stature; he had a pale complexion, a stern glance, eyes sunken but bright, short nose, and scanty beard. His voice was deep, and his gestures indicated both modesty and dignity.*

He was the author of that Confession of Faith which is now made by bishops when they take possession of their Sees. He forbade the opening of any passages across churches, or mendicants begging in them, that people might not be disturbed in their devotions. He instituted the ceremony of the Cavalcade to the *Minerva*, on the day of the feast of the Annunciation, and also the Pontifical Chapel, celebrated on the day appointed for honoring the memory of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

* The three medals in our possession have the head covered by a long white cap. Legend: PAVLVS IIII. PONT. OPT. M.—*Paul IV., sovereign and excellent pontiff.*

The reverse are—first: ROMA RESVRGENS—*Rome uprising.* Rome, armed and surrounded by trophies. Javelin in the right hand, and a buckler in the left. At her feet are drums, clarions, and an amphora, and a book with the letters S. P. Q. R., &c.

Second: DOMVS MEA DOMVS ORATIONIS VOC—*My house is called the house of prayer.* Jesus Christ on the left, armed with a scourge. The ground is covered with pieces of money that have fallen from the table of a money-changer. An old man, falling on his knees, as he endeavors to make his escape. A merchant with a casket, and a woman with a water-pot on her head.

Third: IN FLVCTIBVS EMERGENS—*Coming forth from the waves.* Christ in Peter's bark, his companions drawing their nets.

Du Molinet adds:

1. ANNO DOMINI M.D.L.VI. PONT. SVI. PRIMO. Struck on the creation of the noble guard. Faith presents her symbols, the chalice and Gospels. A medal of elegant workmanship.

2. The arms of the house of Carafa, without inscription. The tiara surmounting the keys; and in the field, gold, with two bands of silver.

3. BEATA SPES—*Blessed hope.* Hope holding in the right hand a flower; in the left, a bunch of poppies. At the foot of the figure is a full ear of wheat.

4. BEATI QVI CVSTODIVNT VIAS MEAS—*Happy are those who keep my ways.* A head of Christ, young and majestic.

5. DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI—*Learn justice, you who are warned.* Justice holding the even scales and the sword.

6. CLAVES REGNI CŒLORVM—*The keys of the kingdom of the heavens.* Christ giving the keys to Saint Peter.

7. HÆRES. REST.—*Heresy repressed.* The pope crowned, on his throne; three bishops on his right. Two men are kneeling before the throne.

Bonanni, vol. i., p. 263, adds:

1. NE DETERIVS VOBIS CONTINGAT—*Lest something worse befall you.* Christ blessing the people.

2. DURABIS IN PERPETVVM—*Thou shalt last forever.* In the field, in the middle a death's head, surmounted by an hour-glass; on the right, a bridge; on the left, the cross upon an open book.

3. SEDE VACANTE—*During the vacancy of the See.* The arms of the cardinal chamberlain, Ascanius Sforza, surmounted by crossed keys. The chamberlain has the right to strike money during the vacancy of the Holy See.

Paul was the first to order awnings to be placed to prevent the rain or the sun from interrupting the feast of Corpus Christi, which traverses the square of Saint Peter's.

Every year during the Carnival, he on one day invited the whole of the sacred college to dinner. He said it was fitting that the prince should sometimes recreate himself with his brethren and his sons.

He twice saved Rome from famine at the expense of the treasury, which he well knew how to administer.

His table was magnificently served, but what he ate was barely sufficient to support life.

His fasts were not confined to those of obligation, and he contributed to restore the custom of fasting in the Church.

His sleep was very short, and much interrupted. When unable to sleep at night, he would rise, but not disturb his servants, for fear, as he said, that he should deprive them of the *gift of God*, as he styled sleep.

Great as were his virtues, they could not secure the constant affection of the Romans. His severity made him many enemies, so that after his death, although he had done justice upon his nephews, the people levelled the pontifical statue set up in the capitol, threw the head into the Tiber, and destroyed the armorial bearings, and all the monuments of the Carafa family. This violence was punished in the following reign.

Several works of this pontiff are extant: *De Symbolo*, *De Emendanda Ecclesia*, and the *Rule of the Theatines*, of which he was the founder.

The Holy See was vacant four months and eight days.

228. PIUS IV.—A. D. 1559.



PIUS IV. (John Angelo de Medici) born at Milan on the 31st of March, 1499 (Novaes, vii., p. 142), was the son of Bernardine de Medici and Cecilia Serbelloni, an illustrious lady of Milan, where some members of the Medici family, driven from Florence by the violence of the civil wars, had taken refuge. John Angelo took the doctor's cap at the university of Bologna. He reached Rome on the 26th of December, 1527, the same day and at the same hour when, thirty-two years later, he was raised to the throne of Saint Peter. Clement VII. named him apostolic prothonotary,

and Paul made him governor, first of Ascoli, and then of Citta di Castello; five years afterwards of Fano, and then of Parma. Thence he was sent into Hungary with the general of the Italian troops. When he returned to Rome, in 1543, Paul commissioned him to settle a boundary dispute between Bologna and Ferrara.

John Angelo was next sent to Poland, as commissary against the Turks and Lutherans. He accompanied John Baptist Savelli, general of the pontifical troops, and auxiliary of Ferdinand, king of Hungary. John Angelo became, in succession, governor of Ancona, archbishop of Ragusa, vicelegate of Bologna, under the Cardinal Moroni, and then governor of Perugia and Umbria. Finally, on the 8th of April, 1549, he was created cardinal-priest of Saint Pudentiana.

Pope Julius III. sent him as legate with the pontifical army that marched against Octavius Farnese. Peace being made in 1553, Charles V. named him bishop of Cassano, whence Paul IV., in 1556, transferred him to the see of Fuligno. From the title of Saint Pudentiana, Cardinal de Medici passed to other titles, and at length to that of Saint Prisca.

After the *novendiali*, which commenced on the 23d of August, but from some unforeseen delays did not end till the 4th of September, the conclave assembled. It lasted four months. Forty-four electors could not agree upon a successor to Paul IV. At length, on the night following Christmas, Cardinal de Medici was elected, not at the scrutiny, but by acclamation. He owed his elevation chiefly to cardinals Farnese, Sforza, de Guise, and Carafa. The next day the Cardinals repaired to the Chapel of the Scrutiny, and although there was nothing informal in the acclamation of the previous evening, they confirmed it by the ordinary ballot.

We must not forget to mention a stratagem employed in that same conclave to cause the choice to fall upon Cardinal Bartolomeo della Cueva, a Spaniard. His conclavist, an able man, secretly visited thirty-two of the cardinals separately, begging each to give a single ballot to his master, who would be very grateful for this *solitary* token of esteem. Each cardinal thus solicited, imagining that he alone was asked for that graceful act of politeness, promised his vote. When all met in the chapel, and each asked the other how he intended to vote, and each replied that for that single time he should give it to Cardinal della Cueva, the trick of Torres was discovered; but they could not prevent his master from obtaining seventeen votes. As thirty were needful, however, the trick was useless.

The newly elected pope, who took the name of Pius IV., was crowned on the 6th of January, 1560. Panvinio, in his life of this pontiff, observes that he was born on Easter-day, elected on Christmas-day, and crowned on Epiphany.

On the 28th of January, Pius IV., preceded by thirty-one cardinals, took possession of Saint John Lateran.

The pope immediately determined to show his zealous practice, as pontiff, of the virtues which had distinguished him when cardinal. At the instance of the sacred college, and especially of Cardinal Carafa, he pardoned the Romans for their violence at the death of Paul. However, he ordered that the senate should be present at the Mass celebrated on the 17th of January in expiation of the tumult, and that the city should pay the indemnities due for the damage done on that occasion.

Pius IV. did not show equal leniency to Pompey Colonna, who, under the reign of Julius III., had killed his mother-in-law, and now solicited pardon. "God forbid," replied Pius, "that we should commence our reign by the absolution of a parricide."

Shortly after, the pope confirmed Ferdinand in the imperial dignity, and received his ambassadors as those of a legitimate emperor, because Charles V. being dead, the reasons on which Paul had grounded the exclusion no longer existed.

The pope was urged to decide upon the fate of the ministers and nephews of his predecessor, who were detested by the populace. Pius IV. then determined to show how he desired to be served in the government. On the 7th of June, the two cardinals Carafa, Charles, nephew of Paul, and his great-nephew, Alphonsus, were put in prison. At the same time, John Carafa, count of Montorio and duke of Palliano, and the nephew of Paul, together with various lords, were thrown into prison as accomplices in a crime committed upon the person of Brianza di Ascalona, wife of the said duke of Palliano. Pius named a deputation of eight cardinals to conduct the trial of their colleagues Charles and Alphonsus Carafa. It lasted until the 3d of March, 1561. In a consistory of that day the draft of the sentence was read. The populace impatiently awaited the satisfaction given to the enemies of nepotism.

Charles was convicted of high treason. It was proved that he had deceived his uncle by perfidious and dangerous opinions, especially on the subject of the Neapolitan war. He had persecuted various respectable persons, and kindled war between France and Spain by forged letters and signatures. That same night Cardinal Charles was put to death in the castle of Saint Angelo. Some time after, the duke of Palliano was beheaded. The same punishment was inflicted upon the other prisoners.

Cardinal Alphonsus Carafa was declared innocent, and set free. But he was ordered to pay a hundred thousand Roman crowns damages to the apostolic chamber.*

* The judgment against Cardinal Charles and his brother the duke, as well as the rest, was reversed under Saint Pius V.

By this example of terrible severity, which undoubtedly dims the renown of this reign, the ministers were warned of the rigorous views and intentions of Pope Pius IV., ill applied as that rigor was.

To secure at the same time the fidelity of his subjects, although he had so sternly declared war against nepotism, he would intrust the care of his person and of his most important affairs only to one of his nephews, Charles Borromeo, aged twenty-three years. The Romans applauded the choice, although they detested the motive of relationship which had dictated it.

Other relatives also received the purple: among them were John de Medici, son of Cosmas, grand duke of Tuscany. Cardinal John, according to Florentine historians, was assassinated at the age of nineteen, by his brother, Don Garcia, who pursued him with an envious and ferocious hatred.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Moroni, who had presided at the Council of Trent, and whom Paul IV. had caused to be arrested upon several charges, solicited a trial, and entreated Pius IV. to order it to be conducted with the utmost rigor. A commission of cardinals, of whom Ghislieri, afterwards Pope Pius V., was one, declared, after deliberate examination, Cardinal Moroni absolutely innocent. Was some remorse already felt for the previous judgment?

Shortly after, the pope turned his whole attention to the Council of Trent, which he wished to close. Revolutions in Europe had constantly interrupted it; and in the last conclave every cardinal had promised, if elected, to close it. Pius IV. was resolved to keep his promise, and his former colleagues were no less sincere in inviting him to do so.

By a bull of the 23d of November, 1560, Pius IV. convoked the continuation of that august assembly, which reopened on the 28th of January, 1562. That bull, however, met with some difficulties, because the king of France was not named in it, although the *Eldest Son of the Church*.*

* The duke of Saint Aignan, ambassador from the king of France, in the discourse he pronounced at the moment when the conclave elected Benedict XIV., says that the king his master alone had the right to take the title of *Eldest Son of the Church*, and that he had enjoyed that right during several centuries. On that point a letter was published in 1745, and in 1754, in which the author ascribes that privilege rather to the emperors. The author says that the first Son of the Church was the Emperor Constantine, and that he transmitted that title to his successors, who during more than two centuries after Clovis, first king of France, were called *Sons* and *Most Christian*. The author adds, that in the coronation ceremonial of the emperors, it is not shown that that title has been attributed to any but them. Finally, that writer draws the inference that the first traces of such a name being attributed to the kings of France, go no further back than the half of the then last century, according to the *Vindiciæ Hispanicæ* of John James Chifflet. In 1754, a reply was published to this kind of pamphlet, showing that that title of the king of France was mentioned by George Dietrich, in his notes on the Golden Bull; by Ernest Cokel; by Conrad Schurzfleisch, and by a treaty between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV., signed at Pisa in 1664. There is a fine extract from the publications relating to the dispute, in vol. x., of *Litt. Hist. of Italy*, by Father Zaccaria, p. 224, *et seq.* As regards

The sessions proceeded but slowly with business, owing to the pretensions of Claudius Vigilius de Guñonez, count of Luna, ambassador from Philip II. of Spain, who, contrary to custom, insisted that his ambassadors should have precedence of the ambassadors of France. On the other hand, Arnold de Ferrier, president of the parliament of Paris, and Guy de Pibrac, of Toulouse, the French ambassadors, strongly maintained the pre-eminence of their court. The pontiff decided in favor of the latter.* The Spanish ambassador protested, and set out for Rome, to represent to Pius IV. that Svinilla, king of Spain, was called by Honorius I., in 637, *the Catholic king*, before Gregory III. had called Charles Martel *most Christian king*.

Catholic king was one title, *most Christian king* was another title. The debates on this dispute were renewed at Rome in 1564. Pius IV. a second time decided in favor of the kings of France, and if we may credit Muratori,† Philip II. took no offence at it.

On the 26th of February, 1561, Pius made another promotion, including Bernard Salviati, originally a warrior, much feared by the Turks, then almoner to Catharine of Medicis, and afterwards cardinal of Saint Prisca. He had built at Rome, at *the Lungara*, the famous Salviati palace, which still exists, though in ruins. It was in that palace that he prepared to receive Henry III., who had promised to go to Rome, but was unable to accomplish that journey. 2. Sanislaus Osius, born at Cracow, son of King Sigismund Augustus, afterwards ambassador from the Emperor Ferdinand to the council. 3. Anthony Perrenot de Granvelle, born of a noble family at Ornans, in the diocese of Besançon, afterwards appointed by Philip II. as councillor to Margaret, duchess of Parma, governess-general of Flanders. He spoke, correctly, seven languages. 4. Louis d'Este, of the family of the dukes of Ferrara. 5. Louis Madrucci, a noble of the city of Trent. His family generously attended to all requests concerning the accommodation of the members of the council in that city. He was cardinal fifty-nine years, and attended seven conclaves. He is only accused of having somewhat too haughtily defended the interests of Spain. 6. Mark Sitticus Altemps, a German, baron of Hohenemps, born in his fief of Emps, and nephew on the maternal side of Pius IV. 7. Francis Gonzaga, of the family of the dukes of Ariano. 8. Iñigo Avalos di Aragon, a noble Ne-

the title of Most Christian, see *ante* in this work—reign of Gregory III.,—where that pontiff, in a letter to Charles Martel, gives him the title of *Most Christian*. For the title of *Eldest Son of the Church*, the strictest French writers think it is as old, at least, as the time of Louis XI.

* Charles Bulteau, brother of the famous Louis Bulteau, printed a treatise concerning the precedence of the kings of France over the kings of Spain.

† *Annals of Italy*, vol. x., ad Ann. 1564. Spondanus also has written on this question, and gives some extent to his arguments in favor of the French.

apolitan, knight of Santiago of Spain, and chancellor of the kingdom of Spain. 9. Francis Pacheco, a noble Spaniard. 10. John Francis Gambara, a noble of Brescia, celebrated for his prodigiously penetrating mind. It was seldom that in the most important affairs this cardinal failed to predict the issue. He was one of the chief ornaments of the conclaves at which he was present.

Other prelates, distinguished in literature, also obtained the purple in the same consistory. The list we have given shows that the purple was sought by the first families of Europe, and even by the sons of sovereigns.

It was by such cares and such precautions that Rome replied to the Lutherans, who persisted in representing the sacred college as filled by people without rank, celebrity, talent, or priestly qualities. All the subjects whom we have named deserved universal esteem for their piety and sincere attachment to their duties. From time to time, the princes who were partisans of Luther insisted that the council should be celebrated in Germany. But it was replied, that it would be wrong, deliberately to deliver the lambs into the power of ravenous wolves. The Protestants also made the intolerable demand that the pope should not preside, and that the ministers of the Confession of Augsburg might speak and vote.

Those unjust demands might produce fatal consequences. The pope feared that the Calvinists might do in France what the Lutherans had done in Germany. And then he earnestly endeavored to put an end to the council while the Church was still at peace.

The twenty-fifth and last session, then, was celebrated, and on the 3d and 4th of December all the chapters and canons, formed under various popes, were read. Those decrees were approved by the Fathers, without the unity of the council being injured by its interruption.

Paul III. had convoked it at Mantua, in 1536; and the following year, without any effect, at Vicenza; then, in 1542, at Trent, where it opened in 1545. After seven sessions it was transferred, in 1547, to Bologna, where for four years nothing was done. Under Julius III., in 1551, it was resumed at Trent, and suspended in the same city till 1562. Then it was again convoked under Pius IV., who, as we have said, successfully terminated it.

There has been no council, if we consult all the venerable past, in which so many questions were treated on dogmas, discipline, and morals. These matters have never been better defined than in that assembly, which may be regarded as the faithful image and perfect completion of all other councils.* Finally, to sum up, after twenty-seven, counting from the meeting at

* The celebrated Jesuit, Sforza Pallavicini (afterwards cardinal), wrote in most elegant Italian a history of the Council of Trent. (Rome 1656, 2 vols.; Augsburg, 1755, 2 vols., folio. .

Mantua, and after eighteen years, counting from the first session at Trent, that great council was ended and signed by two hundred and thirty-five Fathers ; that is to say, four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine proxies for absent bishops, and seven generals of religious orders.

At the earnest request of the Fathers, Pius IV., by his bull of the 26th of January, 1564, solemnly approved the council, prohibiting and annulling all commentary or interpretation. By another bull of the 18th of July, he declared that all the decrees of the Council of Trent, relating to reform and positive right, were obligatory from the 1st of the May preceding. To insure strict obedience to its decrees, the pope by his bull, *Benedictus Deus*, established a congregation, consisting of eight cardinals, who were to have the right of inspection over the execution of the canons, reserving to himself the interpretation of the decrees ; excluding all others from interference, on pain of excommunication.

Sixtus V. subsequently limited the jurisdiction of this congregation to questions on the reformation of morals, and not those relating to faith.

Ecclesiastics possess, in their libraries, the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent ; we, therefore, confine ourselves, for the information of laymen, to an extract from the bull *Injunctum*, published by Pius IV., under the form of the oath of the profession of faith.

After the *Credo*, as it is said in our churches, these words are read, which every ecclesiastic, on receiving a benefice, should read aloud, and intelligibly, or write with his own hand.

“I, N——, believe and profess with a firm faith, all and every one of those things which are contained in the symbol of faith used in the Holy Catholic (*Roman*) Church, viz. :

“I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible ; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, and born of the Father before all ages ; God of God ; Light of Light ; true God of true God. Begotten, not made ; consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made ; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, AND WAS MADE MAN. Was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate ; he suffered and was buried ; and rose again the third day according to the Scripture, and ascended into heaven ; sits at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again with glory to judge both the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end.

It is the best work to meet the calumnious history of Fra Paol Sarpi. Pallavicini wrote from the archives of the council, preserved in the castle of Saint Angelo. His work was translated into Latin by Father Joseph Giattini, a Jesuit of Palermo (Antwerp, 3 vols., 4to). An edition appeared at Faenza, in 5 vols., 4to, under the direction of Francis Anthony Zaccaria.

And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who, together with the Father and the Son, is adored and glorified; who spoke by the Prophets. And One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins. And I expect the resurrection of the dead; and the life of the world to come. *Amen.*

“I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical *Traditions*, and all other constitutions and observances of the same Church.

“I also admit the sacred *Scriptures*, according to the sense in which our Holy Mother, the Church, has held, and does hold them, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy *Scriptures*; nor will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

“I profess also, that there are truly and properly *seven Sacraments* of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, for the salvation of mankind, though not all necessary for every one: viz., Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Order, and Matrimony; and that they confer grace: and that of these, *Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Order*, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. I also receive and admit the *Ceremonies*, which the Catholic Church admits and approves of, in the solemn administration of all the aforesaid sacraments.

“I receive and embrace all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

“I profess likewise, that in the Mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead: and that *in the most holy sacrament of Eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially present, the body and blood*, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood; which conversion the Catholic Church calls *Transubstantiation*.

“I confess also that, under each kind, Christ is whole and entire, and a true sacrament is received.

“I constantly hold that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful. Likewise, that the saints reigning together with Christ, are to be honored and invoked; that they offer prayers to God for us; and that their relics ought to be venerated.

“I most firmly assert that the images of Christ, and of the Mother of God, ever a virgin, and also of the Saints, are to be had and retained, and that due honor and veneration are to be given them.

“I also affirm that the power of Indulgences was left by Christ to the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

"I acknowledge the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches; and I promise true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ on earth.

"I also undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons and general Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church.

"This true Catholic Faith, out of which none can be saved, I now truly profess and truly hold. And I, N——, promise to hold, and profess the same whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life. *Amen.*"

We shall here leave the Council of Trent, for in the sequel of this work the acts of the council will be very often cited, and will support the doctrinal decrees called forth by new embarrassments of the Church.

The first sovereign who showed his zeal in submitting to the Council of Trent was the young King Sebastian of Portugal, who, seven years earlier, had succeeded his pious grandfather John III. As soon as Sebastian received the bull of confirmation, he thanked the pope with the most tender respect; congratulated His Holiness upon the happy issue of his labors, and promised with his whole strength to support the authority of the Holy See and that of the council, and protested that he had nothing so deeply at heart as to cause the faithful execution of all the decisions, dogmatical or disciplinary, given by the holy synod.

The Venetians also earnestly accepted the council.* The pope, on that subject, warmly praised them, and pointed to the senate as an example for other powers. Not contented with that, the pope presented to the republic the palace of Saint Mark, at Rome, which was put at the disposal of the Venetian ambassador. Venice gratefully gave, in her turn, to the Holy See, the magnificent palace Gritti, which became the residence of the apostolic nuncio.†

The council did not immediately find equal acceptance in the kingdoms of Spain and France.‡ The decrees on faith, doctrine, and discipline, opposed by the heretics, were accepted, but some touching reform and discipline were not absolutely admitted.§ Such reservations do not appear to obtain now.

At this time there arrived at Rome Abdisu (servant of Jesus), a monk of the order of Saint Anthony, a very learned personage. He sought the pope's confirmation in the title of patriarch of Muzale, in Eastern Syria.

* Jacques Diedo, *Hist. of the Rep. of Venice*, vol. ii., liv. v., p. 196.

† Andrew Morosini, *History of Venice*, liv. viii., an. 1564, p. 309.

‡ Novaes, vii., p. 165.

§ See on this subject, Bercastel, vol. xix., p. 9, *et seq.*

He made his profession of faith,* which had already been read in the twenty-second session of the council, and he signed it for presentation to the pope, who sent him back to his country with rich presents.

The pontiff permitted Cosmas, first duke of Tuscany, to found, for the defence of the faith, and the safety of the Mediterranean, the military order of Saint Stephen, pope and martyr.† Pius IV., after receiving the requisite information, approved the statutes of that order, which was to follow the rule of Saint Benedict, and the three vows of charity, conjugal chastity, and obedience to superiors. The bull of the pope named Cosmas and his successors grand masters of the order. Honorable privileges were granted to them. The habit of the order was of great magnificence. The Grand Duke Ferdinand reformed those statutes in 1590, and other popes granted new honorary rights. Among others, Benedict XIV. granted them the privilege to speak to the pope without previously depositing their swords in the anteroom. The same privilege—which, moreover, is granted to the entire diplomatic body—has also been granted to the knights of the royal order of Charles III. of Spain.

The cross of the Knights of Saint Stephen is red, and very little different from that of the Knights of Malta.‡

Philip II. had honored with his patronage Mark Antony Colonna, who had addressed many petitions to the Holy See. The pope restored to that Roman prince the lands of his family, which had been confiscated by Paul IV. The Catholic king, under these circumstances, favoring the views of pontifical nepotism, gave to the nephew of Pius IV., Frederic, count of Arona, the duchy of Oira, in the kingdom of Naples, together with a considerable pension.

At this time a great promotion of cardinals occurred. The pope created as members of the sacred college—1. Frederic Gonzaga, of the dukes of Mantua; 2. Ferdinand de Medici, of the family of the dukes of Tuscany, who subsequently, not being in holy orders, resigned the hat, and became grand duke of Tuscany in 1588.

To put an end to the dispute as to *precedence* between the regular canons of Saint Augustine and the Benedictine Monks, Pius decreed, in 1564, that the first, as *clerics*, should precede the *monks* in acts public and private; but that in the councils and other places in which both gave their votes, the precedence should belong to each of the abbots of those orders according to the seniority of promotion in their abbeys.§

* It is in Spondanus, num. xxxiv.

† See the reign of Saint Stephen I. It was that admirable pope who said: "We must not lead religion where we wish, but let it lead us whither it will."

‡ See Spondanus, n. v., an. 1562, num. xxxix.

§ Pannotti, *Hist. of the Canons-Regular*, lib. ii., cap. lxxi.

In the consistory held on the 27th of November, 1564, the pope exhorted the cardinals not to make use of carriages, which had been introduced by the marchioness of Mantua* and other ladies. It was his will that the cardinals should ride on horseback in the city. Charles V., in fact, on his return from Rome, said that the sight that most struck him in that city was the procession of cardinals going on horseback to the consistories. It is certain, moreover, that in 1582, according to Mark Antony Valena, the cardinals, when they went to the palace, went pontifically, on horseback, and even had the power, if they met a criminal on his way to death, to pardon him on the spot.†

Important business kept Pius IV. much engaged. Many Germans in various dioceses asked permission to communicate under both kinds; and at first the Holy Father thought that religion would thereby be extended. Various princes, including the Emperor Ferdinand, Albert of Bavaria, and Charles, archduke of Austria, joined their solicitation to this wish of their subjects. The matter had been discussed in the Council of Trent: that assemblage of wisdom, prudence, circumspection, knowledge, and courage, and the pope, had deigned to grant the permission. But in the briefs on that subject which he addressed to the electors and to the archbishops, he declared that he granted them the faculty to administer the Communion under both kinds,‡ if they deemed fit, to such as should devoutly beg that favor, and who should confess that each kind contained the true body of Jesus Christ, and that the Church had not erred in giving only the one kind, any more than she erred in giving both.§

In the course of time it became evident that this concession only emboldened the mischievous temper of the Lutherans, and did serious mischief to the faith, as Cardinal Commendon, on the 6th of June, 1565, wrote to Cardinal Borromeo. In consequence, Pius V. and Gregory XIII. entirely revoked the permission, and restored the custom, practised during so many ages, of giving Communion to the laity only under one kind.||

In 1565, on the 4th of May, the Holy Father published a constitution, by which, in concert with Giannotto Castiglioni, his relation, and grand master of the order, he restored and amplified the order of the Knights of Saint Lazarus, in Italy, founded, according to Saint Gregory Nazianzen,¶ and confirmed by Pope Saint Damasus, to aid the pilgrims at Jerusalem, and especially those attacked by leprosy.

* Subsequently, carriages were in such general use in Rome that Saint Charles Borromeo used to say: "*Omnia vanitas, prater currum in urbe—All is vanity, except a carriage, in Rome.*"

† This privilege belonged to the Vestal Virgins in old Rome, but they had to make oath that it was only accident that caused them to meet the criminal.

‡ Novaes, vii., p. 169.

§ Lambertini, *De Sacrificio Missæ*, sect. i., num. 368.

|| See Lambertini, and also Bossuet on the Mass.

¶ Orat. xx., De Laudibus Basilic.

These same knights, whom subsequently we shall see united to those of the order of Saint Maurice, founded by the duke of Savoy, had been confirmed in 1255 by Alexander IV., placed under the rule of Saint Augustine, and favored with many privileges by several popes.*

By another constitution, subsequently confirmed by Gregory XIII., Pius IV. forbid the palaces of the cardinals and the ambassadors any longer to serve as asylums for delinquents and malefactors.

Pius IV., having been seriously ill during the celebration of the council, it was reported about that that assembly would elect his successor. On that subject the pontiff decreed that a pontifical election should be made only at Rome, and that the faculty of election belonged only to the cardinals, the sole depositaries of that right. Further, by a bull of the 18th of January, 1565,† renewing a law of Boniface II., he ordered that no pontiff should ever choose either a successor or coadjutor, even though the cardinals should agree among themselves upon that subject. By the same constitution, Pius renewed, decreed, and amplified the laws laid down upon papal election by his predecessors Alexander III., Gregory X., Clement V., Clement VI., and Julius II.

To reward those who had deserved well from the Church in the Council of Trent, Pius IV. made a considerable promotion of cardinals. Among others who received the hat were—1. Mark Antony Colonna, disciple in theological studies of brother Felix Peretti, afterwards Sixtus V.; 2. Angelo Nicolini, a noble Florentine; 3. Louis Pisani, a noble Venetian; 4. Prosper Publicola Santacroce, a noble Roman. The last-mentioned at a very early age lost his nearest relations, and at the time of the sack of Rome, in 1527, every thing belonging to him had either been pillaged or destroyed. He then so diligently applied himself to study, that he became one of the most distinguished men at the Roman court. He was nuncio to Henry II. of France, and then was sent to Portugal in the same capacity, and again returned as nuncio to France, where he received the purple. 5. Hugo Buoncompagni, who was afterwards Gregory XIII. 6. Simon Pascal de' Negri, a noble Genoese, and an excellent physician, who subsequently filled the most important offices. (It is evident that though Rome, then probably more than ever before, employed so many of illustrious birth, she did not overlook talents, deserts, and knowledge, in the less exalted classes.) 7. Charles Visconti, who had settled so many difficult affairs in the holy synod. 8. Francis Abondio Castiglioni, of the family of Celestine IV., who was pope in 1241. 9. Anthony de Crequy, of the illustrious French family of that

* The graces and privileges granted by the popes to this order are mentioned by Pius IV. in his Constitution 95. Spondanus also speaks of them at the year 1565, num. xvi., xvii.

† Constitution 63. Cherubini, *Bullarium Romanum*, tome ii.

name. 10. John Francis Commendono, a Venetian, whose father was a physician.*

This promotion, which gave twenty-two new cardinals to the Church, was a worthy reward of many toils, and much resolution and patience, and all Europe was a sharer in the benefit.

Meanwhile, Solyman II., having unconsciously become the partisan of Luther, because that heresiarch had disturbed Christendom, ordered Mustapha, one of his bravest generals, to lay siege to the island of Malta, then held by the Knights of Rhodes.

Forty thousand Turks invested the forts, but Pius IV., who was so zealous for the weal of religion, powerfully re-enforcing the fleet of Philip II., Mustapha was obliged to raise the siege, after losing thirty thousand men. We shall speak more at length of this siege in the reign of Pius V.†

The magnificence of Pius IV. was not limited to aiding all Christendom against the Mussulmans, his generosity also embraced Rome and the Papal State.

He erected at Diocletian's baths, the Carthusian convent, one of the finest buildings in Rome. From the palace of Monte Cavallo he laid out a fine street, ending in the beautiful gate in the city wall, called after him the *Porta Pia*, and standing on the site of the ancient *Porta Nomentana*.‡ Pius opened still another gate, near the ancient gate Cassia, and it was named *Porta Angelica*, in commemoration of the name of Angelo, which the pope bore before his elevation. Not far from the castle of Saint Angelo he built another gate, called di Castello, communicating with the Angelica gate. Another of his favors in this way was the rebuilding of the Flaminian gate, called *Del Popolo*, on the road entering Rome from Florence and the March of Ancona. The square by that gate was greatly embellished by Pius VII. and Leo XII.

Pius restored the *Villa Julia*, and also commenced the palace of the Con-

* Cardinal Commendon. says Novaes (vii., p. 177), was raised to the most eminent posts. He died at Padua, December 25, 1584, aged sixty-two, more advanced in glory than in age, with the reputation of being one of the greatest men of his time as an eloquent impromptu orator. See his life, by Anthony Mary Graziani, bishop of Amelia. Paris, 1699.

† For details of this siege, see Bercecastel, vol. xix., p. 64, *et seq.*

‡ The architect of this gate was Michael Angelo. It has been imagined that in the ornaments of the *Porta Pia*, there are proofs that the great artist persisted in considering the Medicis to be descended from a family of barber-surgeons. It has been asserted that in those ornaments there are *basins, towels, and pills*. We reply, that those accessories, in the first place, are very imperfectly expressed; and in the next place, may have been added by malignants of a later day. For, if Michael Angelo had that idea, would he have been prompted by it to make a *satire in stone*, under the patronage and under the direction of a pontiff of that house—of a pontiff who, it must be owned, had little wish to claim descent from a family of that rank and profession? To understand that the assertion is a mere calumny, we need only calculate—if we over attribute to Michael Angelo a malignity from which he was exempt—the vast amount of money that the Medicean pope paid for that building. He literally spared no expense.

servation at the capitol. Michael Angelo still gave his advice. Indeed, it would take long to mention all the public works due to this pontiff.

He founded a printing-office in the Vatican, and gave the superintendence of it to the celebrated Paul Manutius, whom he sent for to Rome on that especial account. He continued the mighty centre-piece of the buildings of the Vatican, commenced by Julius II. He opened new roads and restored the old; and he perfected the researches commenced by Julius for retracing every feeder of the *Virgin Water*.*

Finally, he strengthened the fortifications of Ostia, Civita Vecchia, and Ancona.

This led, unfortunately, to an increase of taxation. Turbulent men, ever ready to profit by popular discontent, and having nothing to lose in case of failure, formed a conspiracy against the pope. Among the confederates were Thaddeus Manfredi, the Chevalier Pellizoni, Count Antonio Canasini, and Prosper Pittori. They intended to assassinate the pope. Benedict Accolti was to present a petition to the pope, and when His Holiness held out his hand to take it, the vile hireling was to stab his master. His courage failed him as often as he had an opportunity to commit the sacrilegious crime, which therefore was deferred; the conspirators began to disagree, and one of them revealed the plot. All were arrested on the same night, tried, and condemned to death.

Pius had scarcely escaped from this barbarous treason, when he was attacked by a catarrhal fever, and after only a week's illness, died on the 10th of December, 1565, attended by Saint Philip Neri, who the year before had founded his congregation of Oratorians, and by Saint Charles Borromeo, who, arriving in Rome on the first intelligence of his uncle's illness, warned him that he was in danger of death, and administered the Sacraments of the Church.

Pius IV. was sixty years, eight months, and nine days old; his pontificate had lasted five years, eleven months, and fifteen days. During his reign he created forty-six cardinals. He was interred at the Vatican. On the 4th of January, 1583, his remains were removed without pomp to the Carthusian Church of the *Madonna degli Angeli*, which he himself had founded and consecrated.†

* In Papire Masson, *De Episcopis Urbis* (Paris, 1586, 4to., p. 412), is this distich. Rome is supposed to speak:

Marmoream me fecit, eram quum terrea Cæsar,
Aurea sub quarto sum modo facta Pio.

† We have three medals of Pius IV. Around the head we read: PIVS IIII. PONT. MAX.

In two smaller medals, of the commencement of the reign, the head is bare. In a large medal, inscribed AN. III., the head is covered with the great white cap.

The first medal has INSTAVRATA—*Restored*. Outworks, communicating with the castle, on the country side, are represented with their scarps and counterscarps. These fortifications still exist

Pius IV. was of ordinary stature, but strong. His face was large, his eyes were blue, and did not correspond; nose large, and the beard scanty. He seemed more disposed towards cheerfulness than towards the stern gravity his station required. His memory was so retentive, that he could on the instant recite aloud long passages from jurisconsults, historians, and poets. When he chose, he could speak brilliantly; and he excited wonder by his experience in business, and by his patience in labor.

2d. Around the field and on the reverse, MENDICIS IN PTOCHOTROPHIVM REDACTIS—*Mendicants gathered in the poorhouse.* Attributed to Leo X., but really of Pius IV., who built the Mendicant Asylum. *Beneficence*, surrounded by four little children.

3d. DIVE CATHARINE TEMPLVM ANNO CHRISTI; and in the exergue, M.DLXI—*Temple dedicated to Saint Catharine, in the year of Christ, 1561.* This church still exists. Cardinal Raphael Cesio had commenced it amidst the ruins of the Flaminian circus. The completing works on it are due to Pius IV. The façade is pleasing and elegant; it is called Saint Catharine of the *Funari* (Ropemakers). The Saint Catharine, on the High Altar, and the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and the Annunciation, that are seen above, were executed by Livius Agresti.

Du Molinet adds:—1. HODIE IN TERRA CANVNT ANGELI—*The Angels sing upon earth to-day.* Adoration; the Blessed Virgin, with the infant Jesus lying naked upon straw. A shepherd and two Magi near her; the ox and ass.

2. PIO IIII. PONT. MAX. S. P. Q. BON—*Pius IV., the sovereign pontiff, the senate and people of Bologna.* The pope crowned and throned; serpents under his feet. In his right hand a key, in his left a book.

3. INDULGENTIA PONT.—*Pontifical Indulgence.* The pope, crowned and throned, pardons the Romans for their insults to Paul IV.

4. TU AVTEM IDEM IPSE ES—*But thou art the self-same.* Christ, in a temple, standing before old men, seated and holding books: alluding to the Council of Trent.

5. TVI SECTATOR—*I follow thy laws.* A piece of money was struck at Milan when Louis XII. occupied that city. On the one part is the crowned head of the monarch; on the other, Saint Ambrose, on horseback, driving away the Manicheans, the Priscillianists, and the heretics of the time. This medal supposes Pius IV. to say to Saint Ambrose: "I follow thy example." In the Council of Trent, I combated the new heretics, the Lutherans and Calvinists.

6. INSTAVRATIO COLLEG. I. C. MEDIOL. When he became pontiff, he restored the law-school at Milan, and granted it some privileges. Law seated before the building. Three kneeling figures.

7. PROVIDENTIA PONT—*The foresight of the pope.* A standing figure holds the cornucopia; on the right, the bushel and ears of wheat.

8. PORTA PIA. In the exergue: ROMA. Above the gate the arms of the Medicis, between two turrets.

9. On the left, in four lines, PIVS IIII. PONT. MAX. PORTAM IN HANC AMPLITUDINEM EXTULIT. VIAM FLAMINIAM STRAVIT ANNO III.—*Pius IV., sovereign pontiff, thus magnificently reared this gate. He repaired the Flaminian way in the year 3.* The pope, escorted by cardinals, leaving Rome. The gate meant is the *Porta del Popolo*. The Flaminian owes its name to Caius Flaminius, twice consul. Commencing at Rome, it traversed a portion of Etruria and Umbria to Rimini. His son extended it to Bologna, and thence to Aquileia, on the slope of the Alps.

10. ANTIDOTVM VITÆ—*The antidote of life.* It is said that Pius IV. himself dictated both the epigraph and the subject of this medal, dedicated to Patience. Pius IV. was somewhat disposed to vivacity, perhaps even to anger. He endeavored to correct his foible by invoking PATIENCE. The ox and the yoke are a symbol of that virtue.

11. EXVRGAT DEUS—*Let God arise.* The Resurrection. The allusion is to *Ps. lxxvii. 2.*

Bonanni (vol. i., p. 289) gives also:

1. DESIDERIO DESIDERAMVS—*With desire have we desired.* A hen and her chickens. Struck to thank the pope for his beneficence to the poor, in erecting an asylum for them.

2. HVMLIA RESPICIT—*He looketh upon the lowly; Ps. cxii. 6.* The lamb upon the altar.

By a constitution, he approved the *Index* of the books which the council had prohibited, and he knew why those books had been forbidden. The labor which he undertook, in order by his own eyes to ascertain that the *Index* was needed, lasted three months. Already, in 1548, an index of prohibited books had been published, but it was neither authentic nor furnished with the special authority of the pope, though it was composed by Monsignor della Casa, the pope's nuncio at Venice.

The first person who attacked the *Index* was the Abbé de Saint Cyran, in France; then came Quesnel and others. Rome having prohibited their books, these writers replied by insults. To their confusion, and to the justification of the Holy See, it must be mentioned that Benedict XIV., in his constitution of 1753, established that the sacred congregation of the *Index* should condemn the book of no Catholic by name without hearing it defended by the author, or a consulter, acting *ex-officio* as defender. But it is unnecessary to point out here that the Holy See, in its judgments, is always benevolent and indulgent, though it always remains just. Elsewhere we shall have more than are proof of this.*

Pius IV. bestowed much care upon the reform of the clergy, both secular and regular, in revoking all concessions, privileges, and favors contrary to the regulations of the Council of Trent. By vigilant and reiterated constitutions, he compelled the bishops to reside at their Sees; and he condemned the benefices in *confidenza*—that is to say, with simony. He reformed various tribunals in Rome, into which abuses had crept. He instituted the *formula*, or *profession of faith*, which was to be pronounced by any one promoted to a chair in the public schools, and another similar profession of faith imposed upon all enjoying ecclesiastical benefices.

At the request of his nephew, Saint Charles Borromeo, Pius IV. instituted a monastery for women who, having lived irregularly, desired to reform, and to lead an irreproachable life. This monastery, situated near the Minerva, was called CASA PIA.

The Holy See was vacant twenty-eight days.

* See Zaccharia, in his *Antifebronius*, tome i., Introd., chap. ii., and chiefly in his *Polemical History of Prohibited Books*, p. 147, *et seq.*





SEAT 20

Pope Pius V

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229. ST. PIUS V.—A. D. 1556.



HERE is nothing, not even the most sacred or the most venerable, that human malignity will not abuse to its own ends. This is especially the case when it seeks to destroy faith and religion. We are assailed by a prodigious and daily increasing array of volumes on ecclesiastical history, extended or abridged. Who would believe that in a project so pious and instructive is a conspiracy against the Church; and that in a golden cup, adorned with sacred images, poison is presented to the majority of the faithful?"

Those reflections of Canon Muzzarelli, theologian of the sacred penitentiary, which occur in one of his finest works,* cannot apply to a book published by the Viscount de Falloux, having for title, *History of Saint Pius V.* (2 vols., 8vo, Angers, 1844.)

Having reached the reign of this great pope, I cannot too warmly acknowledge, in advance, the obligations I shall owe to that author. He is one of those who the most truly apply themselves to *the study of facts*, and, with regard to Saint Pius V., there were many facts misrepresented.

De Falloux is among the best of those who labor to restore Christianity and inaugurate the movement of reparation in France. He thus explains the first success of this vast enterprise. "The disciples, following the masters, searched the archives of history and of Catholic philosophy,† despised for so many ages. The object of the most habitual calumnies became the object of an impartial examination, which soon led to a respectful gratitude; and then the divine action, day by day, threw aside the veils of oblivion. Rome, that had been thought reduced to a subaltern part by the invasion of her territory, recovered her primacy in every event. The sovereign pontiff is exposed at once to every violence and treachery; he is crossed by those who wish to seduce him, and threatened by those who would fain crush him; the lion, by turns, growls and roars: all in vain—Pius VII. remained unshaken, and Napoleon, exhausted, fell before the pope did. The simple apostolic weapons, prayer and humility, which had defeated so many Cæsars, resumed the old irresistible temper; and God, who had hidden his mysteries in that strife, at length desires that all hearts

* *Il Buono uso della Logica in materia di Religione.* (4th edition, vol. iii., Rome, 1807, p. 63.)

† De Falloux: Introduction, p. 12.

shall know them ; it is His will that we contemplate in all its details that instructive fulfilment of his infallible promise.”*

The author will now follow Saint Pius V. in each of his actions, and he will cast the broad bright light of truth over a life that is little understood and much calumniated, and one which, having been mixed up with the political disasters and religious furies of France, seemed to give an additional opportunity for attacking the popes, and heaping the language of malediction and horror upon them, when they, on the contrary, were striving to lead nations into the ways of wisdom and prudence, and to turn ambitious princes from an at once guilty and impossible usurpation ; guilty in intent, and incapable of permanent success. Both nations and princes, misunderstanding a voice, alternately gentle and stern, fell into horrifying excesses. The Holy See, however, never failed in its difficult duties.

I will do justice to the present. Upon such questions, long prohibited either by flattery or by the habitual use of a thousand worn-out elements that usurp the domain of history, men follow established opinions.

In 1572, the Guises had attempted nothing against their kings, and the people had wished nothing. A woman and some of her sons did all. The victims had no ground of self-reproach ; they had not abandoned the faith of their fathers ; they had not dreamed of a fantastic republic. Every thing was well known. The historians had only to copy what had been collected and repeated for them. An ignorant and slavish century had taught all, and had proclaimed that the facts could not be altered. All was settled—the guilt lay at Rome.

Rome alone had ruined political systems ; she was told so in prose and verse, in flippant pamphlet and in bulky tome ; and if Rome replied, the Apennines would not allow the reply to arrive.

Let us endeavor, with the generous aid of French and Italians, to speak, not differently, but, if our humble faculties will allow, to speak better. In these new assizes let us patiently hear all witnesses. They have cost time, and even blood. If all feelings are not uniform, at least the curiosity is general. At least, let that which is new have a fair hearing. Of what benefit is peace, if amid the utmost facility for disseminating fashions, romances, theatrical trifles, and even worse, we alone are denied liberty to express freely our Catholic ideas, which are the basis of real happiness for men, the bright light of august truth, strict justice to all ? Let us see if he whose duty it was to teach morality failed to do so, and let us become more circumspect as we learn that he had constantly been that which he ought to be, the bold propagator of good, and the persistent enemy of evil ;

* De Falloux : Introduction, p. 14.

and whether the reigning pontiff held with a firm hand the helm of the bark that was intrusted to his vigilance and his courage.

The biographies just read will invest with new interest that of Pius V. Let us see what he drew from the example of Gregory VII. and Alexander III., and what he himself added, as the especial fruit of his own disposition, to the lessons that the papacy had received from those great models.

Saint Pius V., Michael Ghislieri, was born at Bosco, near Tortona, the son of Paul Ghislieri and Domenica Angeria. The family, though reduced, was a distinguished one at Bologna. De Thou represents Michael as born in a low condition; but that writer was misinformed. According to Jacobilli, who wrote the life of the Saint, he is supposed to descend from Ghislieri of Constantinople, whose children settled in Rome, Perugia, and many other Italian cities. Pompey Scipio Dolfi, author of the chronology of the noble houses of Florence, affirms that that family, in 1445, under the reign of Eugene IV., was driven from Bologna, where it had enjoyed the right of nobility; and that a Thomas Ghislieri found refuge at Vicenza, Francis Ghislieri at Ferrara, and Lippo Ghislieri at Bosco. A son of Lippo was grandfather of the future pontiff. Michael was born on the 17th of January, 1504, and received from his parents a pious education, as they destined him for the service of the Church. At the age of fourteen he took the habit of Saint Dominic, in the convent of Vigevano, and in 1519 made his profession, a practice permitted at that time. His superiors sent him to the college of Bologna, where he was to study theology, and then to Genoa to be ordained. Obligated to teach a course of philosophy, he went to a convent of Pavia to teach theology, and he remained a professor there for sixteen years, to the great satisfaction of his superiors.

In 1543 he was sent to a chapter of his province, held at Parma, and he there maintained what are called *public conclusions*. Successively elected superior of several residences, he governed his brethren with firmness and mildness.*

The congregation of the Supreme Inquisition, at Rome, sent him to Coira, a district of the Grisons, where his mission was to settle several disputes.

In 1551, Julius II. named him commissary-general of the Congregation, on the recommendation of Cardinal Carafa. The latter having become pope, under the name of Paul IV., made Michael, in spite of his unwillingness, bishop of Sutri and Nepi, in 1556. At length, on the 15th of March, 1557, that pontiff created him cardinal, of the title of Saint Mary of *La Minerva*. At the same time, Michael was established as perpetual supreme inquisitor, an office reserved to the pope exclusively, and which, therefore,

* Novaes, vii., p. 190.

seemed to promise the pontificate. Subsequently, Cardinal Michael left the bishopric of Sutri for that of Mondovi, in Piedmont, and thus got nearer to his family.

We have hitherto given facts transmitted to us by Italian authors. I will now follow de Falloux, as, with rare exceptions, our views, in the composition of our histories, are often the same.

After speaking of the childhood of Michael, he adds: "Lavish disposers of their temporal influence, Julius II. and Leo X. rather resembled the heirs of the fallen empire of Constantinople than the successors of Peter in the pontificate. A profane emulation dividing the schools, ushered in the passions of the sectarian spirit. At the eve of the hostilities between individual reason and revealed authority, the void was filled by grammatical disputes and scientific challenges. Plato attacked Aristotle, in the bosom of the universities. Pico de la Mirandola dethroned the Fathers of the Church, whose latinity was reputed barbarous. Mythological learning invaded even the science of theology, to the great injury of Catholic simplicity.* In the sacred chairs, only Ciceronian eloquence was heard. The popular processions of the great brotherhoods of the middle age were eclipsed by the triumphs of the capitol, where Ariosto was crowned.† In the very house of the Lord, his name was often disguised under that of Jupiter; and Diana the Chaste was not seldom compared to the Virgin Mary.

"Julius II., some said, chose the name Julius Cæsar, whom he resembled in ambitious designs, and whose helmet he assumed to oppose it to the imperial crown. Leo substituted for this warlike impulse a purely pacific impulse, but one not less worldly, and not less unknown to the ancient traditions of the Holy See. Rome, under Julius II., was transformed into an arsenal; under Leo X., into a Pantheon. Academies succeeded to councils of war; the astonished Vatican with difficulty recognized its new tenants, archers covered with armor, or artists effeminately garbed in silks and velvets."

I will go no further. The charm of the style will not blind me to the injustice which so agreeably plays through that eloquent description.

I have commended monographs, and have mentioned how they assist historians; but while praising the former, I must warn the latter that such presents are not always to be accepted with the same complaisance. We will not repeat the reproach that we are about to make; but make it once

* De Falloux, vol. i., p. 20.

† Petrarch was crowned in the capitol, under Benedict XII., who reigned at Avignon. Under Leo X., Ariosto was not crowned. True, there was a buffoon, named Barbarello, who was conducted on an elephant to the capitol, but fell from it before he got there. Afterwards, a triumph was prepared for Tasso, under Clement VIII., in 1595, but the poet died before it took place.

for all. A biographer, in his monograph, sees only his especial hero ; all his incense is for the one idol whose predecessors and successors are mere accessories. The historian who has embraced the entire series may adopt, occasionally, a stern accusation, whencesoever it may come ; but beyond and apart from the picture of the acts of one, he has a duty to fulfil towards all. Each may receive merited reproach, yet even admiration for a magnificent life of greatness must not be indulged at the expense of other popes, who, in their time, have carefully kept the stronghold. Another pope has appeared, but he has obligations to his predecessor. With all this, I do not the less feel justly towards labors generally complete, that have staked out the ground regularly, and trace out the path for him who has not leisure to pause long, forbidden as it is by the very nature of his task.

We shall now follow Novaes, who, like ourselves, passes as rapidly as he can to the principal facts of the reign.

After the funeral of Pius IV., fifty sacred electors entered into conclave to elect a successor to the late pontiff. Spinello Benci, in the History of Monte-Pulciano, says that Cardinal Angelo Nicolini should have been that successor. He had been seriously spoken of, but he was so close a friend of Cosmas, grand duke of Tuscany, that this very circumstance militated against his election. Then Cardinal Ricci was thought of. Afterwards, it seemed that the choice would fall upon Cardinal Moroni, supported by Cardinal Borromeo. Enemies exerted themselves, Moroni was excluded ; and Borromeo thus repulsed, supported Cardinals Sirlet and Buoncompagni. The difficulties increased. At length Cardinals Altemps and Farnese united in favor of Cardinal Alessandrino, as Michael Ghislieri was called, because born at Bosco, in the district of Alexandria della Paglia ; and, moreover, Michael's provincial had so named him when a simple friar.

Some of the electors represented to Borromeo that Alessandrino was a nephew of Paul IV. ; that a reaction was to be feared against the chastisement inflicted by that pope upon the Carafas ; and that, perhaps, Ghislieri would harass the family of Pius IV.

But the great Borromeo was not to be influenced by worldly considerations in an affair of such importance.

That worthy son of the Church considered nothing but the service of God and the glory of the Holy See ; he declared himself for Alessandrino, and never rested until he had brought to the same mind, not only all the cardinals of his own numerous party, but also those of the opposing parties. Alessandrino, when made aware of this, resisted even the entreaties of his friends.

"To render the election valid, it was necessary to get his consent, and that he should seem inclined to pronounce the solemn words of acceptance. It was not obtained without new demonstrations of his alarm and

unwillingness, and protestations of his unwillingness, accompanied by abundant tears.”* At length, Cardinal Michael was elected pontiff, on the 7th of January, 1566.†

To show himself grateful to Charles Borromeo, and to do honor to the memory of the uncle of that Saint, instead of taking the name of Paul, which naturally presented itself, he took that of Pius V. The name of Michael, perhaps, would have been preferred, but Saint Charles observed that it was a new name in the pontificate. However, all was not yet at an end. Ghislieri seemed plunged into a stupefaction which kept him motionless. His lips had pronounced the consent; but his heart, his mind, his modesty, and his natural humility, had not yet pronounced. He was asked the cause of his silence, and he replied: “In our Dominican convent, living solely to God, and occupied with our salvation, we firmly hoped to be saved; elected bishop and cardinal, we began to fear; now that we are elected pontiff, we despair of our salvation.”

On the 17th of January, the day on which he completed the sixty-second year of his life, the usual ceremonies proceeded. At the coronation he would not allow money to be thrown to the people, inasmuch as the practice had resulted in fatal catastrophes at the coronation of Pius IV., when women and children perished; but he ordered the money to be distributed to the poor of the various churches in their own homes. Money was also given to noble families known to be indigent.

Pius V. being informed that the Romans seemed but ill pleased with his election, because they feared he might be too severe, replied: “We trust in God, and we hope so to reign that our death will be still less pleasing to the people than our accession.”

On the 27th of January, he went in a litter to take possession of Saint John Lateran. As he passed before the church of the *Gesù*, he saw Saint Francis Borgia, general of the order, who, with his religious, stood at the church door, waiting to receive the papal benediction. He ordered the procession to halt, called Saint Francis Borgia to his side, and conversed with him for more than a quarter of an hour, addressing to his order the most flattering congratulations, and praising the general himself for having abandoned the grandeurs of the world, to embrace a life of sacrifice and pain; a life which most frequently leads only to martyrdom.

To those first proofs of piety the pontiff added acts of magnificence, and the Romans began to hope that his reign would be a glorious one.

Eighty thousand crowns were distributed to thirty poor cardinals, two hundred to each of the auditors of the Rota, fifty thousand to the Duke

* De Falloux, i., p. 84.

† Novaes, vii., p. 192.

Attempts for the dowry of his wife, sister of Cardinal Borromeo, as promised before his death by Pius IV.*

To show his gratitude to his benefactor, Paul IV., Pius V. caused a tomb to be erected to him in the church of the *Minerva*. After consulting the sacred college, he ordered the restitution to the princes of the Carafa family, of the property and honors of which they had been deprived by Pius IV.; and then he gave the purple to Anthony Carafa, son of Rinaldo Carafa, and included in the disgrace of his family.

On the 6th of June, 1566, the pope wrote a letter with his own hand to Mary Queen of Scots, consoling her under the tribulations inflicted upon her by Queen Elizabeth of England; and he at the same time sent to the august captive a sum of twenty thousand gold crowns, with the promise to send her more when a favorable opportunity should present itself.†

The Roman people having been tormented, in the month of August, by the rigors of a contagion which carried off many victims, the pope visited the sick in person, giving them medicines and pecuniary aid.

A circumstance occurred which led Pius to show his horror of nepotism. His nephew, Paul Ghislieri, having been taken prisoner by Turkish pirates, the pope ransomed him, had him brought into Rome still clad as a slave, and gave him an office with a salary of one hundred crowns, and a horse to enable him to go home. Paul was ordered to tell his other relations that the pope would not give them the property of the Church. Subsequently, however, the pope thought differently. He sent for Paul to Rome, and said to him: "As you are worthy of our esteem, and as the Holy See can employ you, we name you governor of Borgo, and captain of our guard." Unhappily, Paul Ghislieri, in that high office, committed a fault, and endeavored to escape its consequences by means of a falsehood. The pope then deprived him of his post, sent for him, and, pointing to a lighted taper, said: "Before that burns out you must leave Rome and the Papal States." Meantime, Paul had left in poverty five young children: the pope provided for their wants, and tacitly permitted Bonelli de Bosco, his sister's husband, to receive, from a foreign prince, favors which raised him to a very distinguished position. On the whole, Pius loved his relations, and was very willing to make them prosperous; but he also desired them to be virtuous, free from luxury and show, and in general, to obtain at Rome only such favors as they deserved. Such is the only allowable nepotism.

Pius V. also labored to make wise regulations in discipline. The better to succeed, he exhorted the bishops of all Christendom to cause the decrees of the Council of Trent to be observed, and to reform their churches. He

* This generous act is mentioned by Gabuzzi in the *Life of Pius V.*, liv. i., chap. ix.

† A work by Samuel Jebb was published in London in 1725, in two volumes, containing a list of all the authors who had written on the misfortunes of Mary.

first set the example by reforming his court. He provided the tribunals with judges known for their probity, declaring publicly that employments would be bestowed only on merit and virtue, and not on influence and intrigue. Every bishop possessing benefices with the cure of souls, was to obey the law of residence, in conformity to the laws of the council. Prelates were either to proceed to their residence within a month, or to forfeit their benefices; and many bishops lost theirs by disobedience.

In compliance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, Pius caused the demolition of the tombs erected in several churches, ordering that the bodies should be buried in the ground or removed to the cemeteries.*

The Germans, by permission of Pius IV., communicated under both kinds. Pius V. revoked this permission, which Protestants regarded as a condescension to the novelties which they sought to establish.

Boniface VIII., by a constitution which the Council of Trent confirmed in its fifth session, had ordered nuns to be cloistered, and to make the solemn profession of the three vows. But the cloister was not strictly observed in the time of Pius V., and under various pretexts the rule was evaded. The Holy Father forbade nuns, under penalty of major excommunication, to leave their cloister excepting in case of fire, leprosy, or pestilence; and when these motives ceased to exist, the nuns were to return to their convents. The bull, *Regularium personarum*, also forbade any nun to enter a monastery of monks, and any monk to enter a convent of nuns. Bishops alone, according to custom, could grant permission.

Latin priests had been occasionally authorized to celebrate the divine offices according to the Greek rite, and Greeks to celebrate them in Latin. Pius V. revoked all permissions of the kind.

The Hollanders having revolted against the Church and against Philip II., their lawful sovereign, the Holy Father, in order to promote among the Flemings due sentiments of fidelity to the Church and the sovereign, was the first pontiff to introduce the use of blessed medals, and to grant indulgences to those wearing them.† At the same time the pope encouraged the duke of Alva, who had gained victories over the Gueux (the name adopted by the Calvinists in Flanders),‡ and sent him the *stocco* (sword) and the *berretone* (ornamented hat), which had been blessed with various ceremonies on Christmas night.

The origin of the custom of sending the sword and hat, which have often

* That infection should not corrupt the air, the ancient Romans, by the law of the twelve tables, forbade interment of bodies in cities, excepting of those personages who had triumphed. This law, grown obsolete, was revived by Theodoric, king of Italy, and afterwards annulled by the Emperor Leo, surnamed the Philosopher. (Rainaldi, an. 226.)

† Oldoin, Addit. to Chacon, tome iii., col. 1,006.

‡ See de Thou, *Histoire*, tome ii., lib. 40, p. 524, and Spondanus, *Ann. Eccles.*, an. 1566, n. 21 et seq., and our own Life of Paul III.

since been given to generals meriting the approval of the Holy See, is not precisely known.* Some authors think that it is one of the most ancient customs of the Church; others believe it to be more modern. Various opinions are reported by Father Theophilus Reynaud, of the Society of Jesus, in "*A Treatise on the Pileus and other Coverings for the Head, both Sacred and Profane.*" (Lyons, 1665, 4to.)

The *Monts de Piété* were instituted by Barnaby de Terni, a Franciscan, in order to stop the exactions of Jewish pawnbrokers, and relieve the poor from their oppression. The first *Mont de Piété* owed its origin to Paul III. In 1559, Pius, by his bull *Inter multiplices*, completed his measures of precaution against usurers, by granting signal encouragement to the development of those charitable institutions.†

Considering, too, that in many classes the want of instruction was the principal source of the disorders that afflicted the Church, he instituted the *Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine*, the members of which are bound to explain the Catechism to children every Sunday and holyday, in certain appointed churches. Subsequently, perceiving the great benefit which the people received from these instructions, he granted indulgences to the teachers and pupils. A bull, the one hundred and thirty-seventh, finally exhorted all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, to establish the *Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine* in all the churches of their dioceses and dependencies.*

The island of Malta had remained in the most deplorable misery ever since its siege by Solymán. The knights learning that he was making new preparations, thought of abandoning the island, the only bulwark of Italy against the infidels, and seeking shelter in Sicily. To dissuade the grand master, Pius, at his own expense, sent three thousand good soldiers. A nuncio was at the same time to deliver fifteen thousand gold crowns, and to promise thirty-five thousand more within seven months. The pope also sent, on the 24th of March, 1566, a brief, in which he affirmed that he would not hesitate to shed his own blood in defence of the honor of God, and the safety of the inhabitants of Malta. At the same time, he solicited aid from France; and at Rome he compelled unfaithful agents to repay considerable sums to the State. It was by this aid that the knights began to build the new city, called Valetta, after the name of the grand master. That city is now one of the most formidable fortresses in the world.

In bestowing so much attention upon the island that was again to repel the Turks, Pius V. was not neglectful of the dangers of the Ecclesiastical States. On that account, the Holy Father thought it his duty to go in per-

* Novaes, vii., p. 202.

† De Falloux, i., p. 108.

‡ Ibid., p. 109.

son to Ancona. The infidels might attack by the Adriatic sea, as well as by the Mediterranean. In a war so important, every probability must be attended to. The duke of Bracciano was named general of the armies of the Pontifical States, and received the standard of the holy Church.

Shortly afterwards the pope returned to Rome, and was not long in discovering a part of Solyman's plans. That emperor had suddenly, by treachery, seized the isle of Scio, while the Christians were celebrating Easter. Almost all were massacred. Pius V. convoked a consistory, in which he informed the cardinals of the disaster. His allocution was interrupted by sobs. Letters were dispatched to all the faithful courts in Christendom, and money sent to ransom the children of the celebrated Justiniani family. Charles IX., who had an ambassador at Constantinople, read the pope's letters with deep emotion ; and the young Justiniani, restored to liberty on the demand of Charles, went to Rome to beg that the pope would thank the king.

The great theatre of affairs is now transferred to Germany. De Falloux eloquently explains the state of things in that country. In his picture will be recognized the same feeling which animated us when we had to speak of the ravages of the doctrine of Luther. "While the Church," says he, "bore herself valiantly, as the advanced guard of Christendom, against barbarism, what aid did she receive in the strife from the Germanic empire? It became indispensable to probe the wound that tormented Germany.*

"Luther, stupefying the world with the noise of his clamor, or the strangeness of his audacity, and slandering all who ventured to oppose him, attracted universal attention, and carried, as by assault, those minds that were the easiest to surprise. John Huss, his predecessor, had perished at the stake more than a century before. Luther took a hint from that example. He did not, like the Bohemian, link his cause with that of the oppressed and lowly ; far from it. All the violence that he safely displayed against the pope and the papists, turned into equally gross adulation towards princes and barons ; and when he found himself obliged to seek a shelter, the ramparts of Wartburg appeared preferable to the roof of the poor that had sheltered the Apostles.

"Once shielded by the temporal buckler, he boldly entered upon his definitive issue. He announced that the only way of putting an end to the disorders of the cloister and the weaknesses of the priesthood, was to abolish both the cloister and the priesthood ; and the better to recommend those maxims, he threw to the first comer the spoils of the monasteries, the gold or the brass of the tabernacles. Authorizing, by his own example, a

* De Falloux, i., p. 163.

double sacrilege in marriage, he freed from all bridle the passions of others, by sanctioning the bigamy of the landgrave of Hesse. "On the death of Luther, his fatal heritage was eagerly divided among his lieutenants, ever since invariably divided against each other,* and faith daily expired in hearts given up to all the tumults of anarchy.

"Men of calmer temperament than that of Luther, such as Melanthon and Beza, attempted a sort of mediation. But these faint-velleities of conciliation were soon buried in their own bosoms, or only exhaled in groans. 'Our people,' wrote Beza to a friend, 'wander hither and thither at the mercy of every breath of every doctrine; and after having risen, speedily fall, now on the one side and now on the other. What their religion is to-day, you may learn; what it will be to-morrow, you cannot even guess.'"^{*}

De Falloux closes that passage with this short and expressive, as well as sweetly consoling phrase:

"The lifetime of a man witnessed the dawn, the noon, and the decline of those haughty errors."

De Falloux will present a summary account of Germany as it was in 1566. He traverses places and epochs, and has been sovereignly just.

Sometimes twenty lines, or ten, or four, or even a single line, will suffice to explain the religious situation of a country. De Falloux commences by establishing what is, and then he enters into details which often explain how it became so. The sobriety of the author will be such, that after having spared his colors, he will have enough left also to paint the state of those northern countries which nightly enjoy the glorious brightness of the polar star.

"From one end of Germany to the other confusion reigned in ideas, in morals, in institutions, and in tendencies.

"In Switzerland, the spirit of revolt changed its name without changing in character. Zwinglius and Calvin divided men's minds.

"Very soon we shall have to pause before Calvinism in France.

"As to Zwinglius, at first a soldier, then a priest, and afterwards canon of Constance, he sold his benefice in order to marry, and then founded a new schism in his country. Zurich, Berne, Bâle, and Schaffhausen followed him. The Swiss cantons were divided, and flew to arms. 'Fire must be quenched by blood!' exclaimed Zwinglius, resuming his old trade, and he

* De Falloux has well defined these variations, which at last gave us the victory. The Sacramentarians were the offspring of the Lutherans, the Anabaptists of the Sacramentarians; and the sinister memories of Munster tortured the last unquiet hours of the reformer. And we, we have remained Catholic; yes, Catholics have succeeded to Catholics, and it is not our ranks that are now being thinned.

† *Epist. ad Andream Dudith.* Dudith published translations of Longinus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and of Beccatelli's Life of Cardinal Pole.

perished in battle. His doctrine had had time to breed fanatics. Judicial executions succeeded to popular outbreaks. Gentilis having begun to dogmatize in his turn, the reformed Bailli of Berne arrested and beheaded him on the public square.

"At Geneva, Calvin personally attended the execution of Michael Servetus.

"Frederick III., count palatine of the Rhine, embraced Calvinism, and ardently supported it.

"William, duke of Brunswick, son of Duke Ernest, had entered the league of Smalkalde, and maintained all its errors.

"Carlostadt, the friend of Luther, kindled the fire in Saxony.

"Prussia was divided between Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Duke Albert, both of the same house, and both Protestants. Prussia had remained longer than the other German countries in a barbarous state, and owed the light of civilization to the Holy See. The Teutonic knights, driven from Syria by the Saracens, had asked an asylum from the Holy See, which His Holiness gave them at Culm and at Koenigsberg.

"This Christian soldiery, designedly placed among savage tribes, soon subjugated them as much by superiority of morals as by that of arms. The knights very soon ruled as sovereigns over almost all Prussia. The title of grand master was esteemed an honor to the most illustrious families of Germany, and among the princes of the blood-royal.

"As long as the Teutonic knights found barbarians to combat and provinces to subject, they showed themselves as noble as their mission. But when they had nothing to do but to enjoy the possession of a secondary power and immense wealth, all the disorders of idleness attacked them, corrupted their hearts, and tarnished their faith. The Lutheran uprising presented the opportunity for throwing off the yoke, easy and distant as it was, of the sovereign pontiffs. The opportunity was seized. Albert of Brandenburg, then grand master of the order, stipulating, at the expense of the order, for the wages of his treason, concluded, on the 8th of April, 1526, a treaty with his uncle, the king of Poland, which recognized him as hereditary grand duke of all the domains of the Teutonic order, except the cities abandoned to the greed of the Poles, to which they lent the strong hand for the execution of its clauses. He threw off the habit of the order, deprived the knights, who had raised him to the chief command, of all their privileges, and drove the Catholics from his new States. Albert, dying at a very advanced age, was succeeded by his son Albert Frederick. The order had found shelter in Franconia, and George Hund, of Wenckheim, who was grand master at the accession of Pius V., vainly urged his incessant protests upon the attention of the German Diets.

"In the North, Sweden and Denmark had seen the Catholic Church

perish under atrocious persecutions. Gustavus Vasa, after delivering his country from the tyranny of Christiern II., held at Orebro, in 1529, a national council, in which he abolished Catholicity, and adopted the Augsburg Confession. "John III., his son and successor, married a daughter of Sigismund, king of Poland, and took as his favorite minister a Frenchman named La Gardie. Those two influences won him back towards the old faith, and he showed an inclination towards its re-establishment; but the death of his queen, and the shipwreck of La Gardie on his return from Rome, rendered the first efforts fruitless, and deprived the Catholics of their last support in the kingdom.

"Frederick II., king of Denmark and duke of Holstein, grandson of the ferocious Christiern, found Lutheranism established in his States, and maintained it there.

"Ivan IV. had reigned in Russia from the year 1534. He was the first sovereign of that vast empire who exchanged the title of duke, prince, or grand duke of Muscovy, for the title of Tzar, or Czar, an obvious corruption of the Roman and imperial title Cæsar. He had subjected the kingdom of Astracan, brought the Tartars of the Kasan under the yoke, and seized upon the Polish frontier. Manifesting some desire for reunion with the Holy See, he invited and received at Moscow the celebrated Father Possevin; but the instinct of the despot could not bow beneath the laws of the Church, and he died without realizing any of the hopes that he had inspired. He was married seven times, and that single fact illustrates the state of a country withdrawn from the authority of the sovereign pontiff.

"Such, in summary, was the picture of the north of Europe in 1566."

The nuncios of Pius V. kept him informed of all that they observed, and he perceived that aid could not too early be given to the emperor, surrounded as he was by dangers alike from the Turks and from the Lutherans. In consequence, the zealous pope published a jubilee, instituted the devotion of the *Quarant'Ore*, or forty hours; urged the faithful to fulfil their duties, and granted a plenary indulgence to all who, after confession and communicating, addressed fervent prayers to God in favor of the emperor.

During the greatest heats of the season, the pope said Mass at Saint Mark's, on the very day of the commencement of the forty hours, and gave such public marks of devotion as had not been witnessed for three hundred years, by going, on foot, first to Saint John Lateran, the day following to Saint Mary Major, and the third day to the church of 'Araceli, the principal church of the Observantine Franciscans. Soon after, tidings came that Solyman, besieging Sighet, a place on the confines of Croatia and Hungary, had fought a battle in which he lost thirty thousand men, and then died suddenly before the place was taken.

To the deep grief of Saint Pius, France was disturbed by the heresy of the Huguenots,* and he resolved to send to Paris, as apostolic nuncio, Michael Turriani, bishop of Ceneda, and afterwards cardinal. He was to exhort the sovereign and Queen Catharine, to be firm in the Catholic religion, whose authority had been weakened in so many countries, and to keep in his duty Cardinal Odet de Chatillon, who had been excommunicated in full consistory by Pius IV.

To secure Avignon and the Venaissin State against persecution by the heretics, he sent troops, money, and munitions. Cardinal d'Armagnac, governor of the county, was exhorted to redoubled vigilance, and to neglect no means of preparing to defend it against all enemies. At the same time, the Count de Santa Fiora was sent with troops to maintain the authority of the Holy See.

The pontifical treasury had already given assistance to Malta, to the emperor, to the county of Avignon, and to Hungary, and Pius now hastened to collect further sums to be distributed in proper portions to each of those countries.

Subsequently, the king of France sent to the pope twelve standards, captured from his enemies,† whom he had defeated at Jarnac and Moncontour.

Pius V. sought every opportunity of sustaining the power and dignity of Rome. On that subject he published his thirty-fifth constitution, *Admonet Nos*, which was signed by thirty-nine cardinals, assembled in congress, and subsequently confirmed by Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Gregory XIV., Clement VIII., and Paul V. In that bull it is forbidden to give in fief any city whatever in the Ecclesiastical States, either for life or to the third generation, or to consent to any clause importing alienation. It was ordered that every cardinal, on receiving the hat, or previous to going into conclave to elect a pope, should swear never to allow the derogation of that bull, and to refuse all consent to be absolved from his oath upon the subject. The pope ventured to enjoin it upon future pontiffs to swear to the maintenance and confirmation of that bull, as soon as they should be raised to the pontificate; they were to declare that they would take all necessary pains to have it executed in the most complete manner.

In fact, Gregory XIII. not only swore publicly to maintain that bull, but he thought fit, in 1581, to ratify it. And such is the power of a determina-

* The origin of the word Huguenot is doubtful. Some derive it from a gate at Tours, called after King Ugon, as the Calvinists held their meetings near it. Others say that King Ugon was like Bugaboo, an expression to terrify children, being supposed to prowl around the walls at night, and the Huguenots got the name from their nocturnal meetings. Novaes, vii., p. 205. Spondanus, an. 1560, n. 10; De Thou, lib. xxiv., vol. i., p. 827.

† Maffei, *Life of Pius V.*, liv. ii., chap. xii.; see also Gabuzzi and Spondanus.

tion which is just, effective, and conservative of order, that all the cardinals spontaneously took the same oath, after preparing first by the most solemn ceremonies.*

On the other hand, to establish uniformity in his states, Pius confirmed all the constitutions of his predecessors, Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV. Julius II., Leo X., Clement VII., and Pius IV., relating to proceedings against the banditti and assassins, and to the establishment of a strict police. The abettors of the assassins were also held up to public detestation.

The pope at the same time concluded extraordinary treaties with the governments of Naples and Tuscany; to the effect that brigands who should seek shelter in either of those countries, should be delivered to the pontifical authorities,—Rome promising the extradition, without formal demand, of all who committed crimes in either of those countries.

In Germany, Catholicity suffered no new losses. Poland remained faithful. Notwithstanding the weakness of Maximilian, the provinces subject to Austria recognized the voice of the Holy Father. In Bavaria, Albert de Wittel had reigned in peace from the year 1558; but the character of Maximilian, more undecided than ever, caused deep anxiety. His father, Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., had had violent disputes with Paul IV., and but from fear of the devoted character of the people, there was little doubt that very serious embarrassments would have resulted. As we said in our life of Adrian VI., an abuse had crept in which still continued to disturb the city. Some authors, in their greed, sold their pens, to destroy, by *pasquinades* or *avvisi segreti*, the honor and good reputation of many quiet people, whom they compelled to purchase silence. Such culprits had been punished, either very slightly, by the authorities, or punished only by the silent contempt of the public. Pius V. determined that such an abuse should, if possible, be put down; and upon that subject he published a bull, by which he renewed the old canonical and civil laws against offenders of that stamp. He ordered the prosecution of all who wrote or hawked such libels, as well as of all who sent them out of Rome, and thus sought to disturb public order and the domestic peace of Roman citizens.

It was necessary to grant a powerful patronage to agriculture. New regulations were made, and disputes were to be promptly settled, even when arising between persons relying upon their privileges. The woollen and silk manufactures were protected as at Florence, and stuffs of that kind were in demand in Italy, or at least became cheaper wear for the people, because freed from all duties. The Holy Father approved the act called the "Statute of the Roman People." It was a code drawn up by

* Maffei, *Annals of Gregory XIII.*, vol. ii., year 1581, liv. v., no. 32, p. 225.

learned jurisconsults, Anthony Vellio and Marc Antony Borghese, consistorial advocates.

They were associated with other skilful men, doctors of law, and had published a treatise on marriage portions and the presents made to young Roman women on their betrothal. No portion was to exceed four thousand five hundred Roman crowns, somewhat less than five thousand dollars, and there was also to be a tariff for the presents between married people and relations. Unfortunately, or rather fortunately, that law did not long remain in force. Dispensations allowed a greater liberality, and the dealers in plate, jewelry, silks, and pictures, whom it was also necessary to encourage, united with the rich nobility to prevent the law from reaching more considerable gifts.

From the goodness of heart of some benevolent men, who took pity upon Christian slaves, whom they ransomed, arose an unforeseen abuse. The ransomed remained in the houses of those good friends of the poor, where they continued to be assisted. But by degrees that situation became a second slavery, and it might sometimes be said that the first slavery among the Turks had not been as painful as that which had to be endured in the houses of the liberators. The upper servants, those subaltern tyrants, who are found in every palace, made the ransomed hate their new condition. A beneficent constitution ordered all just complaints to be considered; and that, even at the expense of the treasury, assistance should be given to those who, after being ill-treated by the Turks, had not recovered with their liberty a pleasanter and more Christian life.

Pius V. took new measures concerning the Jews. They were scattered among many towns in the Ecclesiastical States. At Rome and Ancona they were assembled in certain special quarters. The state of these unfortunate people has since been ameliorated. It has been urged that it can be still further improved without danger to our religion; and there is reason to believe that in our time we shall witness this new act of humanity.

In 1567, the pope declared the great Saint Thomas Aquinas the fifth doctor of the Church, thus assimilating him to Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, and Saint Gregory.

One of the most necessary measures, and of the most important as to the future, that we owe to Saint Pius V., is his condemnation of the propositions of Michael Baius, a famous doctor of the university of Louvain. These doctrines were as the first seeds of the tares which in the following century infected the fields still left to the Church. Baius had scattered through his writings† upon free-will, human works and merits, various sentences which increased the scandal of the schools and the disturbance of

* Novaes, vii., p. 216.

† Pallavicini, *History of the Council of Trent*, liv. xv., ch. vii.

conscience. These sentences had been condemned by the Sorbonne in eighteen articles. The partisans of Baius replied by an apology mixed with sarcasms. The Holy Father, seeing that discord stifled in the hearts of the innovators every feeling of obedience, and threatened fatal danger to the Church, prepared to deal with that question himself; and by the constitution *Ex omnibus afflictionibus*, without naming Baius, from indulgence for him, he condemned seventy-nine propositions in his works, but without specifying the censure that might befit each. In this the Holy Father followed the example of the Council of Constance against the heresy of Wyckliff, and that of Pope Leo X. against the attacks of Luther.

In a feeling full of moderation, and, as says Novaes, of suavity, the pope ordered the bull to be communicated privately by the archbishop of Mechlin to the university of Louvain. We shall have to speak further upon this painful subject.

But the affairs of France daily tormented the heart of the Holy Father. The Calvinists were everywhere in arms. Pius V. addressed solicitations to all the courts to take into their consideration the evils of France. That great country, which when its sons were in peace with each other was dictated to by no one, now torn by civil war, disdained no assistance. Royalist and insurgent alike solicited aid in men and money, and Pius V. was not one of the latest to recommend the cause of the king, which was also that of religion.

The pope wrote the following letter to Jerome Priuli, doge of Venice :

“As soon as we, to our great pain, became aware of the danger of our most dear son, Charles IX., king of France, and the civil war which so cruelly rends his States, we resolved to assist him to the utmost of our power, and even beyond our power, against his subjects guilty of treason to both divine and human majesty; and because the ruin of France would infallibly produce that of the neighboring States,* it being indubitable that the fire would soon spread all over Italy, we believed it to be our pastoral duty to exhort your highness to aid the most Christian king with all your efforts at this critical moment to lay the tempest which *equally threatens you*. In truth, we are not unaware how much your highness is embarrassed with your own affairs,† but the danger which I point out to you is so imminent, that all those who labor for the common tranquillity should without delay make common efforts against the common enemy. It will be as agreeable to God, as glorious and noble for your republic, ever anxious to ac-

* Here let us admire the great sagacity of Pius V. Nothing was more true in his time, or is more true in our own. It is only great statesmen who know the eternal truths of the policy and the necessary situation of Europe.

† Fra Paolo was afterwards to envenom them still more.

quire true glory, to have come under such serious circumstances *to the aid of so powerful a king*, and, at the same time, *to the aid of the Catholic religion*.

"Given at Rome, near Saint Peter's, the 18th of October, in the year 1567, and of our pontificate the second.

"PIUS, PP. V."

De Falloux attentively examines and considers the circumstances under which Pius V. reigned, and which his successors could not escape. Here, assuredly, we have observations strong, novel, and bearing the impress of a masterly style :

"Thus the sixteenth century, as is superabundantly proven, was from end to end agitated by three very distinct policies : the Protestant policy, which convulsively exerted itself in intellectual and social disorder ; the state policy of sovereigns, which reasoned, fought, or yielded as circumstances seemed to require ; and *the resistance of the Church*, which appeals to eternal and divine principles.*

"In France, those three separate lines led to three different issues. The Huguenots, constantly adverse in feeling to the nation at large, *deriving their whole strength from the discontent of the great, and the passions they evoked*, dwindled away as the complaints were either satisfied or vanquished. They could attain only the consistency of a party rallying upon that limited foothold, and they fought by the aid of powerful chiefs and distant auxiliaries, and declined as the gates of the kingdom closed on them and their strongholds were dismantled, and at length succumbed when Richelieu's cannon demolished the walls of Rochelle, and put their very existence at the mercy of an edict. The system of Catharine, who had used the torch and the poignard, tottered from weakness into violence, to perish by the dirk with the ill-fated Henry III. The Christian policy alone survived all those strange vicissitudes, and triumphed when Henry of Navarre, who was then called Henry IV., begged for the holy unction beneath the hallowed vaults of the cathedral of Chartres ; and, freely converted, transformed his rebel friends into faithful subjects."

Faithfully to report the actions of a pope, it is necessary to glance rapidly from one part of Europe to the other, but it is also necessary to recur frequently to the various phases of the temporal administration of the Pontifical States. At the least rumor, at the slightest disagreement, the discontented started fiercely and insulted the tiara. It was too busy with the temporal interests of other countries to attend sufficiently to the country which it governed. This does not in the slightest degree apply to Pius V.

* De Falloux, i., p. 248.

Disputes, perhaps even quarrels, had arisen in various parts of the State, concerning the rights claimed by mendicant orders, but not recognized by the treasury. Something was still wanting to the safety, the peace, and the decorum of the religious, and especially of the mendicant orders. The attempt was made to subject them to exactions, and to billet soldiers upon them. The soldiers, being ill-received, ill-treated the religious, and the latter vainly complained to prejudiced governors.

Pius investigated the matter, and ascertained all these insults and blasphemies; and although he needed soldiers, as he was already levying for his defence, he endeavored to restore order, and he succeeded. The bull *Deum ad uberes* declared the mendicant orders free from the poll-tax law, and their convents were not to have soldiers billeted upon them.

Then it was inquired: "Who are the mendicant orders?" A bull of the 1st of October, 1567, declared that, as others had ordered, that term should belong to the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the hermits of Saint Augustine, the Carmelites, and the Servites, or servants of Mary. At the same time, it directed that the minims of Saint Francis de Paula, the Jesuates (some few existed still, but were absolutely isolated), and the Jesuits, should be regarded as such also. The privileges recognized by the Council of Trent were also augmented; and, finally, it was arranged that the Dominicans should have pre-eminence over all the other mendicant orders, alike in the pontifical chapel and in the processions and other public ceremonies.

The State of Corsica had for a long time attracted the attention of the popes.

"Corsica," says de Falloux (i., 253), "which about the middle of the fourteenth century had passed from the domination of Pisa to that of Genoa, was, in the year 1564, torn by cruel factions. The quarrel of a private individual led in Corsica to a general rising against the Genoese."

Sampietri, a Corsican, who had bled in the service of France, took part in these fatal divisions. Denounced and banished, he had to fly. His wife imagined that she could dispose the Genoese to clemency. The irritated husband would not pardon what he deemed his wife's crime of submission, and he strangled her with his sash. There was no law extant to punish the crime. In the face of such horrors, Pius V. incessantly labored for a general reconciliation, and he obtained it.

"The Corsican insurrection," says de Falloux, whom we have warmly approved, "had revealed manners utterly savage; and the Church, which in the person of pacificator had visited those mountains, was to leave her footprints there. And, in her train, it was her mission to take Christian civilization and the instruction which at once corrects, enlightens, and purifies; for the Church is never opposed to knowledge, when that knowledge flows untainted from its natural sources."

From the particular pains taken by the pontiff, and which indirectly recall to mind the political measure of which we have already spoken, arose feelings of love and esteem between Rome and Corsica. A multitude of Corsicans have, during several ages, studied law and medicine at Rome. It is only since the beginning of this century that the annexation to France, and the marvels worked by a genius born in Corsica, have established the new nationality. At the same time, it must not be forgotten, that in Rome some of the best physicians and most learned jurisconsults have been natives of Bastia and Ajaccio. We shall not speak of the Corsican guard. No doubt it was somewhat turbulent, and even ventured to insult the French ambassadors; but the feeling that caused this fault, a fault which the government of that day should have prevented, was a sentiment of fidelity, of courage, and of attachment to the flag which they had sworn to defend. Rome discharged the Corsicans, but not without pensioning them; and when calm was restored, the only troops who, with the Swiss, could pacify Rome, returned to keep down the thieves and banditti who too often swarmed there.

We saw, at the commencement of this reign, that Pius V. sent consolation and aid to the unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots. She belonged to the great Catholic league that Pius V. exerted himself to form. Elizabeth, on the contrary, adhering to the error of Henry VIII., which had for a few years been interrupted, placed her people at the head of Protestant Europe. The two reigns, then, of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, were a long antagonism against Rome, an antagonism in which all the advantages were given beforehand in favor of heresy. The misfortunes of Mary so long occupied the Holy See, which gave so many proofs of solicitude and of grief, and made so much effort to soften the sufferings of that princess, that it is necessary here to exhibit her as she was known at Rome, which followed day by day that life of tears, of weakness, no doubt, but nevertheless a Christian life in faith, destined to close in a long and cruel martyrdom.

Mary Stuart was born on the 5th of December, 1542; the daughter of James V., king of Scotland, and of Mary of Guise, dowager duchess of Longueville. On the 13th of December, James V. died, and Mary Stuart, only eight days old, succeeded him, under the regency of James Hamilton, earl of Arran. On the 1st of July, 1543, the regent concluded a treaty with Henry VIII., king of England, that king who was *so fatal a husband*. By virtue of that treaty, Mary Stuart was to be sent to England at ten years of age, and subsequently to be married to Edward, son of Henry VIII. On the 16th of December, 1543, Mary, still in her swaddling-clothes, was crowned queen of Scotland.

The parliament of Scotland having annulled the treaty made between the regent and Henry VIII., war commenced, and lasted two years.

In 1548, at the moment when the English demanded from the Scotch the

hand of their queen, then only six years old, for Edward VI., successor of Henry VIII., the Scotch peers offered Mary Stuart in marriage to the dauphin of France, son of Henry II. It was at the court of that king that the education of the young queen of Scots was to be finished, and on the 13th of August, she was betrothed to the dauphin, amidst the most splendid festivities.

On the 6th of July, 1533, Edward VI. died, and left the throne of England to his sister Mary, who restored the Catholic religion.

On the 4th of April, 1558, Mary Stuart gave her kingdom to the king of France and his successors. Such treaties necessarily implied quite irreconcilable dissensions. If we call to mind the English in France, the English could easily fancy what the French would be in Scotland, at less than three hundred leagues from London.

Seventy days after that donation, Mary was married to the dauphin, and with her own lips, and with all youthful graces, saluted him as king of Scotland. In the same year, Mary, queen of England, died, and left the throne to her half-sister, Elizabeth, who was crowned with all the ceremonies of the Catholic ritual. This occurred in the month of January, 1559. In March, the English parliament repealed the statutes passed under the preceding reign, and restored the so-called reformed religion.

On the 10th of July, four months later, Henry II. died, and the dauphin, under the name of Francis II., succeeded him as king of France and Scotland.

Few pages of history recount such rapidly succeeding deaths of sovereigns. On the 5th of December, Francis II. died. His brother Charles IX. succeeded, at the age of ten years, and his mother, Catharine de Medici, governed. Mary Stuart, a widow, on the very day on which she completed her eighteenth year, left the court, and passed the winter at Rheims, with her uncle, Cardinal Charles de Lorraine.

In 1561, Mary asked permission to cross England, on her way to Scotland, and Elizabeth, with much bitterness, refused it.

On the 15th of August, Mary sailed from Calais, bidding adieu to that *beautiful land of France*. She was accompanied by three of her uncles, and by many French and Scotch nobles, among whom were also Brantome and Catelnau de Mauvissière. An epistolary correspondence, sufficiently polite, if we consider the irritation of their minds, took place between Elizabeth and Mary.

In May, 1562, it was proposed that the two queens should meet at York. Mary eagerly accepted the proposal, but, six weeks before the appointed time, Elizabeth made several pretexts for declining the interview.

On the 14th of April, 1564, the countess of Lenox, daughter of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII., solicited for her son, Henry Darnley, the hand of the queen of Scotland.

Charles IX., to relieve Mary from embarrassment, renounced all claim to Scotland, naturally terminated by the death of Francis II.

On the 18th of April, 1565, Queen Mary decided to marry her cousin, Lord Henry Darnley. In the month of June, Murray, the bastard half-brother of Mary, conspired to dethrone her. On the 29th of July, 1565, Mary, having received the approbation of her brother-in-law, the king of France, and of her former mother-in-law, the queen regent, celebrated her marriage with Darnley, and gave him the title of king-consort.

On the 7th of January, 1565, as we have seen, Pope Pius V. ascended the throne of Saint Peter, and from the first, understood how august a ward God had committed to his care. He kept anxious watch over her and over Scotland, and connected that queen, only twenty-four years of age, with the hopes of the Catholic faith, which had only seen better days in England to fall more terribly into the dark depths of Protestantism.

A faithful priest was accredited to Edinburg; he sometimes saw the queen, and assured her that the pontiff would constantly watch over her, and by agents and counsel, by all the means which the interest and the policy of men suggest, would do every thing to fortify the religious spirit of that princess.

Darnley, speedily forgetting his duty to the queen, sank into daily debauches, and insulted her by the most unworthy and humiliating behavior. When the princess was in the seventh month of her pregnancy, some nobles, whose names history should not deign to record, were introduced by the guilty Darnley into the chamber of the queen, where they assassinated an Italian musician, Rizzio, who was in attendance.* The dastardly murderers soon fled, and the queen recovered her authority. On the 17th of June, 1566, in the castle of Edinburg, she gave birth to a prince, subsequently James VI. of Scotland. Finally, a conspiracy was formed against Darnley, and he was blown up with gunpowder. On the 15th of May, she was compelled to marry Bothwell, one of the assassins of Darnley. In 1568, she revoked an abdication that she had been coerced into signing. At length the queen, weary of so many treasons, and unable any longer to endure an abode in a country where she was surrounded by so many traitors, determined to seek shelter in England.† We shall hereafter tell how she was treated there, after having been received with the honors due to her rank.

Meantime, in 1570, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the secret leaders of the English Catholics, opened their minds to Ridolfi, a

* Rizzio was already aged and deformed; but he had, when possible, supported her interests, and advised her for the preservation of her authority

† Labanoff, *Lettres Inédites de Marie Stuart*.

Florentine banker, and envoy of Pius V. They attached great value to the approbation of the pope, who replied to them in the following brief.

“DEAR SONS, HEALTH AND APOSTOLICAL BENEDICTION :

“Knowing with greater certainty, and in more detail, from your letter of the 8th of November (to which we replied on the 16th of February) the misfortunes of that (English) kingdom that once was so flourishing, we have been overwhelmed by a grief such as your undeserved sufferings—which we endure in your persons—could not fail to excite in our heart, and by our entirely paternal feeling towards you and the other Catholics of that kingdom. In fact, besides the common duty in virtue of which we must rejoice or lament the salvation or ruin of all Christian people, we feel especial benevolence and love for that kingdom. We remember that, under God, it was by the care and the zeal of the most blessed Gregory, Roman pontiff, our predecessor, that that kingdom was converted from the worship of stocks and stones to the Christian faith, and formed its most faithful laborers to the doctrine of the Holy Roman Catholic faith. It is therefore that we cannot easily find expression for the affliction and trouble that we feel for your individual sufferings and those of the kingdom, which you deplore in that same letter in terms no less true than calculated to draw from us the tears of compassion.*

“We are greatly afflicted that it has been reserved for the time of our pontificate to see the venom of so many abominable heresies strike so many deadly blows at the Christian republic.

“But, nevertheless, we remember the efficacy of the prayer of Him who asks for the blessed Saint Peter that his faith fail not, and who, extending His Church even in the midst of so many tribulations, governed it all the more admirably by the secret promptings of Providence as he knew it to be the more agitated and tempest-tossed. We do not despair to see in our own day, with the aid of the Lord, what was done and seen in other days ; so that this same religion, which seems to be trampled under foot, shall return, at the first signal of the Lord, to its former felicity, and receive increase from what seemed fraught with evil.

“And now, perchance, He who can render the old new, and the new old, our Lord Jesus Christ, has resolved to make use of you, men no less illustrious by the nobility of your birth than distinguished by your devotion to the Catholic faith, to renew and confirm the union between that kingdom and the Roman Church ; and to that end perchance it is that he has inspired the thought, so worthy of your zeal, to endeavor to restore both

* The pope does not speak here of Mary Stuart. His brief might be intercepted, and the fate of the queen would be still more compromised.

yourselves and the kingdom to the old submission, after snatching that kingdom from the shameful slavery in which it is kept by the passion of a woman.*

"We grant, in the Lord, as it is just, to those pious and religious efforts the praises that they merit, and we bestow the benedictions that you solicit from us; and as your lordships seek a refuge beneath the shadow of our power and that of the Holy See, to which you submit yourselves, we receive you with the tenderness you deserve. Moreover, we exhort you in the name of the Lord, and we pray with all the ardor of which our heart is capable, constantly to persevere in these laudable resolutions and precious dispositions, holding it for certain that God Almighty, whose works are perfect, and who has inspired you to deserve well of the Catholic faith in that kingdom, will assist you. And even should it be that for the enfranchisement of the Catholic faith and the authority of the Holy See you must meet death and shed your blood, it is far more advantageous to you to speed to eternal life by the short road of a glorious death, than to live on in shame and ignominy, the tool of an impotent woman and the destroyers of your own souls.

"Think not, in fact, well-beloved sons in Jesus Christ, that the bishops and princes in that kingdom which you name are unfortunate, because, having refused to renounce their faith, they have been undeservedly cast into prison, or otherwise persecuted. In truth, no one can sufficiently praise the courage and constancy of these men, which, as we deem, are confirmed by the still recent example of the blessed Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. Do you, also, imitate that same constancy; be courageous and firm, and let no threat, nor the sight of any peril, cause you to abandon your enterprise. He, in truth, is powerful enough, that God in whom you trust, He who overwhelmed the chariots and the horsemen of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, also to crush the power of these adversaries; He is powerful enough to render you His instruments in restoring that kingdom to its ancient religion and dignity.

"Towards procuring that result, not only will we aid you in rendering you our services, with the Christian princes whom you mention, but still further, in forwarding to you such sums of money as, upon your demand, our personal resources will permit us to furnish, as our dear son Robert Ridolfi, clearly and in more detail, will explain to you. We are also disposed to aid you with a larger sum than the weakness of our resources can at present support, as well as promptly and heartily to aid your pious efforts by all the means which, with God's aid, we may be able to command. Receive, dear sons, our apostolical benediction.

* Had this brief been known in London, it would have caused Westmoreland and Northumberland to lose their heads.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, on the 20th of February, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy, and of our pontificate the fifth.

"PIUS, PP. V."

But this brief gave only indirect aid to Mary, and Ridolfi was ordered to announce that a direct bull against Elizabeth was drawn up, and would subsequently be published.*

A painful captivity commenced for Mary; she was detained at Carlisle. However, she was treated with some distinction in the palace which she occupied. In November, 1569, the English privy council proposed to put Mary to death, on various pretexts: as, 1. For her two marriages, to which she had been enforced; 2. As being an accomplice in the death of one of her husbands; 3. As the enemy of England. This last charge might have some connection with the gift to France of the kingdom of Scotland, but that gift had never produced any effect. Elizabeth dared not consent to sign the sentence; but she proposed, to Murray, the bastard brother of Mary, who had, with the title of regent, a kind of royal power in Scotland, that Mary should be delivered to him.

In the month of January, 1570, Mary, still considered a prisoner, was taken to Sutbury.

At this period, Pius V. made his utmost efforts to procure her liberation; but the bull of excommunication issued against Elizabeth put a stop to all negotiations. It had been supposed that it would help instead of hindering them: it is certain at least that the murder of Mary was postponed.

We give, not an extract, but in full, that bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, which fell like a thunderbolt upon England and Scotland.

"Pius, servant of the servants of God, for the perpetual remembrance of the fact.

"He who reigneth on high, to whom all power has been given, alike upon earth and in heaven, has intrusted to one alone, that is to say, to Peter, prince of the apostles, the care of governing, with plenitude of power, the Catholic Church, One, Holy, out of which there is no salvation.

* As documents of great interest which various authors have left us, with various dates, will have to be referred to, we must observe that in the sixteenth century dates were a continual source of error. In the short space of eighteen years two most important changes were made. First, in 1564, the edict of Roussillon fixed the commencement of the year in France on the first of January, instead of leaving it at the Holy Saturday—Easter-eve—as for centuries had been the custom, and as in some parts of France it remained until 1567; and, secondly, on the fifth of October, 1582, as we shall presently see, the reformation of the calendar was introduced into Catholic countries by a bull of Gregory XIII.; but as the alteration was not then admitted into either England or Scotland, which did not adopt the correct mode till 1752, Mary continued to date her letters in the old style, while the king of France and his ambassadors made use of the new. Hence a difference of ten days.

"He has constituted it alone over all the nations, and over all the kingdoms, that it should root out, destroy, overturn, plant, and edify, in order that it should continue in the unity of the Holy Ghost, and that it should deliver to the Saviour, safe and free from all danger, the faithful people, bound together in the bond of mutual charity.

"We, being, by the great goodness of God, called to hold the helm of the Church, devote ourselves unceasingly to our charge, and omit no labor to preserve intact the unity itself, and the Catholic religion, which its Author has left exposed to tempest, in order to try the faith of his people and correct us for our faults.

"But the number of the impious has usurped so much power, that there is no place in the world which they have not endeavored to corrupt with their perverse doctrines. Among others, Elizabeth, the servant of crime, and pretended queen of England, has offered them an asylum in which they find shelter.

"This same Elizabeth, after seizing the throne,* has usurped throughout England the authority of supreme head of the Church. She has monstrously exercised that power and that jurisdiction, and she has again cast into the way of a deplorable perdition that kingdom, once devoted to the Catholic faith and the recipient of its blessings.

"Elizabeth has destroyed the worship of the true religion, which was overturned by Henry VIII., and which the legitimate Queen Mary, so commendable to the respect of posterity, had succeeded in establishing by the efforts of her own powerful hand, and with the assistance of the Holy See. Elizabeth, embracing and following the errors of the heretics, has dismissed the royal council of England, composed of members of the English nobility, and has replaced them by obscure heretics. She has oppressed those who cultivated the Catholic faith, and has replaced them by evil speakers and ministers of impiety. She has abolished the sacrifice of the Mass, prayers, fasting, distinctions of meat, celibacy, and Catholic rites. She has ordered the circulation of books containing a system of manifest heresy, and of impious mysteries. She has commanded her subjects to receive, observe, and preserve precepts which she has adopted from Calvin. She has dared to decree that the bishops, rectors of churches, and the other Catholic priests, be driven from their churches and deprived of their benefices. She has disposed of them and of other ecclesiastical things in favor of the heretics; and she has also decided upon causes the decision of which rightly belongs only to the Church.

* At Rome, Elizabeth was considered a usurper. The crown of England was deemed to belong of right to Mary queen of Scots, grand-niece of Henry VIII., the marriage of Elizabeth's mother never having been recognized, and Elizabeth, as illegitimate, excluded from the succession.

"She has forbidden the prelates, clergy, and people to recognize the Roman Church, and to obey its laws and its canonical sanctions. She has constrained most of her subjects to recognize her culpable laws, and to abjure the obedience due to the sovereign pontiff. She has prescribed, that, by oath, they shall recognize her as sole mistress, alike in things spiritual and temporal. She has inflicted penalties and punishments upon those whom she could not persuade,* and those who persevered in the unity of the faith and in obedience.

"She has also thrown into prison bishops and rectors of churches, and many of them have perished there in misery.

"These things are well known to all nations; they are proved by the gravest testimony, and no room is left for tergiversation, excuse, or defence.

"We, seeing these impieties multiplied, and seeing that still other crimes are added to the first; seeing that the persecutions against the faithful are increasing, in consequence of the compulsion and self-will of the said Elizabeth, we are persuaded that her heart is more than ever hardened. Not only does she despise the pious prayers of good Catholics, that she should be converted and brought back to her right mind, but, further, she has even refused to receive in England the nuncios whom we have sent. We, then, forced by necessity to resort to the arms of justice against her, cannot soften our grief that we have not severely dealt with a princess whose ancestors had so well deserved the praise of the Christian republic.

"We, therefore, supported by the authority of Him whose will has called us to the throne, although we are unworthy of such a charge, in the name of the apostolical authority, we declare the said Elizabeth a heretic, and aider and fautor of heretics, and that her adherents in the above cited acts have incurred the sentence of anathema, and are separated from the unity of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"We declare her deprived of the pretended right to that kingdom, and of all domain, dignity, and privilege. We declare the subjects, the nobility and people of that kingdom, free from their oaths, and from all debt of *subjection*, of fidelity, and of respect; and by the authority of these presents, we deprive the said Elizabeth of the right to her pretended kingdom. By this prescription we further forbid all nobles, people, subjects, and others, to venture to obey the orders, advice, or laws of the said Elizabeth. As to those who shall act otherwise than as we here authorize and order, we include them in the same sentence of anathema.

"As it is difficult to carry these presents wherever necessary, we will and command that a written notarial copy, under the seal of a bishop and of

* Hume gives eight hundred as the number who up to that time had perished under the hand of the executioner.

this court, have the same authority in any tribunal and without, and have like force and value as if these actual presents were exhibited.

“Given at Rome, near Saint Peter’s, the 26th of February, in the year 1570, and of our pontificate the fifth.

“PIUS, PP. V.”

Such, without any omission, was the sentence of the pontiff. Isolated, thrown into another history, and thus abandoned to itself, this sentence would excite a general consternation. But we have seen the reign of Gregory VII., and that of Innocent III., and we are compelled to add that we have seen some laxity under Leo X., in combating Luther; and we have seen the consequence of that kind of condescension in the sack of Rome, where the Lutherans succeeded in making the pious Spaniards their accomplices in the most disgraceful scenes.

During that frightful series of attacks against the Holy See, Philip II., the husband of Mary, predecessor of Elizabeth on the English throne, laid the whole weight of his sword upon the rest of Europe, and perhaps the weight of the Indian gold upon some foreign ministers, whose importunities, complaints, and predictions might easily excite the just resentment of Pius V. Such decrees no longer issue from the Vatican; but what we have before spoken of as *the jurisprudence of that time*, and the cries of the English dying in dungeons or on scaffolds, explain, and more than explain, the conduct of the pontiff.

Elizabeth had been crowned in 1559, with great pomp and by a Catholic bishop, lest she should excite alarm; nevertheless, she was a Protestant at heart, and did not long delay to endeavor to establish that false religion by fire and sword. In spite of the solemn oath she took at her coronation to defend the known Catholic religion, and to protect its ministers, Elizabeth convoked a parliament which established the Anglican, such as it now is. It is a medley of the Calvinistic dogmas, with some remains of the discipline and ceremonies of the Catholic worship. The bishops, canons, and rectors were tolerated; the church ornaments, organs, and music were preserved; tithes, annats, and the privileges of the benefices were abolished;* confession permitted, but not ordered; the real presence admitted, but without transubstantiation;—a system purely human, without any sanction and without any religious foundation. To complete the inconsistency, the new queen made herself head of the religion, under the title of *Sovereign Governess of the Church of England, in spirituals and temporals*. The bishops who opposed those novelties were threatened with expulsion from their churches;

* The author is here in error; tithes and annats have existed to our day, and benefices are bought and sold.

but most of them obeyed. Firm men and generous friends are rare at all periods and in all countries. Of the nine thousand four hundred holders of benefices in England, there were only fourteen bishops, fifty canons, and eighty parish priests who lost their benefices by refusing to accept the reform.*

As energetically as we could, we have presented the defence of the actions of Gregory VII., and his imitators. Here let us point out a difference. Under those first *reforming* popes, it was the people who took their groans and complaints to the throne of Saint Peter. In fact, they asked only for the immediate consequences of the Gospel. All the kings, more or less, followed the footsteps of him among them whom they wanted to repress. Thence those specious censures against an apparent degradation of the royal authority; but here, further, if it is the people that still complains, it is the *monarchical doctrine* itself which resorts to the high power of the supreme conciliator. A crime, the most abominable that could be imagined, was about to be committed. A woman, seated on a usurped throne, abuses the laws imposed by hospitality. A neighboring queen, who has already been harassed by revolts, assassinations, and fires, flies to an asylum which she imagines to be sacred and secure, and is met with menaces of death.

Pius V. might believe that towards the end of the sixteenth century the most difficult duties were reserved for him. Here we have the project of a new crime, surpassing in audacity all that preceded it, and aiming at the *monarchical doctrine*, the noble, salutary, and often unique, idea of the Holy See. That vile and wretched crime, which, after its execution, became a frightful precedent, received at Rome only the usual punishment, the *anathema*, a revocable chastisement, whose power, during eight centuries, all the monarchs of Europe had learned to respect. In the present state of civilization, excommunication, even had no Luther or Calvin arisen, would have become useless. But let us resume our narrative.

Spain was not free from trouble. The letter of Philip II. to Pope Pius V., concerning Philip's son, Don Carlos, should be read, and may be found at length in de Falloux. When Philip II., after complaining to the pope of the conduct of Don Carlos, asked the pontiff's advice, and spoke of subjecting the young prince to a trial, a document was extracted from the archives of Barcelona to serve as a model for the charge. This was the trial of Charles, prince of Viana and Gerona, by his father, John II., great-grandfather of Philip. At the risk of giving offence to unjust or prejudiced minds, who are unwilling to allow historical facts their proper place, and who wish facts

* How the Catholic clergy of England of Elizabeth's day, pale before the French clergy when impiety gained the supreme power in France! Of one hundred and ten French bishops, only three abjured; of one hundred and fifty thousand priests, not ten thousand allowed themselves to be intimidated.

condemned uncited, and would attack the reputation of those who acted at that period, and perhaps the expression of discontent exceeds the just limit of criticism—at the risk of incurring this other kind of excommunication, we insert at length the bull of Pius V., addressed to Elizabeth, when she meditated a crime against a relative by blood and a sister in royalty. It behooves us now to present another sight. A royal father contemplates the trial of his son, guilty of intending to rebel, and it is to the same Pius V. that this father turns to confide important secrets.

Elizabeth, deprived of all communication with Rome, braved all perils, like an inconsiderate woman. Philip II. would not have the agitations of his heart unknown in that Rome where wise counsels are so often found. He wrote to the pope thus :

“MOST HOLY FATHER—I feel obliged, not only by a duty which I owe in common with all Christian princes, but chiefly by the filial submission which, as an obedient son, I shall always render your Holiness, and by the profound respect that I feel for the Holy See, to inform you, who are my Father, of my conduct and of every thing remarkable that happens to me.

“It is in fulfilment of this duty that I acquaint your Holiness with my intention to arrest the most serene prince Charles, my son. Your Holiness can judge of the powerful necessity which forces me to this action, by the violence I must do my own feelings in order to come to such an extremity. It is enough to say, that I am a father, and a father interested in the honor of his son. My government is sufficiently known to your Holiness and to all Europe ; and all must feel that I have not come to this resolution without having maturely deliberated with my council upon a subject of so great importance, or without having been forced to this deliberation and to that conclusion by the misconduct of the prince, my son, whose natural depravity has resisted the salutary instructions of his masters, and the cares they have bestowed upon his education.

“I have employed every means to correct his vicious inclinations, and to repress his excesses. I have essayed the ways of gentleness ; and seeing, with a pain which your Holiness can imagine, that such remedies have utterly failed to inspire him with piety towards God, or with any of the qualities essential to a prince who is the presumptive heir to the many kingdoms that God has subjected to my rule, I at length find myself compelled to secure his person, to see if severity, instead of too great mildness, will bring him to his duty. I find great consolation in giving this information to your Holiness, and I hope that my conduct will convince you that I have no other view in this action than the glory of God, the interest of my States, and the weal and peace of my peoples, which I prefer to all the tenderness that nature inspires me with for my only son. I shall take care to

inform your Holiness of every thing concerning this affair. I entreat your Holiness, especially, to consider me your most obedient son, and to pray to God in my behalf, for light to know, and in all things fulfil His holy will. I pray God, most Holy Father, that he will preserve you and prolong your days for the general good of his whole Church.

“THE KING.

“Given at the Palace (20th January, 1568).”

The reply was, as it should be, confiding, paternal, and consolatory. Pius V. united a tender and generous heart to a strong mind.

At the moment when sentence was about to be pronounced, the judges of Don Carlos, Cardinal Espinosa, the prince of Evoli, and Don Diego Muñatones paused, as if terrified by the importance of the judgment about to be pronounced. Cardinal Espinosa entreated the king to leave the proceeding unfinished, and to keep the prince in perpetual confinement. No doubt it was at the suggestion of Pius V. that the cardinal proposed thus to terminate so terrible an affair. Philip replied, that his conscience as a monarch could not agree to this derogation of justice; that he was answerable before God for the fate of the peoples subjected to his sceptre, and that he should fail in the most sacred of his duties if he left Spain a prey to the calamities which might result from the existence of a prince destitute of all correct judgment, and carried away by such perverse inclinations. Considering, however, that the state of his son's health left but little reason to believe that his life would be prolonged, the termination of his malady might be awaited, and the decrees of Providence left to their own fulfilment. Then he ordered that his son should not be left in ignorance of his danger, and that he should be induced to concern himself only with his eternal salvation.*

No sentence, therefore, was either published or written; and Don Carlos himself, considering his illness beyond remedy, summoned to his bedside Don Diego de Chaves, his usual confessor. The prince instantly asked that religious to ask the king's pardon in his name. Philip replied that full pardon was granted, with the hope that this repentance would also secure God's mercy.

On the same day extreme unction was administered to him; and then he dictated his will to his secretary, Don Martin de Gaztala. The agonies of death now appeared, and Philip asked to come in person and give his blessing to his son. The two religious replied that there was ground to fear that the sight of the king would disturb the mind of the prince, now wholly absorbed in his religious duties. This motive restrained Philip. Nevertheless, learning in the course of the night that the last moments of the prince

* De Falloux, ii., p. 24.

were at hand, he went to the apartment of his son, and placing himself behind the prince of Evoli and the grand prior, tearfully gazed at his dying son, and, without being perceived by Carlos, extended his arms above his head, and then retired in a state of the deepest emotion.*

What a life of grief for Pius V. ! And yet none of the duties of the pontificate, some of which were foreign to the time, were neglected.

The illustrious order of Saint John of Jerusalem had obtained singular privileges, alike useful and honorable, from Leo X., Clement VII., Paul III., and Paul IV. Saint Pius V. would not do less than his predecessors. Confirming warmly all preceding privileges, and especially that exempting the members of the order, their squires, and their servants, from tithes and all taxes, the Holy Father at the same time deprived bishops of all right to interfere in the affairs of the order under pretext of executing the decrees of the Council of Trent (session xxiii., chap. xviii). The pope ordered that, the case occurring, this arrangement was derogated by the new constitution, *Etsi cuncta*.

Some innovations were introduced into the tribunal of the penitentiary ; Pius undertook to reform it wisely, or, rather, newly to construct it.

By the bull *In omnibus rebus*, and by another bull *In earum rerum*, he committed the direction of the penitentiary of Saint Peter, consisting of regular and secular priests, to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. They were to be thirteen in number, including the rector : two for the Italian language, two for the French language, two for the Spanish and Portuguese, one for the German, one for the Hungarian, one for the Flemish and Polish, one for the English, one for the Greek, and one for the Illyrian.

The penitentiary of Saint Mary Major was given to the Dominicans, and that of Saint John Lateran to the Observantine Franciscans.

The holy pontiff was forced to be inexorable to the *Humiliati*. The Emperor Henry III. having conquered the city of Milan, sent into Germany all the knights whom he found in that city. To recognize each other, they adopted a white dress. Thus attired, they presented themselves to the emperor, and begged to return home, and the prince thought himself in some sort obliged to grant that favor. Many of them, under the venerable John de Meda, retained the white dress, and bound themselves by vow to lead a life of poverty, maintaining themselves by all sorts of painful labor.

* Ranke says : " It is enough to say that it was Philip's misery to be placed in a position where he had every thing to fear from his son, or was forced to sacrifice him without pity." Llorente, a foul-mouthed abuser of Philip, thus gives the lie to all the fictions invented in regard to Don Carlos : " I am firmly convinced that the death of this monster was a blessing to Spain." (*History of the Inquisition*, iii., p. 126.) " Don Carlos," says de Falloux, " was suspected of being in league with the rebels in the Netherland, who attacked at once the sovereignty of Philip and Catholicity. Don Carlos is even suspected of having attempted his father's life. Yet Philip II is held up to the execrations of posterity."

They took the name of the *Humiliati*, and were approved by an apostolic decree; but their way of life having been three times changed, Pope Innocent, in 1200, ordered them to live in community, and recite the divine office. They were to have neither linen shirts nor sheets. Subsequently they were confirmed, and ordered to follow the rule of Saint Benedict. This occurred by Honorius III., in 1219; by Gregory IX., in 1227; by Innocent IV., in 1246; and by Nicholas IV., in 1288. They were especially employed in recalling the Patarine heretics to the one fold. But time and wealth produced a great laxity of life in this order, so that the religious had more vices themselves than the worst among the laity. Then Pius V. issued a brief, addressed to the archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Charles Borromeo, empowering him to reform them, and to take a tenth part of their abundant property, and apply it to establish a novitiate according to their primitive rule. St. Charles used mildness to recall the order to its pristine beauty, but the provosts of the order, seeing themselves deprived of their benefices, that is to say, of the convents of which they had usurped the income, as though they were their personal property, resolved in revenge to kill Saint Charles. Three of these unworthy superiors, among whom was Jerome Lignana, provost of Saint Christopher of Vercelli, selected a religious named Jerome Donati,* surnamed Farina, to carry out their infamous design, paying him forty crowns, stolen by another sacrilege from a neighboring church. Donati, escaping from the convent of Brera, after robbing the church, went to the archbishop's palace, and finding him at prayer with his servants, he fired an arquebus at him, loaded with a large bullet and a bolt. The saint was not wounded; the whole charge fell at his feet, after piercing the rochet and other garments.

Notwithstanding the entreaty of the archbishop, who desired no punishment to be inflicted upon the would-be assassin, the Holy Father ascertaining the identity of the guilty parties, Farina, Lignano, and two others were punished with death.

At length, as the religious of this order took no steps to reform, the Holy Father, by his bull *Quemadmodum*, of the 7th of February, in the following year, signed by forty-three cardinals, abolished the order.

Pius also renewed the decree of Boniface, making it high treason to attempt the life of a cardinal.

For a long time, a dispute had existed between Cosmas de Medici, duke of Florence, and Alphonso II., duke of Ferrara, as to the right of precedence.* Pius V., who had an especial affection for Tuscany, on account of the aid which, in the preceding century, it had given to the pontiffs Innocent IV., Clement IV., Gregory X., Benedict XI., Martin V., and Leo X.,

* Novæ, vii., p. 223.

† See de Thou, *Hist.*, vol. 2, liv. 46, parag. 16, p. 753.

and who ever loved Cosmas, a prince sincere in faith and strongly attached to the Holy See, declared that, following the example of Alexander III., Innocent III., and Paul IV., who, respectively, had created a king of Portugal, a king of the Bulgarians, and a king of Ireland, he of his own will, and without any request being made to him, created Cosmas grand duke.

The bull *Romanus Pontifex* was carried to Florence by Michael Ghislieri, brother of Cardinal Alexandrino, and it was accompanied by a design, from the pope's own hand, for the royal crown that Cosmas was to wear. Below was written: PIVS V. PONT. MAX., OB EXIMIAM DILECTIONEM AC CATHOLICÆ RELIGIONIS ZELUM PRÆCIPVVMQVE IVSTITIÆ STVDIVM, DONAVIT—*Given by Pius V., on account of his tender affection for Cosmas for his zeal for the Catholic religion and his care for justice.* Cosmas had a crown made after that design, which cost one hundred and twenty thousand crowns, with which His Holiness solemnly crowned the grand duke, on the 5th of March, 1570, in the pontifical chapel, and also, on the day of the consecration, gave him the Golden Rose.*

That event led to scenes long unexampled. The emperor and the king of Spain protested that the pope had no right to crown their vassal. But Pius replied that, as we have already remarked, Benedict IX. had created Demetrius king of Croatia and Dalmatia, although those provinces were dependent on Hungary, and, with such a precedent, he would not listen to their opposition; and with an apostolical firmness, he thus addressed the imperial ambassador, who made his protest against the coronation, before entering the chapel: "Upon what ground can you deny that power to the Church? Who but the Church hath given to the emperors the name and the honor of their dignity? Who gave them the empire? Who transferred that of the East to the West, if not the pontiffs, our predecessors?"

Amidst so many cares of the pontifical ministry, the pope, on the 17th of May, 1570, made his third promotion. Among those new members of the sacred college were: 1. Gaspar Zuñiga Avellaneda, a noble Spaniard of the family of the counts of Miranda, professor of theology at Salamanca, and successively bishop of Segovia, Compostella, and Seville; 2. Gaspar Cervantes, a Spaniard, born at Caceres, archbishop of Messina, in 1554, and afterwards of Tarragona; 3. Nicholas de Pellevé, a noble Frenchman, professor of law in the university of Bourges, master of the requests, and subsequently bishop of Amiens; 4. Charles d'Angennes, a noble Frenchman, ambassador from Charles IX. to Pius V.; 5. Felix Peretti, afterwards Pope Sixtus V.; 6. The Blessed Paul Borali d'Arezzo; 7. John Jerome Albani,

* Maffei describes the ceremony in his *Life of Pius V.*, liv. iii., ch. 19.

a celebrated jurisconsult, and afterwards a famous captain of the Venetian republic.

One of the great glories of Pius V. was the alliance which he concluded on the 20th of May, 1571, between the Holy See, Philip II., of Spain, and the republic of Venice, against Selim II., emperor of the Turks, son of Solyman II., and Roxelana, a very beautiful Siennese, whom Solyman had raised from the condition of a slave to that of wife.*

In pursuance of this treaty, a combined fleet was fitted out, which soon consisted of two hundred and nineteen galleys, six galeases, and about seventy vessels, large and small, manned by twenty thousand men, exclusive of the sailors, gunners, and galley-slaves. The supreme general of the expedition was Don John of Austria, natural son of the Emperor Charles V.

The high-constable, Marc Antony Colonna, duke of Palliano and Tagliacozzo, was the commander of the pontifical fleet, consisting of twelve galleys, manned by fifteen hundred men.

Andrew Doria, a famous Genoese captain, commanded the Spanish division, and Sebastian Vénier the Venetian force, its first commander, Barbarigo, having fallen at the very outset of the battle.

The Christian army, joined by the Knights of Malta and the galeases of the duke of Savoy, sailed for the Levant. On the 7th of October, 1571, they came up with the Turkish fleet of two hundred and forty-five galleys, and eighty-seven vessels of various sizes, as it lay in the Gulf of Lepanto. It was once more incumbent to drive the Turk from Italy; once more the prodigies of Charles Martel and those of the heroes of Malta were to be renewed. The battle lasted five hours. As the fifth hour closed, victory declared for the Christians, bought, however, at the loss of seven thousand five hundred and sixty-six men, including the greater number of the Venetians. The Turks lost Ali Pacha, general of the whole army; the famous corsair, Carascosa; Hassan Pacha, renowned for his ability, son of the celebrated Barbarossa; and, finally, Hassan, bey of Rhodes. The Turkish army also lost thirty-nine raïs, or commanders of galleys, and more than thirty-one thousand men. The Christians, as day declined, took ten thousand prisoners, and rescued fifteen thousand Christian slaves, who at once filled the sadly thinned ranks of the Italian galleys.

All authors consider this as one of the most signal victories ever won by the Christians over the Mussulmans, but they do not agree as to the loss sustained on both sides. We have reason to believe, however, that the particulars given above are the nearest to the truth.

Meantime, Elizabeth, in Great Britain, continued to imprison all who

* See the *Historical Dictionary of the Lives of all the Ottoman Monarchs*, vol. ii., p. 206; Venice, 1788. It gives some curious particulars about this Siennese Sultana.

professed the Catholic faith. Pius sent nuncios to all the powers, to invite them to aid the English who were suffering for the faith. In various places the exiled English were assembled, and the pope zealously undertook the care of ministering to their wants.

The Emperor Maximilian seemed inclined to allow the Confession of Augsburg to be followed in Austria. Cardinal Commendon was sent as legate to that province, and persuaded him to protect the Catholic religion. Philip II. assisted the cardinal by negotiation; and Rome, which had vanquished the Turks, had reason to believe that she had also been successful against the Lutherans. Yet it was withal necessary to reform in all parts clergy who, retaining the faith, did not in their lives come up to the standard of duty.

A pragmatic of the pope forbade clerks and ecclesiastics to indulge in luxury, whether in dress or at table. He forbade them to be present in theatres, and endeavored to root up the disorders that had recently crept into the Church. He annulled wills, otherwise legal, made by ecclesiastics in favor of their bastards. A bull took away the power to resign benefices to relations. Among others, it contained these words: "The Holy Father cannot suffer the patrimony of Jesus Christ to be given as a heritage, and become a prey to the cupidity of laymen." Some one having represented to the Holy Father that so much strictness would be ruinous to the Roman court, he replied: "Better that the court should perish, and with it all those who are in favor of such corruptions and such disorders; at least we should not see the Church and religion perish, which are profaned by such enormous abuses."

An edict forbade Roman householders to frequent taverns to eat, drink, and play, alleging that such places were only intended for strangers who had no settled homes. This prohibition, necessary in all cities and towns to prevent disorder, was, says Muratori in the *Annals of Italy*, of no long duration.

A severe law was directed against the great number of lewd women who infected the city. The Roman senate endeavored to interfere, on the plea that the expulsion of so many would reduce the value of lodgings. Pius replied: "Is it just and decent that the Roman senate should defend lewd women, and take upon itself the defence of immodesty? We assure you, that if these women do not leave Rome, we and all our court will leave it."

To fulfil the decrees of the Council of Trent (session xxiv., chap. iv.), the pontiff ordered all bishops more than ever to labor for the erection of the Congregations of the Christian Doctrine, to secure the instruction of children and uneducated adults ignorant of the commandments of our holy religion.

The same council had (session xxv., chap. i.), in imitation of the third

and fourth Councils of Lateran, established theological prebends for the instruction of the respective chapters. Pius V., by his bull *Ineminenti*,* instituted in the Vatican Basilica a theological prebend, and assigned it, as well as a canonship of the same church, to the master of the sacred palace, Thomas Manriquez, a Spanish Dominican, and his successors. These having imbibed in the order of Saint Dominic the doctrine of Saint Thomas, the most used and the safest in the Church,† could thus teach it to the members of the chapter and to those who followed their instruction in the apostolic palace.

The pope further declared this religious to be a true canon, entitled to a place in the choir, and possessed of the right of voting and being chosen to office in chapters, entitled to his income as canon, and, in fine, to all the honors of his dignity as canon.‡

At the same period, Saint Pius V. corrected and regulated the Roman breviary, the Missal, and the office of the Blessed Virgin. He purged the offices of much that had been added by the caprice of the printers. This pope, too, ordered all priests to recite the Gospel of Saint John at the end of the Mass.§ Some had been in the habit of reciting, and some of omitting it. At the present day it is not recited by the Carthusians, nor by those who sing the Mass in the papal chapel: the latter commence it at the altar, and continue to recite it till they reach the sacristy.

This pope also added to the Academy of Pavia the Ghislieri college. That Rome might not complain of this foundation in another city, Pius ordered the completion of the Sapienza, where he placed new professors, with considerable emoluments.

At the beginning of 1572 the pope was attacked by dysury, which deprived him of sleep;|| and in the month of March the symptoms became alarming. Without listening to the physicians, or allowing them to examine him, or to touch the seat of the malady, he had recourse to his usual remedy, ass's milk, which had formerly relieved him, but which had now no effect on a debilitated body.

The remedy in which Pius had so much confidence did not diminish his sufferings. Then the good pontiff turned to the sole remedy—patience. Amidst the tortures that he endured from the gravel, he exclaimed:

* *Bullarium Romanum*, vol. iv., part iii., p. 117.

† Novaes, vii., p. 245.

‡ This determination of Pius V. was not long recognized. Manriquez died on the 11th of January, 1573. Gregory XIII., thinking that the determination of Saint Pius V. might seem injurious to the secular clergy of Rome, as inferring that the Roman clergy could not fill the post, revoked the bull of Pius V., and ordered that for the future the theological prebend and the Vatican canonship should be filled by a doctor in theology of the Roman clergy.

§ Novaes, vii., p. 249.

|| It was of this disease that Pope Pius VII. died.

“Lord, increase the suffering ; but, if it please thee, increase the patience also.”*

A report of the pope's death was circulated one day, and the ambassadors sent couriers to their respective courts. The Romans manifested lively regrets. But the report was not then true. He recovered consciousness after a prolonged swoon. His Holiness was told of the regret that the Romans had expressed at his supposed death, and he determined to give them his last benediction. On Saturday, attired in his pontifical habits, he ordered himself to be carried to the great lodge of the Vatican, and there, with abundant tears, he blessed his people.

On the 21st of April, notwithstanding the entreaties of Marc Antony Colonna, Pius visited the seven churches, sometimes on foot, and then in a litter. On arriving at Saint John Lateran, he was unable to ascend the *scala santa*, but assisted by a cardinal he kissed the lowest step. There he had agreed to meet a number of English Catholic exiles. He spoke to them with the most lively sensibility, and ordered assistance to be given to them. Then he returned to the Vatican, and was obliged to be assisted to his bed. Cardinal Alexandrino, his nephew, promptly administered the sacraments, which he received with the sincerest joy. A few days afterwards he died, on the 1st of May, 1572, aged sixty-eight years. He was interred at the Vatican, in the chapel of Saint Andrew. The celebrated Muretus pronounced the funeral oration, in presence of the cardinals. Saint Pius V. was of ordinary stature. His countenance, serious, modest, and calm, breathed sanctity. His face was thin and pale, but often much flushed. He was bald, had blue eyes, an aquiline nose, and wore a long beard. His memory was so prodigious, that, even after the lapse of many years, he recognized a person to whom he had spoken only once,—a valuable gift in the affairs of life. As soon as he had heard explained a view, a project, an object of association, or a secret of any kind, he understood at the first word all that was subsequently said to him as to any one of those affairs, and often corrected or prompted his ministers whose memory was not so faithful. When he became pope, he ordered that to the expense of his table, when cardinal, only four pauls (about forty cents) should be added. But his liberality to the poor of Rome, and to the English ruined for preserving the Catholic faith, might all but literally be said to know no limit. His charities and generosity were said to have cost two millions of gold crowns ; yet, in spite of this expense, this pope left in the treasury a million of crowns, besides a hundred thousand crowns receivable in the following month. In his chamber were found thirteen thousand crowns, which his

* This fact is related by Lambertini, who was Promoter of the Faith when Pius V. was canonized.

master of the chamber held at the disposal of so noble a benefactor for the relief of unforeseen applications from English Catholics.

In fact, the virtues of Saint Pius V. were so numerous, that they excited a feeling of confidence in the faithful, and his beatification was seriously thought of, and was zealously prosecuted under Gregory XV. It was definitively pronounced one hundred and one years after his death. Subsequently, by a decree of the 4th of August, 1710, the canonization was pronounced.*

I possess a very curious painting representing Pius V. seated, and blessing Saint Francis Borgia kneeling. We mentioned that as Pius went to take possession of Saint John Lateran, he stopped his litter in front of the

* We shall now mention the medals of that reign which are in our own cabinet, then those explained by Du Molinet and Bonanni. Two of mine have the same effigy, and the words: PIVS V. PONT. OPT. MAX. AN. V. The head of the pope is uncovered, and is extremely meagre. The third medal has, in addition to the effigy—PIVS V. PONT. OPT. MAX. AN. VI. The head is covered with a long white cap. In the exergue, F. P.

On the reverse of the first: FÆDERIS IN TVRCAS SANCTIO—*Sanction of the alliance against the Turks.*

Rome, with tiara on head, holds the hands of two figures. The first, on the left, is Philip II., king of Spain; under Philip an eagle. The figure on the left represents the republic of Venice, wearing the ducal hat, and having at the feet the winged lion of Saint Mark. Beneath the figure of Rome is the Lamb.

2. ILLVMINARE HIERVSALEM—*Enlighten Jerusalem.* The star over the stable, the Virgin, the infant Jesus in her arms, Saint Joseph, the magi, the shepherds, the ass and the ox.

3. A DOMINO FACTVM EST ISTVD—*This is the Lord's doing.* The Christian fleet attacking that of the Turks at the battle of Lepanto.

1. There is one which bears on the reverse the effigy of Paul IV., and these words: PAVLVS IIII. PONT. MAX.—*Paul IV., sovereign pontiff.* A token of affection for that pontiff by his successor.

2. In the exergue, COLLEG. GHISLERIVM. A. B. PIO V. PAPÆ ERECTVM—*The Ghislerian College, erected at Pavia by the Blessed Pius V.* As Pius V. is here called *Blessed*, it must belong to the period of his beatification, in 1698. It displays the front of the college; above, a terrace on which is an observatory surmounted by the Holy Ghost.

3. DEXTERA TVA DOMINE PERCVSSIT INIMICVM, AN. 1571—*Thy hand, O Lord, smote the enemy: 1571.* On a bark, an angel holding the cross and a chalice. In the sky, Saint Peter overwhelming a Turkish galley.

4. FECIT POTENTIAM IN BRACHIO SVO, DISPERSIT SVPERBOS—*He hath displayed might in his arm; he hath dispersed the proud.* The pope, surrounded by his suite, is in prayer. Beyond, a crowd of combatants. In the sky, Saint Peter on a cloud. Du Molinet thinks that this is another medal struck on account of the victory of Lepanto. Bonanni judiciously replies, that it exhibits not a naval, but a land fight of infantry. It may allude to some victory gained in Flanders by the duke of Alba.

5. CONTRIEVLASTI CAPITA DRACONIS—*Thou hast crushed the serpents' heads.* A crowned figure smites the serpent with a sceptre. It is, perhaps, an allusion to the excommunication of Elizabeth of England.

6. In the exergue, E TENEBRIS, DIES; E LVCO LVX LV CET—*Day cometh from darkness, light from the grove.* A temple, surmounted by the Holy Ghost. A forest, and a river which divides into three branches. The ancients called a grove or wood *lucus*: it may here allude to the name of Bosco (a grove), the name of the pontiff's birthplace. He loved to say that he was born at Bosco; and in one of his medals he takes the title of *Boschensis*, "of Bosco."

Gesu, and conversed with Saint Francis Borgia, the general of the Jesuits. On the following day Saint Francis went to thank the pope, who again blessed him with great tenderness.

There was apparently a desire at that time to commemorate this visit to the Vatican, made on the 28th of January, by a picture representing Borgia kneeling to receive the benediction of Pius V. This picture I got at Paris from Angelo Bonelli, who in 1814 carried it to England. Bonelli attributes the picture to Vasari, and adds: "By the coloring and by the admirable finish of the hands of the pope and the general, I am inclined to believe it was made about 1570, in Spain, and sent to Rome."

The Holy See was vacant eleven days.

236. GREGORY XIII.—A. D. 1572.



GREGORY XIII. (Hugh Buoncompagni) was born at Bologna, on the 7th of February, 1502,* the son of Christopher Buoncompagni and Agnola Marescalchi, noble and very distinguished persons of that city.

Gifted with an intellect which facilitated the acquisition of knowledge, Hugh had, in the university of Bologna, as guides, four celebrated jurisconsults, Louis Mozzoli, Annibal Caccianemici, Louis Gozadini, and Charles Rovini. At twenty-eight years of age, he was received doctor of both laws. While professor for some months, he had among his pupils Alexander Farnese, Christopher Madruzzi, Otho Truchsess, Reginald Pole, and Charles Borromeo, all subsequently cardinals.

Hugh had the honor to be summoned to Rome at thirty-six years of age, by Cardinal Peter Paul Parizzio, a renowned jurisconsult. Paul III. named Hugh, in succession, first judge of the capitol, and abbreviator and referendary of the two signatures. In 1545, the pope sent him to the Council of Trent, that great and majestic school in which so many sublime talents of that age were formed. In 1555, Buoncompagni was vice-legate of the Compagna of Rome. In all his employments, he distinguished himself by his knowledge, his abilities, and the noblest religious sentiments.

* Novaes, viii., p. 3.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a list or a series of entries, possibly names and dates, arranged in columns.]





Fig. 3. Du lensme

The first thing we saw when we entered the great hall of the castle was a vast hall, with a high ceiling and a floor of polished stone. The walls were covered with tapestries of various designs, and the windows were filled with stained glass. The air was warm and fragrant with the scent of incense.

As we walked through the hall, we saw many people in rich and colorful robes. Some were standing in groups, talking to each other, while others were walking alone. The people looked at us with curiosity and interest, and some of them bowed as we passed.

We reached a large room at the end of the hall, where a man in a red robe was sitting on a throne. He looked at us with a stern expression, and then he spoke to us in a deep, commanding voice.

"Welcome to my castle," he said. "I am the King of this land, and you are now my guests. Tell me, what brings you here? Are you here on a mission, or are you here for pleasure?"

We told him our story, and he listened to us with a serious expression. When we finished, he nodded his head and said, "I see. You are here on a mission. Very well, I will help you in any way I can. But first, you must stay here for a few days, and then you will go on your journey."

We stayed in the castle for three days, and during that time, we were treated with great hospitality. The King and his courtiers gave us food, drink, and clothing, and they showed us the many wonders of the castle. We also learned a great deal about the history and customs of the land.

On the fourth day, the King called us to his study, and he gave us a letter to take with us. The letter was from the King to the Lord of the land, and it told him that we were his guests and that he should treat us with honor and respect.

We then said goodbye to the King and his courtiers, and we set out on our journey. The King and his courtiers watched us as we went, and they bowed to us as we passed.

As we walked through the forest, we saw many beautiful sights. The trees were tall and green, and the flowers were in full bloom. The air was fresh and cool, and the sun was shining brightly. We were very happy to be on our journey, and we knew that we were going to have a great adventure.



By Paul IV. he was assigned as datary to Cardinal Carafa, legate in France. Subsequently, Pius IV. made Buoncompagni his most confidential deputy at the Council of Trent, and then created him cardinal-priest of Saint Sixtus. That pope, in giving him the hat, said, *Behold a man in whom there is no guile.*

Two months after, Cardinal Buoncompagni was sent as legate to Spain, to investigate the case of Bartholomew Miranda y Carranza, of the order of preachers, archbishop of Toledo, one of the theologians of the Council of Trent, and confessor to the queen of Spain, who had for six years been imprisoned by the Inquisition, on suspicion of heresy; an accusation founded simply on a few notes written on the margins of some heretical books.

The pope gave Buoncompagni, as theologians, Felix Peretti, and Stephen Bonucci, a Servite. Two other prelates, John Raphael Castagna and John Aldobrandini, were also attached to the legation. Three among them—Buoncompagni, Peretti, and Castagna—became popes.*

Before returning to Rome, the legate, whose virtues were admired, was appointed secretary of the briefs by the same Pius IV.†

On the death of the latter, Buoncompagni would have succeeded, but for the envy of some members of the conclave. He did not, indeed, arrive in season to participate in it. When he obtained his first audience of Pius V., the pope said to him, in a tone of tender esteem: "My Lord Cardinal, we have occupied your place:" words worth repeating, as expressive of the kindness, the politeness, and the elegant manners of the popes.

On the 12th of May, 1572, after the funeral of Pius V., fifty-two cardinals entered into conclave. Cardinals Altemps, Sforza, Orsini, Cesi, and Como, who supported Cardinal Farnese, saw that his youth made it impossible to raise him to the throne. Cardinal de Granvelle declared, in the name of the king of Spain, that his selection was impossible, in the presence of so many aged and deserving cardinals. Then a great many other cardinals, in addition to those we have just named, put forward Buoncompagni, and the choice being relished, they resolved, on the 13th of May, to elect him on the following day, the 14th. He was seventy years of age. Cardinal Como then visited Buoncompagni, from whom every thing had been carefully concealed, and said to him: "Come immediately to the chapel, and you will be elected by adoration."

Buoncompagni, without the slightest change of countenance, replied: "Are there sufficient votes?"

"More than sufficient," was the reply. Then Buoncompagni, as if nothing

* Philip II. had a jester, who, seeing the king, at dinner one day with these envoys of Pius IV., take three soups, said to the prince: "Your majesty dines with three *pappi*." The play upon words was sufficiently absurd; *pappi* meaning soups, and *papi* meaning popes.

† Novæ, viii., p. 7.

strange had occurred, continued quite calmly to write on some important business. When he had finished, he placed the papers in his bosom and rose to go to the chapel, saying: "Let us go, in the name of the Lord."

In memory of Saint Gregory the Great, whom he had, from childhood, always venerated as his patron, the new pope took the name of Gregory XIII., and chose as his motto the words of Psalm lxvii. 26: "*Confirma hoc Deus, quod operatus es in nobis*—O God, confirm that which thou hast wrought in us."

On Whitsunday, May 20th, the pope was solemnly crowned; and on the 27th, mounted on a white palfrey, went to take possession of Saint John Lateran.

Like Saint Pius V., he forbade money to be thrown among the people, ordering abundant alms to be distributed among the poor.

He immediately appointed secretary of state Cardinal Galli, usually called Cardinal Como, being bishop of that city. In the first consistory, the pontiff had the bull read which forbade the alienation of the property of the Church; and, laying his hand on his heart, swore to suffer no infraction of that law.

A commission, consisting of Cardinals Borromeo, Paleotti, Aldobrandini, and Arezzo, was appointed to destroy all abuses that had crept into ecclesiastical discipline.

Gregory insisted on the inviolable observance of the decrees of his predecessor regarding the Council of Trent; and he declared that no implied permission of the pope authorized cardinal-bishops to avoid the law of residence. The better to enforce the spirit of the holy council, the pope decreed that, in future, no bishop should be employed at court, and that the clerks of the chamber and the auditors of the rota, who were bishops, should resign either the office or their See.

To facilitate access to the pope, and apply to him in need, Gregory appointed one day in each week for a public audience, during which he displayed singular patience.

Before the close of the audience, chamberlains went to ascertain that no one had been forgotten; and he often said that the pope was, after all, only an *honored servant*.

Gregory, says Novaes (viii., p. 10), was attentive in listening, judicious in evincing his entire comprehension of each case, serious in his bearing, rare in interruption,* favorable in language, and at all times benevolent and merciful. To show his desire of relieving his people, he diminished the tax on meat, and abolished that on wine in the province of Romagna.

* A man, when not interrupted, often says both for himself and against himself more than he means to say.

The Turks regarded the death of Saint Pius V. as a deliverance from all their enemies, and celebrated his death by public feasts. Gregory thought that the head of Catholicity ought never to cease from striving to repress the ambition of the Turks, and he solicited new armaments from the Christian princes.

A considerable fleet encountered the Turks at Navarino, but retired with little honor to the Christian standard; and Venice, ill-advised, concluded peace with the porte, without forewarning the allies, the Holy See, and Philip II.

In the same year, 1572, on the 2d of June, Gregory made his first promotion. It included only the creation of his nephew, Philip Buoncompagni, who was declared cardinal of the title of Saint Sixtus.

But terrible symptoms of frenzy were appearing in France. Elizabeth of England, on being excommunicated, made a treaty with the Huguenots, and upheld their power. The court, hesitating between the religious innovators and the ambitious Guises, was agitated, yet unable to resolve upon a firm and prudent course. Catharine de Medici, who had gone to France in her youth, ill-acquainted with the morals, the habits, and the polity of her own country, which was unjustly reputed to be perverse and dissimulating, and being still less acquainted with the character of the French whom she was called upon to govern, rushed into difficulties from which there seemed to be no issue, and every thing boded those frightful disasters which necessarily result from indecision and ignorance. Could Rome, when the pontifical authority was scarcely assured, address counsels able to calm and restrain agitated minds?

At the commencement of the reign of Gregory, that state of things existed at Rome which usually marks the first months after an election, and especially one by *adoration*,* when every elector believes himself one of the most active in creating the new pope.

All the factions solicited rewards, and a pope seventy years old could only reply by smiles, and consent to those interested *petitions*. It takes at least a year for these importunities to cease, and the pope's power to become vested again in himself alone on a firm and solid basis.

At that juncture Cardinal de Lorraine arrived in Rome, still occupied with his desire to avenge the death of his brother Francis, the glorious defender of Metz in 1552, the proudest general of the king's armies, who had exalted the French name in the estimation of Italy in 1559, the wise lieutenant-general of the kingdom in 1563, and at the same period shot, without his widow, Anne of Ferrara, having been able to procure the condemnation of his assassin, Poltrot de Méné, who belonged to the Huguenot party.

* *Italy*, p. 261.

The cardinal was discontented with the peace made by Charles IX. with the Huguenots in 1570. He also urged that all Italy should enter into the league against the Turks, a league which would naturally distract the public mind from those hypocritical plottings, and those audacious provocations which produce the forgetfulness of all religious feeling, and lead to the dishonor of nations. All at once Rome heard of the frightful massacre of Saint Bartholomew. That terrible event, that sanguinary page of the history of France, merits lively comment, especially if new details can throw broader and brighter light upon so deplorable a scene. There is a work by the duke of Saint Simon,* entitled, *A very brief Summary of the History of France and Foreign Countries, so far as connected with Dates, commencing with Hugh Capet*. Those notes, collected by a man so judicious, and living so much nearer to those times than we do, and known, also, to have been frank, sincere, and incorruptible, are remarkable, considering the extraordinary facts that they include; and still more so if they be compared with the scenes which took place at Rome on the occasion of that catastrophe, and which must be recalled in our narrative. The following are Saint Simon's notes, which are still in the department of foreign affairs at Paris. They are data and reminiscences without form, without attention to style, yet they are characterized by the depth and the elevation of that eloquent annalist, who often deserves the title of the French Tacitus.

"1572. Secret deliberations upon the massacre. The Guises are for including the new king of Navarre, the Montmorencies, and Catholics odious to them, the Duke d'Anjou, and Marshal de Retz. Alone in the secret with Catharine de Medici, the Guises insist upon the death of the king of Navarre and the young Louis de Condé, which proves that the Guises aspired to the throne, and wished to destroy the branch next in claim to the palais.

"The queen hesitates, from fear of being dependent upon the Guises. Charles IX. keeps the secret during all those long intrigues, but embarrasses them by his uncertainty, especially with regard to the admiral (Coligny), whom he rather likes; since to attract the Huguenots, he was *with all*, under pretext of the war of the Low Countries, of which he was to be the chief, to support their revolt against the Inquisition of Spain. The *rudeness* of the king to his mother or brother, after a long conversation with the admiral, but which he never disclosed, drove them to definitive action. The massacre began by wounding the admiral, and a visit to the king and his mother, full of the most perfidious demonstrations. The admiral is killed at the same time as the others, and is never so admirably great as at his end. Indignities upon his body by the third duke of Guise. Butchery, which includes all Catholics who were to be removed. The Montmorencies

* *Italy*, p. 202.

are saved by the absence of one of them, and of one Cossé. The king of Navarre and the prince de Condé become Catholics, with the dagger at their throats. The massacre, dissimulated at first, is avowed by public edict, at the instigation of the Guises, who do not choose to be alone in bearing that eternal infamy of the nation."

Here Saint Simon continues his statement of facts for the following year.

Such were the events which France had witnessed. Henry of Guise, under the pretext of avenging his father, had led into a series of crimes a boy king, who had nevertheless shown rudeness to his mother and brother after a long conversation with the admiral, of which he would never speak, and his rudeness drove them to end the matter at once. Henry of Guise could easily prevail with Catharine de Medici, who had heard the Marshal de Saint André say: "We shall have no happiness till we put this woman into a sack and throw her into the Seine." In Catharine's heart, moreover, ambition stifled every feeling of humanity. There had been no difficulty in making fraud acceptable to the duke of Anjou, who subsequently, as Henry III., invited that same Henry of Guise to Blois, made him lieutenant-general, promised him the sword of constable, and then had him poignarded upward, "*lest he might wear a shirt of mail.*"

What remained for Cardinal Charles de Lorraine to do, enjoying as he did great credit at Rome, where the new administration was not yet fairly installed?

On the morning of the 6th of September, the letters which Salviati, the pope's legate, had written from France, were read before the pope, in a meeting of cardinals. These letters stated, that according to the declarations of the French court, Coligni and the Huguenots having conspired against the monarch, had been put to death by the king's wish and consent.* Then it was decided, on the somewhat violently worded demand of Cardinal de Lorraine, that the pope and the sacred college should, on the following Monday, be present at a solemn celebration. Many artists came forward to decorate the church of Saint Mark, where the celebration was to be held. *The day of grief and terror* had come for those whom Luther had summoned to discord. The cardinal publicly gave a thousand crowns to the courier who brought him the news he so much desired. On the 8th of September, the French had a grand procession in the church of Saint Louis, a sanctuary much enriched by the endowments of Catharine de Medici. Most of

*. In a *Voyage en Italie* (Bruxelles, 1816), speaking of these frescoes, the author says: "Who is the other king firing on the people? It is Charles IX. giving the signal for the massacre." This is all wrong. Vasari's paintings are poor enough, and incorrect in costume, but Charles appears only before his parliament. The charge that Charles fired on the people is now admitted to be false. See the article on Chancellor de Pastoret, in the supplement to the *Bio-graphie Universelle*.

the Roman nobility, and crowds of people, flocked to the ceremony in which the Protestants were publicly cursed. "The emperor's ambassador," says a contemporary account, "held the train of the pope's robe for the honor that he did to the emperor above all others." The cardinal had fastened on the three doors of the church, between the statues of Charlemagne and Saint Louis, a *notification* addressed to the pope, to the cardinals, to the senate, and people of Rome, in which he lauded the massacre in Paris, and recalled all that Rome had suffered under the Lutherans. He also said that "he greatly rejoiced that his house had been the chief actors in so great and so memorable a deed."

This whole document was a mixture of braggadocio, delirium, and ferocity, and to affix it to the church door was an audacious act, and an affront to the sovereignty of Gregory XIII. For, what right had a cardinal to use such language, in a city which was not under his rule? But it must again be remarked, that the nobility and people of Rome, and more especially the artists, regarded the death of the Huguenots, killed, as was affirmed, for attempting high treason, simply as a just punishment, and a vengeance upon the crimes committed in 1527. Forty-five years after the sack of Rome, there remained witnesses of both sexes, and even victims who had suffered from those crimes; and it was by those witnesses and by those victims that the blind hatred of the populace was animated. Vasari, a pupil of Rosso, who had been so inhumanly treated—Vasari, who had often heard his master relate his misfortunes of that terrible time, proposed to preserve, in a fresco, the memory of those events. He died two years afterwards, but not before he had sketched two works—Charles IX. in his Parliament, and the Scenes of the Massacre of Paris.*

Gregory subsequently secured all the authority rightfully his, in his own capital, and he alone regulated the policy of the Holy See, which thenceforth was wise and moderate. It was evident that during the rejoicings at Rome he had been carried away irresistibly by the tumultuous movement of a disorderly populace. The allocutions and the bulls of the pontiff speedily proved his real sentiments as to a political crime, which the sacking of Rome could not justify.

I have reported the facts with new circumstances, giving in more detail the causes and consequences of party cruelty. It was a horrible crime, that six months massacre of the Roman people; nor was it less so, perfidiously to massacre men living quietly on the faith of a treaty. And we can but deplore the joy manifested on the receipt of the news of what Cardinal de Lorraine styled, *la strage degli Ugonotti*—"the massacre of the Huguenots."

But let us pause. The annals of a learned and pious reign, and the ap-

* *Italie*, p. 263. The expressions are singular; wish needs no consent.

proach of the Holy Year, which was celebrated with great pomp; summon us to a different narrative.

At that period, the Maronites, that same people* whose misfortunes have been in our day so grievous, applied to Gregory for his protection. They occupied Mount Lebanon and some towns in Syria, and from time immemorial had conformed to the Latin dogma. Yet there was a fear that under Turkish persecution errors might creep in. With the consent of the patriarch, Michael de Citaravia, two ambassadors were sent to the pope, who received them with especial kindness. He confirmed their patriarch, as is customary to the present day, and he read with pleasure the letters they exhibited, letters addressed to them by Pope Innocent III., in the year 1200, congratulating them on their firm union with the Western Church. They also exhibited missions sent to the Maronites by Saint Louis, authorizing their prince to give letters of French nobility. The pope sent these Catholics home with rich presents, and accompanied by two Jesuits, appointed visitors of the Lebanon. Subsequently, Sixtus V. granted privileges to the college of the Maronites, established at Rome.†

In 1578, Gregory, who, when professor at Bologna, had been engaged in correcting Gratian's Decretal, and the canon law generally, ordered investigations to be made for any fragments of the councils there cited, so that the *Corpus Juris Canonici* might be reprinted at Rome, purged of accumulated errors.‡

Gratian, a celebrated canonist, born at Chiusi, in the Siennese, about the year 1100, published a decretal, consisting of—1. Texts of the holy Scripture; 2. The apostolical canons; 3. About a hundred and five councils, the first nine being œcumenical; 4. The decretals of the popes; 5. Extracts from the Holy Fathers, as Saint Gregory, Saint Jerome, and Saint Augustine, and extracts from the ecclesiastical writers, pontifical books, Theodosian Code, the Capitularies of the kings of France, &c. Gratian styled his work, *Concordantia Discordantium Canonum*, because it was his study to reconcile, either by authority or by reasoning, the apparently contradictory canons.§ The manuscript of Gratian's work began to circulate in 1151. Other writers had previously undertaken similar compilations. At the end of the ninth century, or the beginning of the tenth, Reginon, abbot of Prum, made a collection of canons and ecclesiastical regulations. Burchard or Bouchard, bishop of Worms, in the year 1000, also gave a collection of canons, in twenty books; and Yvo, of Chartres, who died in 1115, formed a similar collection. Gratian, according to some a Benedictine, but according to Savioli, in the *Annali Bolognesi*, was not a monk, profited by the

* *Considérations sur le regne des quinze premiers papes qui ont porte le nom de Grégoire*, p. 142.

† Novaes, viii., p. 17.

‡ Ibid., p. 44.

§ *Biog. Univ.*, vol. xviii., p. 334.

labors of his predecessors,—occasionally, it must be confessed, without sufficient discrimination; but he surpassed them by avoiding the lamentable confusion prevalent in their collections. He arranged his in the order of the subjects, and divided it into three parts. In the first, he gives all relative to law and to the ministers of the Church; in the second, judgments; and under the head *De Consecratione*, in the third, he gives all that concerns sacraments and ceremonies. Gratian's work, on its appearance, eclipsed all former collections, even that of Yvo of Chartres, till then of great authority. Eugene III. is said to have approved it. It is certain, at least, that the *Decretal* was received with a kind of enthusiasm in the school of Bologna, and that from that school, then one of the most famous, it passed into France, and was taught at Paris, Orleans, and in the other universities. It speedily became the text upon which the professors of canon law commented in their lectures and in their writings. Nevertheless, it was very far from perfection, for disputed documents were inserted, besides some of the most authentic that have come down to us from antiquity. In proportion as light increased, these defects were more sensibly felt. In France, Spain, and Italy, it was conceded that Gratian needed revision. The celebrated popes, Pius IV. and Pius V., employed several learned men on the work; among others, Buoncompagni, when a professor. When he became pope, he approved his work by a bull.

The first dated edition of Gratian, is that of Strasburg, 1471, *folio*, Henry Eggestein; an edition the more remarkable, as being the first specimen of typography emanating from the city of Strasburg. The same printer, in the same city, reprinted it in the following year, and P. Schœffer gave an edition in 1472, at Mentz, in two volumes, *folio*.

The work has since often been reprinted, and forms the first volume of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The corrections accepted by Gregory XIII. were printed at Rome.

The Holy Year now approached, and Gregory, a far-seeing prince, determined that it should be celebrated with order and magnificence; and he gave orders to the governors of the Ecclesiastical States to take the necessary measures for a good and prudent police.

They were to provide against the possibility of scarcity of the necessaries of life, and to have roads and bridges in the best possible order. The *Commissioners of Abundance* in Rome were to lay in a great quantity of breadstuffs, wine, and vegetables. The proprietors of lodgings were invited to keep them at the usual rents, and to turn no one away until the expiration of the Holy Year. To induce the cardinals to embellish the churches of their titles, the pope ordered that in all the Basilicas needful repairs should be immediately made. The porches of Saint Peter and Saint Mary Major, which previously had been somewhat neglected, were almost rebuilt, and

from the latter to Saint John Lateran, a wide street was opened, more convenient for both carriages and foot-passengers.

The pope strove to keep John, king of Sweden, true to the Catholic faith ; and he also endeavored to maintain Henry of Valois upon the throne of Poland ; but on the death of his brother, Charles IX., Henry preferred to return to France.

Meantime, Ernest, second son of the duke of Bavaria, arriving in Rome, had a magnificent reception, and Gregory ordered all that was splendid or beautiful in Rome to be shown him. Charles Frederic, duke of Cleves, cousin of Ernest, afterwards visited Rome, and met with a similar reception. The grand duke of Tuscany and the duke of Parma, who afterwards arrived in Rome, with their numerous retinues, were treated with a royal luxury.

The ceremonies of the Jubilee commenced. The holy door was opened : the concourse of pilgrims was so great, that in one single day the Hospital of the Trinity received eight thousand. No tumult occurred. A still greater concourse, in spite of the winter, witnessed the closing of the holy door ; and scarcely was the Holy Father freed from these labors, when he zealously resumed those ever incumbent upon the Supreme Pontiff.

The errors of the Confession of Augsburg prevailed more than ever in Bohemia. Gregory induced the bishops of that country to combat the schism, and the good people were speedily brought back to the worship of their fathers.

Maximilian had not yet gone to Rome to receive the imperial crown. Without doubt he was emperor elect, but he had deferred fulfilling a duty which would have strongly confirmed his rights. The pope at the same time endeavored to procure Maximilian's election as king of Poland. No alarming schism was visible in the country of Jagellon, and if Maximilian had governed at Cracow, the tendency of that prince to weakness of action in regard to the doctrines of Luther might have been neutralized by the strongly Catholic sentiment of Poland.

Italy presented some dangerous agitations. Gregory sent Cardinal Moroni to Genoa to restore concord among the nobles, whose envenomed quarrels were ruining the commerce of the country, and its important trade with the Levant.

A treaty had been concluded some time before between Gregory and Philip II., with a view to mitigating the evils which Elizabeth had inflicted upon England, as well as to obtain the release of Mary, queen of Scots, and cause her to marry Don John of Austria, the conqueror at Lepanto, who had so recently saved Italy from an incursion of the Mussulman. But this scheme of the Spanish court was not relished. The efforts in favor of Mary

were therefore limited to words, mere wishes that she might obtain her liberty, and so escape what the celebrated Madame de Staël calls "*the sanguinary coquetry*" of Elizabeth.

In the fatal year 1576 the plague appeared in Europe, and extended its ravages into Germany, France, Spain, and many parts of Italy, especially Venice and Milan.

Everywhere the religious orders covered themselves with glory. The Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Jesuits, in a word, *all*, at the least sign from the head of the Church, hastened to relieve and exhort the sick, to console those who in an instant lost their whole family, and to distribute money to the poor. The people who, when not misled by falsehood, well know how to recognize their benefactors, visited, when the pestilence had disappeared, with a deep grief the almost deserted convents, where there remained only infirm old men, and a few of those men, so dear to God, who can support fatigue, watching, and the constant sight of death; those men whom Providence has marked out by a particular sign to survive so much suffering, very often out of all proportion to the strength given to us here below for the preservation of our miserable lives.

Gregory felt more alarm than other European princes. His correspondence with Constantinople, Syria, and Jerusalem informed him that the Turks were arming, and he feared that under the protection of that scourge, with which they constantly live, as it were, on friendly terms, and encouraged by their senseless doctrine of fatalism, they might be preparing for a sudden attack upon some ill-guarded point. The vigilant pontiff feared lest the Turks, summoned by the plague, might become the allies of that almost irremediable evil, which their effendis call their compatriot and their friend against the greed of the Western nations. But God looked down with pity upon His Church. The report spread that all the Greeks whom commerce had attracted to Genoa, and all the Turkish prisoners on the peninsula, had been the first victims of the plague, aggravated by homesickness. Moreover, Malta and Venice made new efforts to repulse the Mussulmans, should they venture to attack Christendom.

When calm was somewhat restored in Germany and Italy, and communication became easier, Gregory raised to the cardinalate Andrew of Austria, natural son of the Archduke Ferdinand and Philippine Vetzler; and grand nephew of the Emperor Charles V. and Ferdinand I. The young prince was only eighteen years of age. But no one regretted the favors granted to Austria to maintain her in that truly Christian constancy which she has never betrayed.

Rodolph, who had succeeded his father Maximilian, asked no confirmation from Rome. Gregory invited him to send an ambassador to Rome, with the special mission to solicit the customary confirmation. Rodolph

replied that the delay arose from some circumstances which he was about to examine carefully.

It was not imagined at Rome that any serious difficulty would arise.

At Rome a document was carefully preserved, signed by the seven electors, by which they recognized the right of the Holy See to elect the emperor. They stated that it was their duty and that of the emperor not to oppose the Holy See as to that right, and that they were bound to pay to the Holy See obedience, subjection, and, as the document expresses it, *honorificence*.

In fact, that right had been recognized by several emperors. Otho IV. recognized it towards Innocent III., and Frederic II. towards Honorius III. Coming to more recent periods, we find Æneas Piccolomini, afterwards Pius II., ambassador from Frederic III., pronouncing the address of obedience to Pope Calixtus III. Maximilian I. signed peace with Julius II., and took the oath of obedience; and Charles V., after the disasters of Rome, when the pontifical authority was so weakened, did not refuse it.

Rodolph, though he seemed so much inclined to follow the example of Maximilian II., his father, in refusing obedience, nevertheless sent John Zenner to Rome. That envoy, in the address which he had prepared, changed the term *obedience* into *respect*. Gregory would not recognize the substitution. He gave a private audience to Zenner and his colleagues, in which no business was transacted, and then wrote an autograph letter to Rodolph, entreating him to follow the example of his predecessors. Rodolph finally consented to be called in the discourse the *most obedient* son of His Holiness, and he sent the decree of his election, which till then had been retained in Vienna. Then the pope, in a public consistory, confirmed the election, and caused an act of the confirmation to be drawn up and signed by all the cardinals.*

About this time, John, king of Sweden, sent an ambassador to Rome. The king by his letters, and by the mouth of his envoy, testified his desire to belong to the Catholic religion, and he also desired that a person worthy of confidence should be sent to his court to conclude a treaty with him. The Holy Father intrusted the embassy to the Jesuit Father Possevin. It was in the hands of that wise missionary that the king, urged by his wife, Catharine of Poland, abjured the errors of Lutheranism; and then both king and queen sought means to restore the doctrines of the Catholic religion throughout their kingdom. But the sweet joys of the Holy See are often traversed by bitter disappointment. Cardinal Gesualdo, protector of the kingdom of Naples, had proposed, in consistory, the vacant church of Trani as a patronal right† of the crown of Spain, and shortly after-

* Maffei, an. 1577, liv. vi., n. 7.

† Concessions permitting laymen to confer benefices, and even to name bishops.

wards he in the same form proposed the same as to the church of Catania in Sicily. Gregory felt obliged to reply to both these proposals. To the first, he declared that the king had the nomination only by apostolical privilege; to the second, it was admitted that, in 1530, Clement VII. had granted to Charles V. the nomination to the churches of Sicily and Sardinia, but only during the life of that prince; and since that time no such concession had been made. Then the king's ministers, ceasing to ask as for a right, resorted to entreaties and solicitations. In consequence, the pope, for that time only, granted the patronage for the nomination to the Sees of Catania and Palermo, then vacant.

Subsequently, in the same year, 1577, the pontiff erected in South America three cathedrals, with the right of patronage—Santa Marta, Truxillo, and Arequipa.

King Sebastian, a prince of whom the most brilliant hopes were formed, reigned in Portugal. He contemplated extensive conquests in Africa, and would not listen to any of his councillors who endeavored to dissuade him from that project. Gregory granted various spiritual advantages, which he had ardently solicited.

New iron mines were discovered in Spoleto, and Gregory farmed them out, to the profit of the treasury, at very high royalties. The apostolic chamber had thus a new source of revenue.

For six years Buoncompagni, father of the cardinal of Saint Sixtus, and brother of the pope, had lived in Bologna without visiting the pope after his elevation. This year, desiring to see the pontificate more closely, he privately set out for Rome. The Holy Father, informed of his journey, and resolved to give no cause of complaint, was disinclined to have more of his family at court, and especially not his sister-in-law, Cecilia Bargellini, a woman of haughty character. When the party reached Otricoli, they were met by orders to return. With equal courage Gregory confined at Perugia one of his relatives, for having on his own authority rescued an esteemed servitor from prison. In vain influential princes represented that the fault had been immediately repaired, and that the servant had been voluntarily returned to the prison: the pope was inflexible, and would not overlook the infractions of the laws of the land, which set so dangerous an example to other relatives of the sovereign.

On the 4th of March, 1577, Gregory created cardinal Albert of Austria, sixth son of Maximilian II. (and of Mary of Austria, daughter of Charles V.), and brother of the Emperor Rodolph II. This cardinal, only nineteen years old when promoted, subsequently renounced the purple to marry Isabella, daughter of Philip II., who received as her dowry the provinces of Flanders and Franche-Comté. Albert died without issue, at Brussels, on the 13th of July, 1621.

Good tidings arrived from the East. The condition of the pilgrims was not yet improved, perhaps, at Jerusalem, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Franciscan custos, Father Jeremias of Brescia; but other countries had eagerly welcomed our pious missionaries.

Near the town of Naxivan, on the river Tigris, in Lesser Armenia, twenty-five villages, by the exertions of Friar Bartholomew, a Dominican, and bishop of Armenia, had recognized the Roman Church, and long persevered in their obedience. During subsequent wars some schismatic prelates endeavored to lure the Catholics from their duty, and in some cases succeeded; but the rest, under the direction of a Dominican, archbishop of Naxivan, continued to recognize the Holy See. This religious having visited Rome to expose the state of affairs, solicited aid to recover the lost sheep. Gregory granted him a sum of money, letters of protection for the neighboring authorities, and a quantity of vestments.

In the city of Aleppo, and in many other parts of Syria and Mesopotamia, there were a great many houses of Chaldean Jacobites, offshoots of the Eutychian sect. For twenty years they had been governed by the patriarch Nehem, a man of faith and worth, who had already restored several churches. He determined to write letters of submission to Julius III. and Pius IV., and he asked an establishment at Rome for his flock.

Shortly afterwards a war broke out in that country, and the Turks seized Nehem and closely confined him in prison, where he unhappily apostatized, in his terror. Resuming his true Catholic feeling, he hoped to obtain his pardon from the Holy Father. Resigning the care of his flock and his title of patriarch to his brother David, and under the pretext of a visit to Constantinople, he repaired to Rome. There he abjured his apostasy, and detested the errors of the false master Dioscorus, and publicly renewed his profession of faith. As Nehem could never return to his own country, the pope allowed him to remain in Rome, lodged him in the palace, and assigned him an annual pension befitting his rank as patriarch.

There also arrived, just then, envoys from the Maronites, who were received with the same friendship.

At that moment, the pope received letters of obedience from the archbishop of Cranganor,* metropolitan of Malabar. The Jesuits had decided him to abandon the Nestorian errors and return to the Catholic truth. The reply of the pope was accompanied by precious relics and by sacred presents of every description.

At the same time that he dispatched his reply, the pontiff judged it right to encourage, by new favors, and by testimonies of tenderness, father Andrew de Oviedo, of the Society of Jesus, whom Paul IV. had sent to the

* Novaes, viii., p. 42.

Abyssinians of Ethiopia. The missionary had been appointed patriarch, but his life was daily menaced; he did not however ask leave to retire.

Gregory omitted no exertion to establish a league between the kings of Poland, Sweden, and Spain, for the purpose of an expedition into England, to put a stop to the persecutions ordered by Elizabeth. They had become so intolerable as to spread terror through England and Scotland. King Henry III. desired to create an order of knighthood in France, the more strongly to attach to the Roman faith the nobles who might receive this honor at the hands of the king. The endowment of the order was to consist of a regular allowance from the royal treasury, and of two hundred thousand crowns, to be paid by the French clergy,—exempting, however, the incomes of the parish priests. To obtain a confirmation of that institution, the king sent to Rome Mr. l'Aubépin, and then Mr. de Lancosme. The pope assembled a congregation of thirteen cardinals, and represented that the terms of the request were offensive to the glory of God, and perverted the employment of the property of the Church. In fact, the clergy, burdened with this new impost, would no longer have the means of fulfilling their duties, relieving the poor and providing for divine worship.

Before receiving this reply, or rather anticipating that the reply would not be favorable, the king inaugurated the institution with great pomp, and called it the order of the *Holy Ghost*. Properly speaking, it had been instituted at Naples in 1352, by Louis I. of Tarento, under the name of the order of “The Holy Ghost—*au droit désir*.” Henry, at the same time, desired to reconstruct the order of Saint Michael, the collar of which had fallen into such disrepute that it was commonly spoken of as *every beast's collar*. The king, therefore, ordered that every noble, to be affiliated to his order of the Holy Ghost, must previously belong to that of Saint Michael, which was the case up to 1830.

The bishop of Geneva was commissioned by the pope to ask and to give explanations, and accord was not disturbed between the pope and the king. The order was not to be granted, and in fact never was, except to nobles who swore unbounded attachment to the Catholic faith.

Here arises a question of great importance. I shall treat it on the authority of Novaes, who says (vol. viii., p. 53):

“By the death of Sebastian, king of Portugal, which occurred in the year 1578, when he was killed fighting against the Moors of Africa, Cardinal Henry, his uncle, succeeded to the throne. The latter was then sixty-seven years of age, and in feeble health. Perceiving the danger to the sceptre that would arise, at his death, from the numerous aspirants to the throne, his councillors exhorted him to marry, saying that by that means, if he had any children, the anticipated dangers would be averted, and the authority would remain in Portuguese hands. Henry, yielding, after a long resist-

ance however, to their instances, felt it necessary to apply to the pope for the necessary dispensation, seeing that he was not only cardinal but also archbishop of Evora. Gregory studied the case with singular attention, and replied that he could not comply with such a request. It was true that, under other circumstances, the dispensation had been granted to a monk or priest.* But, in the present case, there were serious circumstances; the applicant was a cardinal and a bishop. It was an absolutely novel case, of which there had been no previous instance in the Church. With this argument and others, Gregory endeavored to convince Henry's envoy; and the pope's nuncio, Sauli, made the same representations to the king in person. Then that prince changed his design, and though the commons of his kingdom entreated him to continue his attempts, he remained firm in his refusal."

So, on the one hand, reasons of State were urged in support of this fearful infraction of ecclesiastical law, which threatened to introduce Protestant customs into our Church; and on the other hand, it was said, as though that were an argument, that Henry had long been a priest. In vain did political considerations, with threats, seductions, and powerful intercessions, assail Gregory. Immovable as a rock, that trusty depository of the faith refused his consent, thorough pontiff that he was. But at the same time, still animated by a spirit of conciliation, he refused without anger. He did not for an instant suppose, this true father even of the insensate, that the petition was serious; and he had the glory to obtain from King Henry a formal withdrawal of it, and the natural repentance which a wise priest must experience for having been drawn aside by such solicitations.

What would now be said had they succeeded? But no such advantage have its enemies over the court of Rome. Let us hope that such an application will never be repeated, certain as all must feel that it will never succeed.

Gregory, learning that the Greek Basilian monks, spread over many dioceses of Naples and Sicily, did not observe the rule of Saint Basil which they professed, had an Italian translation carefully printed, and copies sent into those provinces for gratuitous distribution. As copies of the Greek Bible were scarce, the pope appointed a congregation, consisting of singularly learned men, who revised the ordinary text which had been so much

* There had been an example under Alexander III. "The doge of Venice," says Novaes (iii., p. 113), "had sent out an expedition against the Saracens, in which all the lords of the illustrious house of Giustiniani perished. The pope, to save the family from extinction, dispensed from his vows and religious profession the Blessed Nicholas Giustiniani, a Benedictine and a priest. He married Anne Vitale, daughter of the doge of Michele, and had five sons and three daughters. Being no longer necessary in the world, having secured the perpetuation of his family, he returned to his monastery and died holily."

altered, and restored it so as to conform to the Septuagint. Pius IV. and Saint Pius V., in conformity to a decree of the Council of Trent, had also taken steps on this matter; but the glory of terminating so lofty an enterprise was reserved to Sixtus V. and Clement VIII.

Gregory now announced his intention to create new cardinals. In this promotion were: 1. Claude de la Baume, of the marquises of Montrevel. Philip II. granted him great rewards for having preserved Burgundy from the errors of Calvinism, and caused it to accept the Council of Trent. 2. Louis II. de Lorraine, of the dukes of Guise, brother to the celebrated Charles de Lorraine, and, like him, uncle of Mary queen of Scots, in whose behalf he never ceased to intercede with the pope. 3. René Birago, a noble Milanese, driven from Milan by Francis Sforza, as convicted of being attached to France. He had been employed by Francis I. as counsellor to the parliament of Paris. He then became chancellor and viceroy of Charles IX. in the province of Lyons. He died at Paris in 1583, on the 5th of January, surnamed the *hammer of heretics and the defender of the Catholic faith*, and with such a reputation for disinterestedness that he died in the greatest poverty. Birago served five kings of France: Francis I., Henry II., Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III. He used to say of himself, "I am a cardinal without a title, a priest without a benefice, and chancellor without the seals." 4. Ferdinand of Toledo, a noble Spaniard, of the counts of Oropesa. In his humility he returned the hat to the pope, together with the brief which created him cardinal. He handsomely rewarded the ablegate who brought them to him, and then retired to preach the Gospel in obscurity in Spain.

An ambassador now arrived from the king of Poland, Stephen Battori, in order to take between the hands of the pope the oath of allegiance in his master's name. Gregory received him in the royal hall, amidst a public consistory. Just before the Pole entered, the ambassador of France demanded that the act of obedience that was about to be confirmed should not in any wise prejudice the rights of the most Christian King Henry, also king of Poland, pretending that Henry, and no other, was the legitimate king of that country.

For a long time urgent endeavors, at the request of Anselm Dandini, nuncio in France, had been made to have the decrees of the Council of Trent published in that country. The Sorbonne opposed the power of the sovereign pontiff over general councils, and were dissatisfied in regard to the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, a point which had been left undecided by the Council of Trent.

Novaes* affirms that, upon the latter point, many of the universities

* Novaes, viii., p. 52.

agreed in the same sentiment, and forbade the doubting of the Immaculate Conception. Among those universities were those of Cologne, Mentz, Vienne, Valencia, Salamanca, Alcalá, Louvain, Barcelona, Evora, and Coimbra. They raised no one to the grade of doctor unless he swore to defend the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, until that point should be decided by the Church. A host of theologians then maintained that Rome could not and would not disapprove that point of doctrine. Hereafter we shall see the decision of the Holy See.

Baius continued to circulate his errors, already condemned by Pope Pius V. Gregory learning that renewed insult, even from the letters of the king of Spain, solemnly published the bull of his predecessor, which he inserted in another newly proposed in consistory, and by which he confirmed the former.

These errors continued their ravages in the Low Countries. The pope therefore sent thither the Jesuit Francis Toledo, a celebrated theologian, and his ordinary preacher in the apostolical palace. Toledo employed gentle means to induce Baius completely to abjure errors that had been twice proscribed; and on the 24th of March, 1580, Baius consented to sign a formal retractation. Toledo returned to Rome, where he afterwards received the cardinal's hat from the hands of Clement VIII. Few obtain so much glory as this modest religious. Gregory, in 1584, addressed to him a brief, in which he appointed him censor of his own writings. The same confidence was subsequently reposed in him by Sixtus V., Urban VII., Gregory XIV., and Innocent IX. To deserve and retain so noble an employment was an honor to Toledo, whom good Catholics cannot too highly praise.

The abjuration of Baius caused great joy in Rome. Gregory, the most generous of princes, who only sought opportunities to show the greatness of his benevolence, sent a considerable present to the university of Louvain, which the ravages of war had ruined. Unfortunately, the ungrateful Baius renewed his attacks, maintaining that he had thoroughly read the bulls of the pontiffs, and that they only enjoined upon him a *respectful silence*. We shall hereafter see the Jansenists employ the same plea. Such, however, had not been the intention of Saint Pius V. and Gregory XIII. They specified the propositions on which descended direct and absolute condemnation.

The provinces of Styria and Carinthia complained of the continual attacks made by the Protestant system. The Archduke Charles, though a prince of exemplary virtue, and though devoted to the Holy See, and the friend and protector of religious, and himself strongly attached to the dogmas in which he had been reared, showed himself, as it were, vanquished by the importunities of the heretical party. Subsequently, deceived and

betrayed by his favorites and by his own servants,* he gradually lost authority from fear of a greater evil, and was falling into complete contempt with his subjects, the princes, and his vassals. In a short time, the Archduke Ferdinand, and Albert of Bavaria, whose daughter Charles had married, resolved to ask pardon of the pope for the concessions wrung from the weakness of Charles, to the prejudice of the divine honor. Then that prince begged the pope to accredit a nuncio to inquire into the state of embarrassment of his affairs, and to restore the government to the right way. Gregory sent Germanicus Malatesta, who so successfully acted in the diet assembled at Gratz, that the cause of religion triumphed. After the disputes, misunderstandings, and accusations, such as always occur in difficulties of the kind, the archduke published an edict which banished from that country the enemies of the Roman faith and the apostolic traditions.

It was nearly four centuries since certain Greek nuns, flying from persecution† in the East, had brought with them the bones of Saint Gregory of Nazianzen.

Born in the city of Nazianzen, in Cappadocia, Saint Gregory went to Athens with Saint Basil, after having studied at Cesarea, in Palestine, and at Alexandria. Both of them had declined the favor of Julian the Apostate, who, on the report of their merits, wished to attract them to his court, and reminded them that he had known them at Athens.

Saint Gregory was successively bishop of a small city called Sasima, then of the church of Nazianzen, and then of Constantinople. There, tormented by the Arians, he resigned his dignity, and after many painful vicissitudes, retired into solitude, where he died in 389.

No one can read the writings of this father without admitting that he has gained the prize of eloquence over all the orators of his century,‡ for the purity of his terms, the nobleness of his expressions, the elegance of his style, the variety of his figures, the strength of his argument, and the loftiness of his ideas. He is, with all his elevation of thought, natural, flowery, and pleasing. His periods are full, and well sustained to the end, evincing an exquisite and cultivated taste. His poetry was almost exclusively the fruit of his solitude and his old age, yet it has the fire and vigor of a young poet.

It was upon that illustrious Father that Gregory XIII. endeavored to fix the attention of the Romans. The bones of the Saint reposed obscurely in the church of the nuns of *Campo Marzo*. The pope determined that they should be removed to the Vatican. The ceremony took place on the 11th of June, 1580. That it might be a public feast, Gregory published a

* Novaes, viii., p. 60.

† Ibid., viii., p. 62.

‡ Feller, iii., p. 385.

plenary indulgence, and released from prison those guilty of only slight offences, such as disputes, and wordy quarrels without bloodshed. He lowered the price of bread. He had all the streets through which the sacred relics passed adorned ; and over a space of more than two miles, carpets, hangings, pictures, images, and holy paintings were arranged. From distance to distance, resting places for the procession were ornamented with flowers and redolent of perfumes. The canons of Saint Peter carried the shrine containing the bones. The pope, accompanied by the sacred college and prelates, went before the procession to the end of the stairs. There he quitted the *sedia gestatoria*, laid down the mitre, and knelt : then, lifting up his eyes, bathed in tears, he kissed the shrine, and followed it to the chapel called the Gregorian, in which it was to be placed. This chapel, finished by Jacopo della Porta, after the designs of Michael Angelo, is one of the most beautiful in the church of Saint Peter. The dome is fifty-six feet in diameter, and a hundred and twenty-seven feet in height, exclusive of the cupola, which is seventeen feet high. The mosaics which adorn it represent the attributes of the Virgin ; and the four doctors, below, were done from the originals of Muziani and Nicolas de Piccola.* The picture of the Virgin, above the altar, is a work of the time of Pascal II. (twelfth century). It is called the *Madonna del Soccorso*, and in the old Basilica was venerated in the oratory of Saint Leo I. The body of Saint Gregory of Nazianzen, excepting an arm left with the nuns of *Campo Marzo*, reposes under the altar of the Gregorian chapel.

Gregory had not renounced a desire evinced from the commencement of his pontificate, to destroy or weaken the Mussulman power. But an unforeseen point intervened : Philip II., king of Spain, granted Amurath an additional truce for three years. This had been concealed from the pontiff, to whom it now became a subject of deep grief, more especially as the moment was an apposite one to wrest advantages from the Turks, then pressed by the sovereign of Persia. From the Persians Europe had nothing to fear, unless, indeed, they should produce one of those emperors who astonish the world ; but the Turks, and especially those of Africa, daily threatened Italy, France, and Spain.

Philip's ministers still further embittered a debate which was sufficiently painful in itself. They endeavored to deny the fact from time to time, and then, when they were told of the rejoicings at Constantinople, about which the Franciscan missionaries there filled their correspondence, the Spanish ministers went so far as to maintain that they had signed the treaty without King Philip's knowledge. The answer was, that Spain held no councilors daring enough to sign a truce of that importance without the know-

* *Description of Rome*, by Fea. (12mo., Rome, 1821.)

ledge of such a sovereign as Philip II. The name, the reputation, the authority of him whom they dared to represent as a man of such small consideration in the cabinet of Aranjuez, at once branded that cabinet with disgraceful falsehood, and proved that it had not been capable of so foolhardy an act.

Meantime, the king of Spain levied immense contributions upon the clergy of the country, granted solely for a case of war. Gregory suspended the execution of the bull that authorized the impost. It was evident, that even supposing that a king who had deceived so many other kings had himself been deceived, it was impossible to deceive Gregory. He knew his rights and the value of his promises, as well as the scope and bearing of his concessions, and he considered himself the indefatigable protector of the clergy of the Peninsula and the Indies; for the impost was levied also in the most distant quarters of the Spanish dominions.

It seemed thenceforth that affairs so violent as to be calculated to produce scandals and even intestine wars, were reserved for the reign of Gregory. But the genius of that great pope was equal to every thing.* Suddenly, there broke out, in the island of Malta, a revolt against the grand master, Brother John l'Evesque de la Cassière, marshal of the order at the time of the death of the grand master de Monte, successor of the immortal la Valette. La Cassière, of the language of Auvergne, was elected in 1572, that year of sad memory. His administration was at first disturbed in various ways by accusations of abuse in the distribution of priories. But no knight had yet ventured upon reprehensible excesses. It is related that when, in 1577, Amurath III. had shown to Bongiani Gianfigliuzzi, ambassador of the grand duke of Tuscany, a plan of the city of Valetta, and had asked him if it was correct, and if the place was as strongly fortified as it there appeared to be, the ambassador replied: "Sire, he who drew that plan forgot one of the main defences, the courage and firmness of more than a thousand knights, ready to shed their blood in defence of that place."†

But this state of things did not long continue, and horrible discords soon appeared. They were almost similar to those which in 1798 distinguished the last moments of an order so illustrious—discords that made Napoleon master of the island. La Cassière had excited the anger of some lax knights for three reasons: he forbade the knights of the different languages from speaking with partiality in favor of the nations and sovereigns to

* *History of the first Fifteen Popes named Gregory*, p. 158.

† That reply of Bongiani is the finer because the grand duke of Tuscany had founded the military order of *Saint Stephen, Pope and Martyr*, the knights of which were sometimes in rivalry with those of Malta. The grand duke often treated with Constantinople, in the interest of the commerce of Tuscany, and the Knights of Malta never signed peace or truce.

which they belonged. Was there in that any thing unwise or unworthy of a prince who *rightly estimates the interests of religion?*

That prohibition especially irritated the Spaniards, reared from the time of Charles V. beneath the shadow of the formidable power of the house of Austria, and desirous that the whole order should bow beneath that power—that is to say, beneath that of the Spaniards then present in the island.

The second cause was that the grand master,* by a public ban, had driven from the suburbs and city of Valetta dissolute women, and forced them to leave the island and retire to the islands of Gozo and Cumino, at a distance from the houses of the order.

The third cause was the ambition of some of the grand crosses, who aspired to the magistracy, and who, seeing that the grand master, though aged, enjoyed vigorous health, feared that they might not survive him, and therefore sought to force him to abdicate his dignity.

In Malta, as elsewhere, the massacre of Saint Bartholomew had sowed germs of hatred, if not of contempt, for France. Among the Parisian French, one party had assassinated the other. Some of them were ignoble murderers; the others had been worse than imprudent, foreseeing nothing, and making no preparations for self-defence. Woe to the nations who make themselves so much talked of! The French Knights of Malta were not less animated; they perhaps said that they would have been generous, but on the whole they seemed neither to praise the crime nor to pity the victims. One might have thought them of another nation, and therefore entitled thus to play the indifferent on that exciting topic, on which the conversation of the *auberges* was so often to turn;† and for that reason, and others which we have given, the island was in a frightful state of agitation. The languages of Castile and Portugal (some add those of Aragon and Germany), and many knights of the three languages of France, headed by Mathurin de l'Escur and Romégas, assembled with much outcry and menace, exclaiming that the grand master, by his various orders, politic and religious as they were, had sufficiently proved that his mind was impaired, and that he paid more attention to the Maltese women than to the enterprises of the Turks and the Barbary pirates. (While watchful in the interest of morality, la Cassière had not forgotten the interests of religion, and Chabrilan, one of the bravest of the knights, was then at sea in defence of them.) To the accusations it was added, that the sovereign had not replenished the granaries of Malta; that at all the councils he slumbered, and never seemed to be fully awake excepting to vex his knights. They then sent a deputation to the grand master to call upon him to resign a government for which

* Vêrtot, *Hist. de Malte*, 1761, v., p. 155.

† At Malta, the term *auberges* is applied to the places at which the knights of the different orders respectively meet.

he was incapacitated, and to name a lieutenant. Upon his refusal, the council of the malcontents assembled at the quarters of Brother Crescini, prior of the church, the principal mover of the sedition, and Romégas, prior of Toulouse and Ireland, was named lieutenant. The Spanish knights, in order to interest the languages of France, preferred him to others of the conspirators of their nation. Such was the result of that seditious assemblage. It tended to suspend the legitimate authority of a grand master venerable alike for his wisdom, his piety, and his courage ; who, moreover, had preserved all his powers of intelligence, action, and sagacity, as all were compelled to admit who were not prejudiced against him by envy or ambition. Romégas was brave, in truth, and till then successful in his caravans ; but he was reproached with cruelty towards his enemies, and more of a pitiless Turk than generous Christian knight in his cruises.

The heads of this sedition, seeing la Cassière meet their attacks with intrepidity, at the head of their accomplices burst into the apartment of the grand master, placed him in an uncovered sedan, and carried him off under a guard of soldiers to the common prison, known as the castle of Saint Angelo. It is painful to add, that on his way from the city of Valetta to the dungeon, the unfortunate captive experienced the insults of young knights and prostitutes, who, though formally expelled from the city, had contrived to return.

Dreading the vengeance and power of Gregory XIII., the insurgents sent three ambassadors : Sacquenville, a Frenchman ; Cosmas de Luna, a Spaniard ; and Bernardo Capece, an Italian. The grand master, although closely confined, found means to send four ambassadors : Blot-Viviers, Pierre Roux de Beauvais, Brother Dom Francis de Gusman, and Brother Angelo Pellegrini.

Two days later, Chabrillan, general of the galleys, whom la Cassière had sent to unfurl before the foe the terrible and illustrious banner of the order, sailed into the port of Malta with the knights at his command. No sooner had he landed than he demanded audience of the grand master. The rebels durst not refuse. The faithful brother of Saint John of Jerusalem hastened to the castle of Saint Angelo, kissed the hands of his sovereign, and offered to restore him to his authority and lead him back to his palace at the head of two thousand men, the force on his galleys, and the knights and worthy men of the island who detested the crime of the rebels. "What !" exclaimed Chabrillan, "have the Turks then come hither in the garb of knights?" But la Cassière, who would have been forced to punish, replied with wisdom, evincing how well he deserved to retain the sovereignty : "I await my restoration from the energetic authority of Gregory XIII., the supreme superior of the order. I would rather end my days in

prison than see my knights, whom I have ever regarded as my children, battling on my account against each other."

Gregory, hearing of the arrival of the ambassadors of legitimacy and rebellion, ordered galleys to be equipped in haste, under the command of Gaspar Visconti, auditor of the rota, with others, to go to Malta and instantly to set at liberty the grand master, and convey both him and Romégas to Rome. La Cassière appeared in the capital of the Christian world with eight hundred knights, and traversed the city in triumph. The papal court, and the households of the cardinals, the ambassadors, and the princes had met him at a considerable distance on the road to Cività Vecchia. The pope received the grand master with the greatest marks of esteem, pitied and consoled him. Romégas solicited an audience,* but the pope refused to admit him. The chastisement of the rebels had begun. Romégas was counselled to abdicate the title of Lieutenant of the Mastery. On receiving this order, Romégas fainted, and soon after died of fever. When Commander de Sacquenville approached the grand master with an indifferent air, merely asking his hand to kiss, a cardinal cried out: "Down, rebel knight, on your knees! But for your good-hearted grand master your head would have rolled days ago on the square Navona!"† The bold speaker was Cardinal Montalto, afterwards Sixtus V. He did not then affect all that courtesy ascribed to him by that vile herd of historical scribblers who accuse him of hypocrisy.

Meantime, Cardinal d'Este, protector of the crown of France, entertained la Cassière in his palace, treating him and his knights with a royal magnificence. At Malta, all had returned to order. La Cassière was about to return, but the excitement had been too much for the almost octogenarian prince, and he died at Rome, after a residence of three months.

On the late grand master's tomb an inscription, from the hand of Anthony Muretus, attested that the integrity of the grand master shone the more brightly when attacked by calumny, as gold is purified by fire. The inscription adds, that la Cassière was seventy-eight years old, and that he died at Rome on the 21st of December, 1581.

This sudden death impelled the pope to take measures to have the highest honors paid to the memory of the deceased; and to save the order from similar disorders, he issued a bull.

The death of la Cassière at Rome caused the whole order to fear that the pope, as supreme superior, would name a grand master. This led to an embassy, and a celebrated deputation sent by the convent of Malta to Gregory XIII. He caused the registers of his predecessors to be consulted, especially those of Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Gregory XII.; and

* Vertot, *Hist. de Malte*, 1761, v., p. 160

† Ibid.

having formed in his own mind a plan founded on right, and calculated to restore peace, he dismissed the ambassadors, with the assurance that he would shortly send a brief to Visconti to enable the knights to proceed to an election. And, in fact, on the 12th of January, 1582, the chapter being assembled, and the sixteen electors chosen, the nuncio of His Holiness presented them with a brief, recommending them to confine their choice to three candidates whom the pope proposed: Verdalle, knight of the language of Provence, and grand commander; Panisse, grand prior of Saint Giles; and Chabrillan, bailli of Manosca, that type of noble fidelity. Verdalle, who had long been ambassador of the order at Rome, and who was a favorite with Gregory and all his court (for with good sense and frankness it is easy to make one's self loved at Rome), found the chapter equally well disposed towards him. He was chosen, and proclaimed grand master; and the pope, happy to have restored peace among these generous defenders of Christianity, ratified the election, and advised Verdalle to conciliation, showing himself, by turns, as circumstances required, gracefully benevolent or justly stern. By the terms of the bull of the 3d of September, the pope took from the knights all their pretended power, in certain cases, to proceed against the person of their superior,* as they had lately done, and had previously done in the reign of John XXII. By this constitution, Gregory declared that in future the pope alone was to decide upon the conduct of the grand master. A general pardon was granted to all who had been guilty, weak, or indirectly compromised.

Fortunately, during all these discords, Amurath, either ill-informed or lacking means, did not renew his attacks upon the island of Malta.†

A new opportunity was presented to Gregory to show his constancy and zeal for reform. By the pope's order, Italy had adopted various disciplinary measures for restoring order and good faith in its government. A system of visitation was needed to receive just complaints, and restrict excesses of power.

The nuncio Bolognetti was sent to the Venetians on a subject of great difficulty. The pontifical envoy, acting cautiously, associated with him two citizens of the republic, Augustin Valerio, bishop of Verona, and Frederic Cornaro, bishop of Padua, both subsequently cardinals. The republic took alarm, and the doge went so far as to say, in full senate, that thenceforth,

* Novaes, viii., p. 66.

† I have thought best to give these details as collected and submitted to Pius VII. and Napoleon in 1802, when a successor was to be appointed to de Hompesch. Napoleon was one of the first to decide that the nomination belonged to Pius. The circumstances of the case, the dispersion of the order, the existence of many schismatic knights in Russia, influenced this decision. Unfortunately, the refusal of the English to restore Malta neutralized the efforts of the pope and of Cardinal Consalvi.

separated from the Latins, the Venetians would go over to the Greek Church, and would receive the sacraments only from its ministers. Undismayed by such childish threats, Gregory, by courier, ordered the nuncio immediately to commence the projected *visitation*. The senators, thus placed between a schism and its ravages on the one hand, and on the other a reasonable requirement of the court of Rome, foreseeing, too, the advantage which the Lutherans would derive from such a perilous separation, no longer indulged in threats they never meant to carry out, and passed a decree authorizing the visitation. The patriarch of Venice naturally was favorable to the decrees of Rome; and Venice herself was glad to see abuses remedied from which she had never derived any benefit. The affair ended to the advantage of divine worship, and to the great glory of the pontiff.

Gregory's project in regard to Sweden had not completely succeeded. Another light, says Novaes, arose in a part almost as northern.

John Basil, duke of Muscovy, had wrested Livonia from the Poles. Stephen Battori, avenger of his country's honor, marched with a great army against Basil, who immediately applied to the Holy Father, and begged him to send a nuncio to Moscow to restore peace between Poland and Muscovy.

The Holy Father easily saw through the views of the schismatic princes, grounded only on temporal interests. Nevertheless, he deemed it his duty to give the attention of a pastor to that delicate affair.* He said: "We must sometimes seek the strayed sheep without waiting until they voluntarily return to the fold." The Jesuit, Anthony Possevin, who had returned from Sweden with three of his companions, was sent to Moscow. Considerable sums were given to him on his departure, with presents for the Grand Duke John and Anastasia his wife. Possevin was also to present a faithful copy of the operations of the Council of Trent in relation to the union of the two churches. Peace was to be concluded, although the details were difficult, as both princes had usurped from each other. The Muscovite restored what he had seized in Lithuania, and the Pole restored what she had intended to keep in Muscovy. The moment the Lithuanian cities were restored, Possevin, in the name of the Holy Father, introduced Catholic bishops there.

Gregory, whose zeal extended to every thing demanding the supervision of the pontifical State, would not neglect to insist upon the restitution of fiefs belonging to the Holy See, and of investitures that had lapsed. Honorius Savelli had received one, from the beneficence of the popes, and, his lineage being extinct, the apostolical chamber resumed the estates. The Paduans, neglecting to pay the dues on an old contract, Piedulugo was

* Novaes, viii., p. 67.

reclaimed, and placed under the authority of the chamber. Other possessions in the Romagna reverted; and some, even as far as Cisterna, in Piedmont.

In fine, it seems that Providence had reserved to Gregory the glory of correcting, with the utmost possible perfection, the calendar used by the Church. The year is the time the earth requires for one entire revolution in its orbit. During this time the sun appears to us to traverse the whole ecliptic, or the twelve signs of the zodiac.

The ancients did not at first measure time exactly. The Egyptians considered it as only three hundred and sixty-five days. Yet the earth, in an entire revolution in its orbit, makes three hundred and sixty-five revolutions on its axis, and about a fourth of another. Hence it is evident that the equinoxes recede every four years nearly a day.* To remedy this inconvenience, it was proposed to make in every four years a year comprising one day more than the others; so that in that year there are three hundred and sixty-six days. This year is called Bissextile, because among the Romans that day was the sixth before the calends of March; and in English, is styled Leap Year. This reformation is called Julian, because made by Julius Cæsar. The Roman calendar was formed originally by Romulus, and rearranged by Numa Pompilius. Sosigenes, a celebrated mathematician of Alexandria, developed the advantages of its reform, and styled the new calendar the Julian reformation. The Julian year commenced forty-five years before the birth of our Saviour. Some changes were made by the Council of Nice, in the year 325. The councils of Constance in 1414, of Basle in 1439, and of Lateran in 1516, discussed that question. Pope Nicholas V. was not insensible of its importance; and thirty years later, Sixtus IV. employed the mathematician Regiomontanus—John Muller—upon it. The Council of Trent finally referred the whole matter to the supreme pontiff.

Under Julius Cæsar, the end was approached, but not exactly reached; for, in order to the total avoidance of error, it would require the time employed by the earth in traversing its orbit to be exactly three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, but about eleven minutes were wanting to perfect exactness, and this quantity, though very small in itself, became, in the course of centuries, so considerable, that the equinoxes by the end of the sixteenth century had advanced ten days. The eleven minutes (or thereabouts) neglected by Cæsar, and not observed by the Council of Nice, formed, after a hundred and thirty-three years, a day of twenty-four hours. In four centuries this amounted to three days.

From the time of the Nicean correction in 325 to the tenth year of the pontificate of Gregory in 1582, there had been a lapse of one thousand two

* Novaes, viii., p. 170.

hundred and fifty-seven years, or nearly ten times the number one hundred and thirty-three; it immediately follows that the vernal equinox which, in the time of the Council of Nice, fell between the 20th and 21st of March, advanced by ten days, and fell between the 10th and the 11th of the same month. This led to the confusion in regard to Easter, which, by order of the Council of Nice,* should be celebrated on the Sunday following the fourteenth moon, falling in the vernal equinox, between the 20th and 21st of March.

To put an end to this disorder, which had already engaged the attention of many able men, Gregory assembled at Rome the most celebrated mathematicians, among whom were Cardinal Sirlet; Ignatius Neemel, patriarch of the Syrians; Peter Chacon, a priest, called the Spanish Varro; Ignatius Danti, a Dominican of Perugia; Anthony Lilio, a Calabrian physician; Vincent Lauri, a Neapolitan, afterwards cardinal; Christopher Clavius, a German Jesuit, called the Euclid of his time; and James Mazzoni, a renowned literary man of Cesena.

Louis Lilio, a Calabrian and a famous mathematician, after a toil of ten years, had prepared a plan for the correction of the solar year, but dying, left his labor to his brother Anthony. This explains why part of the glory is ascribed to Louis; but he did not enjoy it during his life, and it was his brother Anthony who was present at the deliberations.

Be that as it may, Anthony Lilio presented the memoir of Louis to Pope Gregory XIII., soliciting the privilege of printing it as a reward for the vigils and innumerable calculations of his brother. The pope, always wise, always circumspect, always provident, worthy successor of so many great men who had often restored peace by reconciling the interests of the princes with those of the peoples of the earth, determined that the earth also should have a spirit of order in its relations with the firmament. He sent the printed book to all the sovereigns of Europe, requesting them to have it examined by the most eminent mathematicians in their realms. All, or almost all, applauded that work so strongly reasoned and demonstrated, praised the calculations of Louis Lilio, and eagerly accepted them.

To cause this correction to be adopted, Gregory then published a constitution, which commences thus, *Inter Gravissimas*, and which is dated from Frascati, 24th February, 1582.—(*Roman Bullarium*, vol. iv., part iv., p. 10.)

In this bull, the pope, endowed with incomparable knowledge and with a sagacity beyond all praise, ordered that, dating from the 5th of October, inclusive, in the same year, ten days should be suppressed; so that what

* Every word of this explanation proves how strictly the care of that reformation belonged to the supreme head of the Church. We cannot go away from the authority of the councils or that of the popes; and our sublime anniversary of Easter is always there to tell us on what day we should celebrate the resurrection of our Saviour.

would have been the 6th of October, would be the 15th of that month, which would re-establish order for the time past.

In order to provide also for the eleven minutes which Sosigenes and the Council of Nice had neglected, and which in the future would cause that variation of the equinoxes of which we have already spoken, the Holy Father ordered that from the year 1700 to the year 2000 one bissextile year should be omitted in every century. Thus, the year 1600 would be bissextile, but the years 1700, 1800, and 1900 would not. This imposing manner of providing laws for the centuries to come well befits him to whom Jesus Christ commits the care of a Church which is not to perish.

We have obeyed the learned men assembled by Gregory XIII. ; the years 1700 and 1800 were not bissextiles, and our grandsons will see to it that the year 1900 shall not be so.

The reformation of the calendar was adopted in France in the same year in which that bull was published, and also, a little while after, by the other Catholic States. The English, and some Protestants, in their hatred of the Roman court, continued to use the old Julian calendar, "as if," remarks Bossuet, "a reasonable man should not receive reason, come whence it may." But they were obliged to adopt two computations, and to date according to both the old and the new style. The marquis of Brandenburg, whose letters we have before us as we write, wrote to Louis XIII. in 1622, and he used both styles. England at length adopted the new style in 1752, Sweden in 1753, and the German Protestants in 1777. At present only Russia adopts the old style, or rather recalls it, for Easter is celebrated there on the same day as with us. It results from the labor analyzed above that Easter was on the same day in 1583 as at the Council of Nice.

It will readily be supposed that we can find no room here for the calendar which was composed during the French revolution. In this book I can speak only of serious questions which have a positive relation to religion and true science. Many books have been written against the Gregorian reform of the calendar. The first authors who entered the lists were Michael Metslin and Joseph Scaliger. The Jesuits, Clavius and Petavius, replied with great clearness and on the instant. Metslin renounced the dispute; and Scaliger, whom his partisans styled the *Time Corrector*, was speedily abandoned. Another Jesuit, very learned in astronomy, Father Riccioli, under the name of Michael Manfredi, wrote a work entitled *Vindiciæ Calendarii Gregoriani* (Bologna, 1666, fol). There were still other defenders in Spain, France, and Italy.

Cassini undertook to write against the Gregorian epacts,* and solicited

* An epact is the number of days, or fractions of days, by which lunar and solar revolutions differ. The Julian epact differs by eleven days from the Gregorian. Write the numbers 1 to

the approval of Pope Clement XII. for his work. The reply he obtained was: "*The pontiff thinks there is nothing to change in them.*"

We will conclude on this subject by saying that the well-known work *L'Art de Verifier les Dates* contains an immense amount of information necessary to the right understanding of the dates of ancient titles.

We shall never tire recalling the marvels of the reign of Gregory. Universal applause was accorded to the sovereign pontiff, when he conceived the idea of adding to the correction of the year another important work, that of the essentially pontifical one of correcting the Roman martyrology.

The negligence of copyists, in the first place, and then that of the printers, had rendered the martyrology both defective and incorrect.

Learned and pious scholars purged it from errors, augmented it in some parts, thanks to the intervention of many bishops, and everywhere subjected it to the fidelity of history.

In that same year, 1582, sterility threw Rome into despair. The populace suffered, and, for a moment, asked what Gregory was doing; but speedily considerable sums were drawn from the treasury, and breadstuffs arrived from Marseilles, often the granary of Rome.

On the 10th of December of the same year, Gregory raised to the rank of an archbishopric the Church of Bologna, his native place, whose first bishop had been Saint Zama. Nine of the successors of that saint had been canonized. The pope appointed as suffragans the churches of Parma, Placentia, Reggio, Modena, Imola, Servia, and Crema.* The Bolognese, in their joy, raised a bronze statue to the pope their benefactor.

At this period, the pope secretly sent to Mary, queen of Scots, a consecrated Host, with which that princess was to communicate, if Elizabeth, in her brutal rage, condemned Mary to death.

On the 2d of December, 1583, Gregory made his seventh promotion of

30, representing 30 by a star in inverse order along the days of the month, so that the star corresponds to January 1, 29 to January 2, 28 to January 3, etc. These epacts represent the 30 lunar days. But as six months in the lunar year are short, xxiv. and xxv. are put together at February 5, April 5, June 3, August 1, September 29, November 27. To determine the epact of a year, 1840, for instance, take 15, the epact of 1839; add 11; 26 is the epact of 1840. If this should exceed 30, deduct that number. So for 1841, $26+11=37$; $37-30=7$, the epact. The new moon in January falls the day before that marked by the epact, which thus determines the new moon—an important point to determine Easter.

The change in the cycle of the epacts was necessary, because in four centuries the first year is three times not a leap-year, and this was the objection to the Gregorian calendar. Clement VIII., in 1603, confirmed the epacts of Gregory. (See the Jesuit Father Gabriel Daniel, *De la Discipline des quatorze décimans, pour la célébration de la Pâque*, Paris, 1724, vol. iii. William Bonjour, Rome, 1701, fol. *Mémoires de Trévoux*, Feb., 1704.) Under Clement XI. a reform in the calendar was demanded, but in vain. [Indeed, the fact that Protestant countries, more than a century and a half after Gregory adopted his calendar, not rashly, but by the best scientific advice, settles the fact.]

* The arrangement has often been changed since.

cardinals. Among the nineteen then created, four became pontiffs: John Antonio Facchinetti, made pope in 1591, under the name of Innocent IX.; John Baptist Castagna, afterwards pope under the name of Urban VII.; Alexander de Medici, pontiff in 1605, under the name of Leo XI.; Nicholas Sfrondati, pope in 1590, under the name of Gregory XIV.

We have now reached the close of Gregory's reign. We have yet to add, however, that before he died he experienced one of those pontifical joys he so well deserved.

In 1549, the Jesuit, Saint Francis Xavier, had proclaimed Gospel truth to the empire of Japan, where missionaries of his order continued to instruct the people, among whom, in thirty years, two hundred thousand had become Christians.* Among these Christians, three kings distinguished themselves by their Catholic faith—the kings of Bungo, Arima, and Omura. These determined to render obedience to the reigning pope, and they sent four ambassadors to him, young princes of the blood-royal, scarcely fifteen years of age, but already possessed of the qualities of more mature age. They sailed from Nangasaki, on board a Portuguese ship, on the 22d of February, 1582, and after a voyage of three years arrived in Rome. The capital of the world had never received an embassy from a more distant country.

The Emperor Augustus had received envoys from India, but those from Japan came from a more eastern point. On the 23d of August, 1585, an immense cavalcade escorted them to the Vatican.† On being admitted into public consistory, they kissed the feet of the pope, and presented him with the letters of their respective sovereigns. Gregory had the letters read aloud, and then he repeatedly embraced the four ambassadors.‡

The pope did not long survive this great glory. Oppressed by the weight of eighty-three years, he yet, against the advice of his physicians, insisted upon rigidly observing Lent, and in enduring all the fatigues of his government. But on the 5th of April he was attacked by fever, and the tonsils swelled so as to impede respiration. The physicians again counselled rest. Nevertheless he persisted in his lenten diet, and in paying the same attention to his wearing duties. Then the disorder became more and more violent, and he expired on the 10th of April, 1585, after filling the Holy See twelve years, ten months, and eighteen days.

He was interred in the Gregorian chapel of the Vatican, where a noble tomb was erected in 1723 by Canillus Rusconi, at the order of Cardinal James Buoncompagni, his grand-nephew. The virtues of this pope were

* Novaes, viii., p. 88.

† Ibid., p. 89.

‡ [It is worth noting, that one of the three Japanese ambassadors sent to the United States in our times, was, as he assured the writer of this note, descended from one of the ambassadors sent to Rome.]

lauded in an eloquent discourse by Father Stephen Tucci, of the Society of Jesus.

On account of the Easter holidays, the ceremonies of *novendiali* lasted only five days, instead of the customary nine, indicated by the name.

The eminent virtues of this pope, one of the most illustrious that have occupied the Holy See,* which would have procured him the surname of great, had not Saint Gregory previously received it, excited the admiration of the Roman people as one of the finest models of sovereign greatness.

Gregory was somewhat above the middle stature. He had blue eyes, an aquiline nose, thick beard, and his habits and bearing were such as to attract veneration, and give him an air at once mild and majestic.

He was patient in audiences, but his resolutions were generally prompt, as he quickly saw the course to pursue.

In the first eight years of his pontificate, his personal expenses did not exceed three hundred ducats a year. He wore, in preference, clothes already worn by his predecessors; and he even had clothes capable of being repaired purchased from the heirs of deceased prelates. But this personal self-denial concealed a passion for magnificence in his treatment of all but himself. In public ceremonies he displayed unusual prodigality. We have mentioned what he ordered at the translation of the relics of Saint Gregory of Nazianzen. On subsequently recapitulating his gifts to Christian princes and peoples, his accounts showed that he had sent a hundred thousand gold crowns to the Emperor Maximilian, a hundred thousand to the archduke of Austria, three hundred thousand to the king of France,† two hundred thousand to Ernest of Bavaria, to say nothing of the sums sent to Basil, duke of Russia. Vittorelli‡ enumerates the liberalities of Gregory. One cannot conceive, far less describe, the pleasure with which this pope, wearing threadbare and perhaps soiled habits, scattered gold abroad to mitigate the miseries of the times. The liberality of this pope (*a Leo X. in a different way*) had no limits. Greeks, Cypriots, Germans, Irish, English, Scotch (in these three points Gregory was another Saint Pius V.), Poles, Muscovites, Indians, Japanese, Armenians, Maronites, Spaniards, Hungarians, Illyrians, Bohemians, Moravians, Lithuanians, Transylvanians, Saxons, Burgundians, Swiss, French, Italians, the poor of Jerusalem,§ all Christendom, the learned and the ignorant, the noble and the plebeian, virgins, married women and widows, orphans, *the pious places*, and religious communities and

* Novaes, viii., p. 91.

† Ibid., p. 92.

‡ In his *Notes on Chacon*, vol. iv., col. 6.

§ The secret of this last alms was confined to four Franciscan custos or wardens—Jeremias de Brescia, Anthony of the Angels, of Apulia, John of Bergamo, and Angelo Stella, of Venice. The last was employed in 1582 to report the proceedings of a council assembled at Cairo, in which the pope attempted to bring back the Copts to unity, and induce them to abjure Euty-chianism.

private families received their portion of that treasury of liberality which may truly be called Gregorian. What a prodigy that these coffers were ever pouring out, yet God never left them empty! Might one not say, that that golden star enriched the whole world?

We dwell with delight on the reign of a pontiff who, on so many accounts, must be held up as a model to the future ages promised to the Church. We have appreciated his profound knowledge of the human heart, and that great ability which could both consult science and direct it so as to make it bear undying fruits.*

Gregory XIII., an administrator probably unequalled, would never impose new taxes. He levied only those which had been imposed before his pontificate; and he even suppressed some very heavy burdens. And yet, after throwing to the children of Christ that salutary manna that we cannot sufficiently characterize, he left a treasure of seven hundred thousand crowns, and not a trace of debt due by the State; and yet he had built fountains on the squares of Navona, the Pantheon, and Del Popolo. He had also fortified Ancona, a precaution which no pontiff should neglect. To him Rome owes the bridge upon the Paglia, called the *Ponte Centino*, near Aquapendente; and we have seen his armorial bearings shamefully mutilated by ignorant soldiers, who pretended to have come to restore the Roman republic. He conferred many favors upon Civita Vecchia, where he passed his autumns. At page 29 of a *Discours Politique sur l'Etat de Rome* (12mo, Paris, 1626), composed by order of Cardinal Richelieu, we read: "The strong places in the States of the Church are very numerous, considering the situation and nature of the places. Few however are scientifically built. Pope Pius IV. began to fortify the part of Rome called the *Borgo*, in which are the church and palace of Saint Peter, where the popes reside, and the castle of Saint Angelo. Gregory XIII. continued this design at a great expense."

Rome, perhaps, knows not how much she owes to Gregory XIII. His benefits seem to exceed the power of one man. We may once more remark that no censurable exaction brought all this money into the Roman treasury, of which he made such noble uses. All these resources were due to a wise direction of the finances, and a vigilant watch over the Datary, for it is known that the penitentiary received no reward. The revenues of Rome were able to meet all this munificence, and that noble mother of so many

* Gregory never allowed his dinner to cost over half a dollar. If abusing this, his servants brought him scarcely enough to eat, he would smilingly say that they could evidently economize even on his half-dollar. "Moreover," he added, "sobriety, whether intended or not, is always a great virtue, and most seasonably in our age." Like Louis XIV. and Colbert, he had a list of literary men of all countries whom he assisted, to the number of forty-seven, and he would never receive replies of thanks.

sons scattered upon the earth, returned by this care of her children more than she received from their piety, and from their desire to propagate the glory of that capital of the Christian world. However, we will give the secret to all governments that are inclined to be prudent and generous. By the aid of the first savings a treasury was commenced. That treasury at the fitting time was opened, and magnificently lavished gold, which, subsequently, alms, gratitude, and the natural movement of a well-administered State in a time of abundance, promptly restored to the public chest, leaving it only on fitting occasion to bring blessings upon the sovereign, and to secure the happiness of the people, who were generally happy under the pontificate of Gregory.*

* Some new facts appear in his medals. I will first mention the three medals in my own collection.

1. GREGORIUS XIII. PONT. MAXIMVS ; rev., SVPER HANC PETRAM. In the exergue: ROMA—*Upon this stone. Rome.* The façade of Saint Peter's, far advanced ; the centre dome and the two side domes complete, but no terrace or statues.

2. UGONOTORVM STRAGES, 1572—*The massacre of the Huguenots, 1572.* This famous medal was struck at Rome on the first arrival of the terrible tidings. See our account of the affair.

The exterminating angel, armed with a sword, is in pursuit of retreating warriors ; some have already fallen ; one of them raises his broken sword ; halberts lie here and there upon the ground. Du Molinet, in his explanation, seems to think that Gregory approved that crime ; and he says that the angel, the minister of the divine vengeance, sufficiently explains the sense of the medal.

Bonanni speaks more at length of this catastrophe, which he calls a horrible butchery—*lanienam horribilem*. He declared that Vasari had orders to paint in the palace of the Vatican a monument of religion avenged, and a trophy for the defeat of heresy.

Bonanni adds : "Richard de Saint Victor teaches us that the angels, in the divine Scriptures, signify the divine inspiration. Jerome recognizes them as the ministers of the vengeance of God. In the fourth book of the Kings, chapter xix., and in Isaiah, chapter xxxvii., we read that "in one night the angel of the Lord destroyed a great number of Assyrians who were encamped around Jerusalem." Bonanni says nothing about the intervention of Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, and he is mistaken in attributing to Gregory that which was done without him, and, assuredly, in spite of him. A man so great, so noble, and so truly a pontiff as Gregory XIII could not but know that the duties of a pope remove him by thousands and thousands of leagues from those party angers, that fury of ambition, and those excesses which may enter into the mind of *man*, but which are contrary to the lofty views that come from God, and are proper to the successor of Saint Peter, to the vicar of Jesus Christ, that eternal *announcer* of clemency, of forgiveness, of sincerity, and of eternal benevolence. Doubtless God has permitted war, and that which has been undertaken in his name has often succeeded ; but he has never permitted treachery, fraud, and perfidious attack upon him who sleeps, trusting to a pledge of safety.

However, we must not forget the nature of those times. I am discussing, not Saint Bartholomew's day, as enacted in blood at the Louvre, but the news of the event as it arrived at Rome, still embittered against the Lutherans of Charles V. The medal of 1572—for the date is as precise as the fact of the massacre—is here an unchristian applause. When from this applause we omit the part taken by the cardinal of Lorraine, enacting as far as possible at Rome his share in the Saint Bartholomew at Paris ; and when we consider what belongs to the city which had scarcely repaired its ruined temples and habitations, and to the artists and the Italian fervor and imagination, but little will be left of spot or stain upon the robe of Gregory. Nations that resort to reprisals, it must be confessed, are at the least very unfortunate.

However, as in spite of all that can be said in candid defence, some will persist in condemning Rome for having commemorated such an atrocity by a medal to excite only horror, I will say

Yet all must be said; with so much praise some censure must be mingled. That innate kindliness, that angelic charity by which Gregory was distinguished, frequently held his hand when he ought to have chastised the brigands who infested the peninsula. Hiding themselves in various princi-

that at present it matters but little how much Rome may be reproached on this score. It is a different Rome now, and its mint is employed on more civilized principles. For a long time past an uninterrupted series of pontiffs reigns gloriously; and the spirit of true Christianity enlightens, inspires, and dictates with grandeur, with majesty, and with an unwearying gentleness all the resolutions of the Roman court.

And if it was desirable that that system should be perfected, it has been and will still more be perfected under the reigning pontiff Pius IX. Those details upon the medal of 1572 seemed indispensable. It was a repugnant but necessary duty.

3. The third medal was struck on account of the reformation of the calendar.

There are the words: ANNO RESTITUTO, M.DLXXXII.—*The year restored, 1582.* In the field a ram's head, from which, on either side, hangs a garland of flowers; below, the figure of a serpent with his tail in his mouth, the emblem of eternity. The head of the ram is supported by a tress of flowers elegantly intertwined; between the head and the tress, a star.

This medal is much better engraved in Bonanni than in du Molinet. The ram's head indicates the beginning of the year.

Bonanni sees in the serpent a dragon, which constitutes the arms of Gregory, a symbol of the eternity assured to the work ordered by that great pontiff. A pope alone could effect so necessary a reform, and his pre-eminence shines in the act as in so many others which are not to be expected in this world, excepting from the sovereign pontiff.

Du Molinet gives also—

1. VERVS DEI CVLTVS—*The true worship of God.* A female figure holding a medallion, inscribed, ROM. EC.—*The Church of Rome.* Another female figure holding the keys; at her feet books, open and closed; on her left the tiara, on a book.

2. TVTVM REGIMEN. ROMA—*A secure government.* Rome helmeted, and seated, holds in the right hand a winged dragon (the heraldic cognizance of the pope); in the left a sword. On a table a crozier, a mitre, and a crucifix; on the left, pikes, clarions, standards.

3. PROVIDENTIA CHRISTI—*The providence of Christ.* A standing figure with one hand on the helm and the other holding a lance.

4. ET IN NATIONES GRATIA SPIRITVS SANCTI—*The grace of the Holy Spirit diffused over the nations.* Saint Peter preaching. Temple, crowd of the converted. The Holy Ghost, at the right of the Temple.

5. SECVRTAS POPVLI ROMANI—*The security of the Roman people.* A man with a staff tranquilly sleeping. A tripod. A restitution of a medal of Paul III.

6. RESTAVRAVIT—*He has restored.* Bridge over the Tiber, which has been successively called the Sacred Bridge, the Sublician Bridge, the Palatine Bridge, and Saint Mary's Bridge. At the middle of the bridge a statue of the Blessed Virgin. Tiber rising from the stream, resting on an urn. The bridge was carried away by an inundation in 1598, under Clement VIII.

7. IN ÆQVITATE ABVNDANTIA—*Abundance in equity.* Abundance, with the scales and a cornucopia.

8. MAGNIFICENTIÆ REGNI TVI—*To the magnificence of thy reign.* Distributed to pilgrims in the year of Jubilee, 1595. The holy door open, above; the Holy Ghost. Beneath the door an angel in the air sounding a trumpet: in the exergue, ROMA.

9. INVENI HOMINEM SECVNDVM COR MEVM—*I have found a man after mine own heart.* In the exergue, JVBILATE DEO, OMNIS TERRA (Ps. lxxxvii. 4.)—*Let all the earth rejoice to God.* Gregory—under the figure of David—crowned, kneels before a tree. The harp is at the feet of the king. Above, God in a cloud.

10. LEVATA ONERE PATRIA—*The country relieved of a burden.* Bologna complained of having a citadel which might injure her liberty. Gregory ordered it to be razed. Pallas herself presides over that labor; the earth is covered with wreck; a knight's armor lies there neglected.

palities, they seemed to have taken Rome to be their privileged residence. Gregory did not punish these miscreants with sufficient severity. This glory, and it was no trifling one, was reserved to Sixtus V. History accused that pope of undue severity: hence the necessity of adding here that Gregory was too merciful. Mercy and justice should go hand in hand.

It must be admitted that if the strong will of Sixtus V., relative to the police and public tranquillity, a self-will somewhat exaggerated, had existed in Gregory XIII., he would not at the same time have displayed those sweet, those peaceable, those angelic virtues, and that in some sort complete piety, which render this reign one of the most brilliant, the most affecting, and the most admirable of the Roman pontificate.

The Holy See was vacant thirteen days.

As Gregory was a Bolognese, the medal says: "The country of the prince is delivered from the burdens of war."

11. IN NOM. IESV SVRGE ET AMB. In the exergue, 1575—*In the name of Jesus, rise and walk.* Gregory, under the figure of Saint Peter, tells the paralyzed to rise and walk.

12. IVENTVTI GERMANICÆ—*To the German youth.* Gregory founded a college for young Germans. He thought it his duty to offer that asylum to a country which saw the birth of the heresies of Luther. A superior of the Society of Jesus receives eight young men, clad in the habit of the order. On the top of the building, the dragon of Gregory's arms.

13. GREGORIANA D. NAZIANCENO DICATA—*The Gregorian Chapel, dedicated to the Saint of Nazianzen.* Beneath the chapel, a portion of the vault of the temple prolonged.

14. VIGILAT—*He watches.* The dragon of Gregory at the gate of the palace.

15. VIA AB VRBE AD SACRAM VRBEM EXPEDITA—*Way opened from Rome to the sacred city.* Gregory opened a wide convenient road from Rome to Loretto, the existing one being often impracticable on horseback or on foot. The Santa Casa of Loretto is seen surmounted by a Madonna and child.

16. SEMINANS IN BENEDICTIONIBVS DE BENEDICTIONIBVS ET METIT—*Sowing blessings, he reaps blessings.* In the field, in other characters, are the words: ITE, OPERAMINI IN VINEA DOMINI—*Go and labor in the vineyard of the Lord.* Gregory on the throne, crowned, blessing missionaries.

17. GREGORIUS XIII., PONT. MAX. COLLEGIVM SOCIETATIS IESV OMNIUM NATIONVM SEMINARIVM PRO SVA IN CHRISTIANAM RELIGIONEM ET ORDINEM ILLUM PIETATE A FVNDAMENTIS EXTIRXVIT ET DOTAVIT, AN. SAL. CIODCLXXXII. PONT. SVI. X ROMÆ—*Gregory XIII., sovereign pontiff, erected and endowed this college of the Society of Jesus, a seminary for all nations, and endowed it from his love of religion and of that order, in the year of salvation 1582, and of his pontificate the tenth.* The inscription is arranged in fifteen lines, which fill the field and the exergue. This refers to the celebrated Germanic college, proudly called the College of all Nations.

Many other medals were struck with reference to that college. Gregory's affection for the fathers of the society never cooled for an instant during his whole reign.

18. S. P. Q. R.—*The Senate and People of Rome.* Façade of the capitol as it still is, but with the Rome triumphing.

19. AB REGIBVS IAPONIOR. PRIMA AD ROMAN. PONT. LEGATIO ET OBEDIENTIA—*First legation of obedience of the Japanese kings to the Roman pontiffs.*

20. DOMINE ADIVVA NOS—*Lord, help us.* The bark of the Church, the Lord at the helm; the companions of Jesus Christ implore his aid.

21. EGO SVM LVX MUNDI—*I am the light of the world.* Head of Christ. Executed with great care. It has been repeated, with this inscription: BEATI QVI CVSTODIVNT VIAS MEAS—*Blessed are they who keep my ways.* The head of our Lord is surrounded by a halo.

231. SIXTUS V.—A. D. 1585



SIXTUS V. (Felix Peretti) was born December 15, 1521, at *Grotte à Mare*, in the diocese of Fermo, in the March. It was a place almost deserted, to which the Peretti family had retired after quitting Montalto, in order, as it is said, to avoid prosecution for debt. The common opinion is that Peretto de' Peretti, Felix's father, was a peasant of Montalto. Two authors, Galli and Tempesti, rejecting this opinion, say that Peretto was of noble family; but we know what value to place on genealogies got up after a man's rise to greatness.

At the age of seven, Felix was permitted to study in the Augustinian convent, of *Grotte à Mare*, and at ten he took the Franciscan habit in the convent of that order at Montalto, and continued to study with exemplary zeal.

In 1538 he was sent to Pesaro, for his course of philosophy; in 1539 he was sent to the convent of Jési; in 1540, after remaining at Rolla Contrada, he went to Ferrara, and thence, in 1543, to Bologna, as professor. A year after, he taught canon law in the convent of Rimini. He fulfilled the same functions at Sienna. In 1547 he received the priesthood, and became doctor on the 26th of July, 1548.

Named regent at Sienna, he was appointed to maintain the public theses, and then taught successively at Naples and Venice, often preaching in both those cities.* He was subsequently appointed theologian to Cardinal Ridolfo Pio. Then Pope Pius IV. made him the theologian of the General Council of Trent, and councillor of the holy office, an office then for the first time conferred upon a Franciscan. At forty years of age he was procurator-general of his order. In 1565 he became theologian of Cardinal Buoncompagni, legate in Spain. In 1566, Felix was elected vicar-general of the Conventuals. Pius V., on the 17th day of May, 1570, named him cardinal. The works of Saint Ambrose, badly printed, needed revising. Cardinal Montalto successfully undertook this great work, and continued to devote his time to it after he became pontiff.†

* I draw these facts from a manuscript in the library of Prince Augustine Chigi, one of the most eminent men in Rome for talent and learning. The manuscript is an autograph of Father Felix, stating where he studied, taught, and preached, detailing all his labors as a Conventual.

† This great work appeared from 1579 to 1585, in five vols. folio. It was reprinted in Paris, in 1604, in two volumes. The revision of Pope Sixtus was so esteemed in France, that it was



PIRELLA GÖTTSCHE LOWE

SIXTUS IV.

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After the funeral of Pope Gregory XIII., the Mass of the Holy Ghost was chanted. Muretus delivered the sermon for the election of the new pope, and on the 21st of April, 1585, forty-two cardinals entered into conclave. In that number were included many *Papabili*, cardinals worthy of the papacy.

Among the cardinals created by Paul III., Farnese and Savelli were most distinguished; among those of Pius IV., Sirlet, Paleotto, Saint George, and Santa Croce; among those of Pius V., Montalto, Cesi, and San Severina; among those of Gregory XIII., Torres, Mondovi, Santi Quattro, and Castagna. After various unsuccessful attempts, Cardinal Torres was taken up, and he was so beloved by the sacred college, that, had he been present, there is little doubt but that he would have been elected. At all events, some electors showed a desire to present his name again, but several eminent personages proposed Cardinal Montalto. The project was successful; forty-one cardinals named him pope by acclamation, on Wednesday, the 24th of April, 1585. This time, again the mode of adoration was followed, without secret scrutiny. To please Cardinal San Sisto, and to honor the memory of Sixtus IV., also a Conventual, and, like himself, risen from a low degree, Montalto took the name of Sixtus V. This pope remarked that Wednesday had always been an auspicious day for him: on Wednesday he took the habit, and on Wednesday he was created general of his order, cardinal, and pope; he was, also, crowned on a Wednesday.

When he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran, the bridle of his horse was held by one of the Japanese ambassadors then at Rome.*

To show his gratitude to the Buoncompagni who had earnestly and faithfully supported him in the conclave, Sixtus confirmed James Buoncompagni in the post of general of the Church.

When the pope was asked to throw money to the people, he replied: "But that causes accidents; the strongest and not the neediest get money thus scrambled for." He caused proper sums to be distributed in the houses of the poor and in hospitals. It was proposed to him to give a banquet to the cardinals. He replied: "We should not like a repetition of the *Pasquinade* addressed to Octavius Augustus, who, during a scarcity, gave a banquet to the Roman senators. A pressing scarcity exists in our city to-day, and the people must have no reason to complain of our want of natural respect in their misery."

reprinted almost every ten years up to 1742. One of the finest editions is that of the Benedictines, which was reprinted at Venice in 1751, and again, with new appendices, in 1782.

* It was a custom of the day to compose anagrams on names. William Bianco, from the words Sextus V. de Montalto, made this anagram: *Tantas exules domuit*—He has subdued so many exiles. Cardinal de Vendome, from the same words, only substituting the word Quintus for the cipher V., formed the following anagram: *Mores tutus in quo stat lex Dei*—Secure us the mountain where reigns the law of God.

Venetian ambassadors having come to compliment the pope, he granted the republic various privileges; among others, that of applying the third part of the income of ecclesiastical benefices towards the expenses of the Turkish war.

Sixtus first introduced the custom of publishing a jubilee at the commencement of a pontificate, to obtain from God a successful and wholesome government of the Christian republic.

The Japanese ambassadors, who had taken the oath of obedience in the name of their sovereigns, were about to return home. Sixtus celebrated Mass privately before them, gave them communion, created them Knights of the Golden Spur,* enrolled them among the patricians of Rome, admitted them to his table at the city of Montalto,† and gave them presents for their monarchs, gave three thousand crowns to each of the young princes, and inspired them with so much love for the Holy See, that on their arrival at home they took the habit of the order, and labored courageously in the vineyard of the Lord, which the emperor of Japan, Taicosama, had begun to persecute.‡

Italy was full of thieves and brigands. Malefactors of every description odiously afflicted the peninsula. After committing a crime in one principality, they fled, as in the time of Gregory XIII., into another. Sixtus confirmed the constitutions of his predecessors against all criminals, and especially the laws of Gregory XIII., against hired assassins, bandits, and incendiaries. In one year from the date of the commencement of severe proceedings, Italy was purged of that abominable horde of miscreants.

The name of Sixtus V. at last inspired a wholesome terror.§

Other cares employed the mind of Sixtus V. He created a commission of three cardinals, charged to watch over the interests of wards, young maidens, and all who had to complain of infractions of the laws.

The cardinal-commissioners were to render to the pope an exact account of their operations.

Time and the barbarians had destroyed the numerous aqueducts for supplying Rome with water from the surrounding mountains. Those prodigious works of the republic and of the Cæsars were no longer entire, and every neighboring proprietor, and even the passing wayfarer, had helped to displace, and, as it were, to root up from the ground those bold aqueducts which had rendered water so abundant in ancient Rome. Some authors

* An order then held in honor. The number of the knights having been too freely multiplied, it lost its lustre. Gregory XVI. restored it by giving it its old name, the Order of Saint Sylvester.

† Now called Negroni.

‡ Novæ, viii., p. 108.

§ Even to this day they menace children with the name of Sixtus, and the little ones grow as still as mice when they hear it.

have maintained the number of aqueducts to have been eighteen ; but there are confusions in the modern plans, and it is safer to limit the number to nine. The first and the largest, according to Frontinus, as quoted by Pansa in his *Vatican Library*, was that of the new Anienus ; the second was that of Claudius, perfected by that emperor. It brought water from the sources of the Curzia and Cerulea, on the road to Subiaco, a distance of forty miles. For thirty-five miles the water ran in a limpid stream in a subterranean canal, passing for a space of thirteen miles under arches, and was from time to time stopped in ninety-two reservoirs, that it might deposit any sediments injurious to health. Thus confined and purified it parted with some noxious substances, and with the natural impetuosity given by so long a course. The third was the Julian aqueduct, between the Saint Lawrence gate and the trophies of Mars, and brought the water from Frascati, a village about twelve miles from Rome, running seven miles and a half of that distance under an arched way. The fourth and fifth aqueducts were called Tepulo and Marzio. The sixth was the old Anienus ; the seventh, the Aqua Vergine, heretofore mentioned, the only one which remains at this day ; the eighth, the Appia ; and the ninth, the Alseatina.

For a long time water had been sold in Rome. It was drawn from private wells and fountains, and carried about in barrels on the backs of asses. The famous tribune, Cola di Rienzi was the son of a woman who lived by this traffic. This custom lasted up to the reign of Sixtus V., who built the aqueduct called from him the *Acqua Felice*. His example was imitated by Paul V., who brought into Rome the water of Lake Bracciano ; and by Clement XII., who brought in the waters of Trevi, already successfully collected by Nicholas V. and Pius IV.

Sixtus seeing that the supply of the Quirinal quarter absolutely depended upon the water merchants, who were often extortionate, declared that he would bring water into the loftiest houses in Rome, and that he would be daunted neither by the difficulty of the enterprise nor by the expense.

Engineers well skilled in hydraulics examined for springs capable of supplying those quarters which lacked water.

There were vast springs at about twenty miles from Rome, near an old castle called *Agra Colonna*. Appius Claudius Crassus had already brought this water into some of the lower parts of Rome ; but subsequently, forming a lake, it lost itself in the river Teverone.

Sixtus purchased the source at an expense of twenty-five thousand gold dollars, and swelled it by several other waters, including the mouths of the Marzia water, the salubrity of which was vaunted by the ancients. Not content with that first care, he determined upon a personal inspection of the places ; and he went thither accompanied only by Cardinals Montalto, Azzolino, and Rusticucci, so that his usual attendants should not be bur-

densome to Prince Mark Antony Colonna, who was to entertain the pope; and he blessed a project which was to be useful to many, without injury to any one.

The Romans, in their ill-timed jeers, for the aqueduct was a permanent benefit to the city, said that the work would not be finished till the days of their grandchildren; and those same Romans, to their shame, beheld it fully and magnificently finished in 1588, only three years after. So powerful is the action of genius, firm in its noble and strong determination!

The water runs for thirteen miles in subterranean channels, as was done in the time of the Cæsars, and seven miles through arched viaducts, equal in height to those of ancient times.

The pope then erected a fountain of travertine, a yellowish white tufa, on the square of Saint Susanna, at the baths of Diocletian, where the water falls into three marble basins, ornamented with two statues. One statue represents Moses striking with his rod the rock from which the living waters leap before the parched Israelites. The sculptor of this statue of Moses, Prosper de Brescia, having had the misfortune to miss the correct proportions, and being criticised by the best artists in Rome, actually died of grief, though he was only twenty-eight years of age.* The other statue, from the chisel of John Baptist della Porta, represents Aaron bringing the multitude to the waters.

There is, besides, a bas-relief, by Flaminius Vacca, of Gedeon selecting his soldiers by their way of drinking. By the bull *Suprema cura regiminis*, Sixtus ordered that the water thus brought to Rome should be called *Aqua Felice*.

Amidst those ideas of vast magnificence, Sixtus directed his attention to the economy of discipline and divine worship.

From the primitive times of the Church, bishops, before they were consecrated, swore, according to a pious custom, to visit in person, or if personally unable, by deputy, the tombs of Saint Peter and Saint Paul at Rome. At the same time they reported to the pope, or to a congregation, the state of the flock intrusted to their pastoral care, and received instructions calculated to render their ministry the more efficacious and consoling. The custom was falling into oblivion, but Sixtus, in view of the evils hence resulting, issued a bull, subsequently confirmed by Benedict XIV., requiring all bishops to visit the holy tomb, and pay obedience to the vicar upon earth of our Lord Jesus Christ. The time at which this was to be done was determined by the distance. For Italy and the adjacent islands, the bishops were to be in Rome, at furthest, within the third year after their consecration; the bishops of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, England,

* The statue is not more favorably judged now.

and other provinces beyond the German Ocean, and the Baltic, and those in all the islands of the Mediterranean, were to be in Rome within the fourth year of their consecration. Bishops of more remote parts of Europe, of the African coasts, and the New World, were to come in the fifth year; the bishops of Asia and other new-discovered regions, eastern and western, northern and southern, all over the world, were to visit Rome, at furthest, within the tenth year; and the visits of all bishops were to be renewed at times in like proportion to distances. The pope further commanded, that every bishop, at the moment of his consecration, should swear to the same holy observance; and that whoever transgressed the rule should never afterwards enter his church, administer it either as to temporals or spirituals, or receive the fruits of his bishopric.

What an imposing sight that, of this great pope thus solemnly taking possession of the whole Catholic world!

At present, this bull is not in entire operation as concerns the visit of the bishops, but it is only the pope who can dispense with it. The want of agreement is an evil, though occasionally circumstances may render it a benefit. For all that, it is certain that a bishop who has been at Rome possesses in a high degree a kind of experience which cannot but do him personal honor, edify his flock, nobly instruct his conscience, and increase the power of his sacred teaching.

In the month of September, 1585, Sixtus, taking part in the affairs of the league, excommunicated Henry, king of Navarre, and the prince de Condé, declaring them to have incurred censures; and then he ordered all the bishops of France and Navarre to promulgate that bull.

Henry III., king of France, would not publish it. Sixtus, of an imperious temper, and especially impatient of affronts, remonstrated warmly with the prince, and still more so with the apostolic nuncio, Monsignor James Ragazzoni, whom the pope accused of lukewarmness in the matter. He instantly recalled Ragazzoni, and sent in his stead Monsignor Fabio Mirto Frangipani, a Neapolitan, archbishop of Nazareth, who had formerly been nuncio to that kingdom under Pius V. Sixtus summoned to his presence the French ambassador at Rome, to announce his intention of recalling Ragazzoni and sending Frangipani in his stead, so that the king of France might be forewarned of that change. The ambassador, Pisani, having replied that France would refuse to admit Frangipani, who was a partisan of the league, Sixtus replied emphatically: "As long as we have breath we will not appoint our nuncios at the dictation of other princes. We have appointed Mirto Frangipani, and it is our will and pleasure that he go to Paris. If he be not received there, then we, and not others, will direct him to return to Rome; and then we know what steps to take." Mirto Frangipani was in fact not received by the king, who ordered his ambassador at

Rome to make his excuses to the pope, alleging that Mirto was a subject of Spain. The French ambassador accordingly requested an audience, but the guards at the palace refused him admittance; and on that very day he received orders to leave Rome on the instant, and the Papal States in a few days. This dispute lasted until the king of France consented to receive Mirto, and then Sixtus consented to receive the king's ambassador, Pisani.

The winter of 1585 to 1586 was very severe, and the people suffered much from both cold and scarcity. Sixtus had ordered that grain should be sold at a low price, but the prudent measures that he had decreed had not been carried out, and the conservators of the senate of Rome were guilty of negligence. When they presented themselves to wish the pontiff a happy new year, he interrupted their compliment by saying: "We perceive that you are determined to lose the little that the kindness of the Holy See has left to you, and also what little ideas you have of the true principles of government. You still have charge of all relating to meat and bread, and your conduct strongly inclines us to take that from you, in order that the poor may not, to our great displeasure, suffer so much by your neglect. Do you understand?—(*Ave te capito?*)"

Subsequently, learning that many wealthy men who had concealed stores of grain, nevertheless kept buying bread in the markets, he ordered Cardinals Cesi, Gaetani, and Guastavillani, John Pellicano, senator of Rome, Benedict Giustiniani, treasurer-general, and Fabio de la Corgna, clerk of the chamber, to enforce an edict compelling all citizens to declare the quantity of grain in their possession, and to sell in open market the portion indicated by the edict. In fact, investigation brought to light so much grain, that abundance immediately prevailed.

The carnival of Rome was a constant occasion of insult, robbery, murder, and conflagrations. Determined to bring these city pleasures within the bounds of order, Sixtus erected a gibbet at each end of the Corso, with the rope hanging ready, declaring that whoever committed a murder and avowed it, should be hanged on the spot. As long as Sixtus lived, miscreants were kept in awe by those gibbets, always erected before them during the carnival, and there was no further occasion to threaten the populace with so terrible a justice. In the course of that year, the Holy Father approved the congregation of the regular clerks, ministers of the sick, instituted at Rome by Saint Camillus de Lellis, and permitted them to wear a red cross on the right side of their habit. The same rule was approved and confirmed by Gregory XIV., who erected it into an *order* on the 1st of October, 1591, adding to the previous three vows a fourth—to assist the dying. It was afterwards reformed by Clement VIII., in 1600.

On the 5th of May, the pope approved the congregation of Saint Mary

des Feuillants, of the strictest Cistercian observance, of the order of Saint Benedict, founded near Toulouse, in 1577, by John de la Barrière.

But nothing can compare with the magnificence with which Sixtus endeavored to embellish the public places of Rome. Obelisks were first set up in Egypt. Generally, they are monoliths, single stones, cut into a pyramidal form, and of wonderful height and size. This Egyptian grandeur excited the envy of the idolatrous masters of Rome, and as obelisks could not be formed on the Italian peninsula, which had no quarries of oriental granite, the Cæsars, at great cost, brought obelisks from Egypt into Italy.

Forty-two of these monuments, large and small, were brought by the emperors into the capital of the world. Noncorius, son of Sesostris, had erected one a hundred and fifty cubits high. A portion of that monument, still seventy-five feet high, was brought from Egypt to the Vatican at Rome, by order of the Emperor Caligula, and dedicated to the memory of Augustus and Tiberius.

Under Sixtus V. this obelisk was found half buried, near the sacristy of the Basilica of Saint Peter. Nicholas IV. is said to have thought of replacing it on the spot it occupied in ancient Rome, and Julius II. and Paul III. to have discussed the subject with Michael Angelo Buonarroti, who declined to attempt it, deterred by the expense and the danger of its being broken in its removal. Sixtus admitted no difficulties in even the most arduous projects. In truth, he encountered obstacles which seemed insurmountable to all but him. Pliny tells us, in his third book, that the emperors employed twenty thousand men, with costly machinery, to manage the enormous weight of the monolith. What Pliny says was enough to daunt the Holy Father, but he publicly declared that he had determined to prosecute the work. As soon as the pontifical intention was known, more than five hundred architects arrived in Rome, each with his own project. One of them, Bartholomew Ammanati, sent by the grand duke of Tuscany, was presented to the pope, who asked him how long it would take him to remove and set up the obelisk. The artist replied that it would take a year to plan and prepare the machinery and iron-work. Sixtus, with his usual impetuosity, replied: "A year! a year! You will not do for us;—*Non fate per noi!*" At the same moment he summoned Dominic Fontana, an architect of great ability from Como, and, by liberal offers, induced him to undertake the great removal. The pope promised liberal payment, but demanded celerity of action. Fontana commenced by ascertaining, by fragments of other obelisks, the weight of a cubic palm* of that particular granite. Then having measured the height of the obelisk, which he found to contain eleven thousand cubic palms, he found that the obelisk weighed 963,537 pounds.

* The Roman cubic palm is about nine inches, English, each way.

To this weight he added that of the machine necessary to remove and uphold it, and he found that the united weight of the machinery and obelisk was 1,043,537 pounds. And then he ascertained how many men and horses would be required to lift, move, and set up the obelisk; and being of as resolute a temper as the magnanimous pope himself, he commenced his work.

When every thing was in its place, on the 30th of April, 1586, nine hundred workmen confessed and communicated before dawn in the Basilica of Saint Peter's, and then each of them was stationed at his appointed place. The architect ascended an elevated scaffold, with a speaking-trumpet, with which to give the signal to the workmen. Raised in twelve movements, the obelisk was set up the same day, at the hour of twenty, Italian time; equivalent to three o'clock in the afternoon. On the instant, there was one universal burst of joy. The people, attracted to the spectacle, could not restrain their applauses or even their tears. The workmen and the people alike rushed to Fontana and bore him to the pope, who was present, amid the sound of drums, and of all the bells of Rome, as on a day of public festivity, the cannon of the castle of Saint Angelo adding its thunders.

During the work an incident occurred which it may not be useless to insert. In order that the signals of the architect might be heard,* Sixtus had forbidden any one to speak under pain of death, to prevent all confusion while Fontana was giving his orders. But at the moment that he was watching the play of the machinery, and when the vast crowd stood awed into deepest silence, a Genoese of the Bresca family of San Remo, a seaman, seeing that the windlasses were taking fire from the intense friction, and that, consequently, the obelisk might fall, entailing its own destruction and the death of many, dared to cry out: "Water to the ropes!" (*Aqua alle corde!*†) Fontana saw the danger, and moistened the ropes. Bresca was instantly arrested. He asked to be taken before the pope. All trembled for his life, for Sixtus never pardoned disobedience of his orders. But on this occasion, Sixtus, even greater than himself, seeing that Bresca had prevented the ruin of the immense work, publicly embraced the Genoese, and told him to name his own reward. Then Bresca asked that he and his descendants might have the privilege of providing the apostolic palace with the palms for Palm Sunday, which Sixtus immediately granted. And the Bresca family of San Remo, a place fertile in palms, annually sends to Ripa Grande the branches necessary for the apostolic palace, with a hundred and twenty others that are separately sent by the bishop of Albenga and the Chapter of San Remo.

After a week's rest, the work was resumed. The obelisk, now erect and

* Novaes, viii., p. 139.

† It has been said that there is no historical authority for this incident; but it is painted in the frescoes of the Vatican library. (See the chambers leading to the Papyrus rooms.)

cleansed from the mud that had covered its base, was slightly inclined towards the earth. The curiosity of the spectators was so great, and the heat of the season so intense, that the work was not continued during the months of June, July, and August. On the 10th of September, after similar pious ceremoniēs, the work was resumed at sunrise. At three o'clock in the afternoon, after fifty-two turns of the windlasses, the obelisk was placed on four lions of gilt bronze. On the 27th the casings were removed, and the colossal monument of the glory of pagan Egypt was exposed to the gaze of Catholic Rome.

The pope, faithful to his promise to Fontana, created him a Knight of the Golden Spur, gave him a pension of ten thousand dollars to himself and his heirs, and five thousand dollars in hand, besides all the materials employed in the work.

While on the subject, we will here mention some other obelisks erected by Sixtus, without regard to chronology.

In the following year he set up, and dedicated to the Holy Cross, upon the square behind Saint Mary Major, the obelisk, sixty palms high, made by order of Smarra, or Efra, both kings of Egypt, and transported to Rome by the Emperor Claudius, and dedicated to the Mausoleum of Augustus. The barbarians had thrown it down and broken it. Sixtus V. had it restored and set up, in the place we have mentioned, by the same Dominic Fontana.

Then the pope set up and consecrated to the Holy Cross that obelisk which is on the square of Saint John Lateran. It is of red granite, and broken into three pieces. It is the largest of all. It was originally at Thebes, and dedicated to the sun by Rameses, king of Egypt. Constantine had it brought down the Nile to Alexandria. The emperor intended it for his new Rome, Constantinople; but Constans, his son, had it transported to the true Rome, on an immense raft impelled by three hundred rowers. It was brought up the Tiber to the Ostia gate, and set up in the great circus, where the barbarians overturned it.

In 1589 the same pope set up on the square *del Popolo* the fourth Egyptian obelisk, one hundred and three hands high, exclusive of the pedestal and cross. It had been erected originally by Sammesettus, king of Egypt (582 B. C.), and transported from Heliopolis to Rome by Augustus Cæsar, and dedicated to the sun, in the great circus. Sixtus dedicated it to the wood of the Holy Cross.

Amidst these works the heart of Sixtus was torn by the most poignant sufferings. He had endeavored to infuse into the soul of Elizabeth feelings more favorable to Mary, queen of Scots. All the Catholic sovereigns, and even some of the Protestant sovereigns, were entreated by him to interest themselves in Mary. But Elizabeth either made no reply, or vaguely inti-

mated that a violent party controlled her, and demanded the death of the queen of Scotland.

In the month of December, 1585, Mary knew that her condemnation was near at hand. She instantly wrote the following letter to her cousin the duke de Guise, thinking that that prince would forward it to Rome.

Mary was accused of complicity in a conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth. The pope's nuncio at Paris declared that from all he knew of the disposition of Mary she was incapable of such a crime. Her secret letter to the duke de Guise fully proves the feelings of resignation in which that princess dragged on a life of pain.

We transcribe the letter, because it is in some sort prefatory to that which Mary addressed to Sixtus V., an important letter which we shall also insert.

The letter to the duke de Guise, nephew, as she was niece, to Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, ran thus :

“My good cousin, if God, and under Him, you do not find means of immediate succor, all is over. The bearer of this will tell you the treatment I and my two secretaries (Naue and Curle) receive. For God's sake, succor and save them if you can. They accuse us of disturbing the State, and practising against the life of this queen, or of having consented thereto ; but I have truly told them that I know nothing about it. They say that they have found certain letters upon one Babington and one Charles Paget and his brother, which prove the conspiracy, and that Naue and Curle have confessed it. I say that they can confess no such thing, unless falsehood be wrung from them by torture. That is all that has been said to me, but I am informed that they greatly threaten you and your league, and are strengthening themselves with princes of their religion. I have declared to them that I, for my part, am resolved to die for mine, as she protested that she would die for the Protestant. And herein, my cousin, whatever rumors you may hear, spread abroad by their spies and false sowers of rumors, be assured that, God aiding, I shall die in the Roman Catholic Church, and for its maintenance ; and I shall do so firmly, and without dishonor to the race of Lorraine, accustomed to die for the maintenance of the faith. Have prayers to God said for me, and endeavor to obtain my body, that it may be laid in holy ground ; and have pity on my poor discharged servants, for I am deprived here of every thing, and expect poison or some other secret death, for they have rendered me so helpless here that this right hand is so swollen and painful that I can scarcely hold my pen or take food. But, in spite of that, my heart does not fail me, in the hope that He who created me as I am will give me grace to die in His cause, which is the sole happiness that I now desire in this world, in order that I may by that means obtain the mercy of God in the other world.

"I desire that my body may rest at Rheims* with my late dear mother, and my heart beside the late king my lord. The bearer will give you many particulars. If at this time there is any care for me, and any desire to see me again and avenge this quarrel that concerns the common cause,† much wonder will be felt at the agitation on this side. Adieu, my good cousin. Communicate all this to my ambassador; and if my son will not join in making this attempt on my behalf, I discard him, and I beg that my relatives will do the same. I beg you to remember me to Bernardino;‡ and tell him that I shall hold to all that I have promised my friends, and that they ought not to desert me.

"I recommend to you my poor desolated friends, and especially the three§ he knows of. God preserve you and all of ours for his service, and grant me pardon in this world and in the other!

"Your affectionate cousin,

"MARY, R."

On the 25th of September, the queen of Scots was removed to Fotheringay castle,|| never to leave it alive.

On the 6th of October, Elizabeth appointed a commission of forty-six, selected from the peers of the realm and the members of the council, to try the queen of Scotland. Summoned to appear before this commission, Mary refused to do so. After a long resistance, she, on the 12th of October, consented; but on condition that her protest against the right over her arrogated by Elizabeth should be inserted in the report of the proceedings. Then she energetically defended herself against all participation in any plot formed against the queen, and after refuting with great force the evidence adduced against her, from her correspondence with Babington, she de-

* Whither she had retired after the death of her husband, Francis II., of France.

† No one then thought of this common cause. Innovators could recall precedents, and the scaffold of Mary was followed by those of Charles I., Louis XVI., and Maria Antoinette. A gentleman of Edinburg, unable during the reign of terror to leave Paris, where he was from August 10, 1792, told me that he was an involuntary spectator of the death of Maria Antoinette. Tears and sobs betrayed him, and he hastened away from the street where they were applauding the frightful spectacle. I owe to this gentleman many references as to Mary. "With us," said he, "the great pursued royal victims; with you, the people. With us, a stiff pedantic aristocracy forbid our queen to be called Your Majesty, and styled her Your Grace, as though she were a duchess; with you, spectators ready to take the place of the executioner. With us, the most civilized part; with you, wretches that nothing can civilize. English as I am, I do not hesitate to say that our aristocrats, calm and unexcited, were more wicked, in proportion, in their brutality than your mob, maddened by brandy, gross and blunted in its fury.

‡ The Spanish ambassador in France, Don Bernard de Mendoza.

§ Good queen! Her servants had become her friends.

|| Fotheringay castle was situated near Peterborough, in Northamptonshire. It is said to be demolished. But the duchess of Devonshire, born a Hervey, told me that it was still inhabited, and that there is a fine picture there of the ill-fated Mary.

manded the production of the original letters, and also demanded, as of right, to be confronted with her two secretaries, Nau and Curle. Neither one nor the other was granted. It was at this session that she accused Walsingham of having plotted her death and that of her son, and of having himself formed that plot of which he endeavored to make her responsible. On the 25th of October, the commission met at Westminster, and pronounced sentence of death against the queen of Scotland, declaring, in addition, that this sentence was in no wise to prejudice the rights of James IV.

The English parliament, some days after, confirmed the sentence, and petitioned Elizabeth to carry it speedily into execution. The parliamentary butchers knew well that crowned heads, condemned to death, must not be left long in prison.

On the 14th of November, Elizabeth caused the parliament to be asked whether her life could not be placed in safety without the death of Mary Stuart. Both houses, with detestable hypocrisy and dastardly haste, declared it impossible.*

On the 19th of November, Lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk of the council, arrived at Fotheringay, to inform Mary of the sentence pronounced against her. She received them with dignified calmness, though protesting her innocence. At the same time she addressed a letter to Elizabeth.

Mary now determined to think of nothing but her salvation. She determined to write to Pope Sixtus V. ; that was to be the last thought from which nothing was to distract her mind. In the mean time, however, she determined to rid herself of all the interests that still surrounded her in this life, that she might be alone with God and with his vicar here below.

The following is her letter to Elizabeth. In the confusion of her ideas, Mary did not date her letter ; but all authors agree that it was written on the 20th of November.

“With all my heart, madam, do I render thanks to God that He, by means of your commands, hath pleased to put an end to my wearisome pilgrimage of life. I do not wish it prolonged, having already had too much time to learn its bitterness. Only, I implore your Majesty, that as I can expect no favor from the zealous ministers who hold the first places in the English State, I may obtain from you only, and not from others, these following kindnesses.

“First. Since I may not hope for a burial in England according to the Catholic solemnities, practised by the ancient kings, your ancestors and mine ; and since in Scotland they have violated and defiled the ashes of my fathers, grant that when my adversaries shall be sullied with my innocent

* Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. viii., p. 221.

blood, my domestics may bear my body to some consecrated earth, to be there entombed ; preferably in France, where repose the bones of the queen my most honored mother ; so that this poor body, which never knew repose so long as it was united with my soul, may find it at last when separated.

“Secondly. Because I fear the tyranny of those into whose power you have abandoned me, I beseech your Majesty that I may not be executed in any hidden place, but in the sight of my domestics and others, who may be witnesses of my faith and of my obedience to the true Church, and who may defend my last hours and my latest sighs from the false reports that my adversaries may circulate.

“In the third place, I request that my domestics, who have served me so faithfully through so much annoyance, may retire freely whither they may desire, and enjoy the modest benefices that my poverty has left them in my will.

“I conjure you, madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by our kindred, by the memory of Henry VII., our common father, and by the title of Queen, which I bear still, even unto death, not to refuse me such reasonable demands, and to assure me of them by a word from your own hand ; and thereupon I will die as I have lived,

“Your affectionate sister and prisoner,

“MARY, Queen.”*

Elizabeth made no reply. But this did not disturb Mary ; all her thoughts had now but one object, to recollect herself in God, and to write to Pope Sixtus V. Even for that, her servants had to keep vigilant watch at her chamber door, and she could only write at night. She wished to write a long letter, and nothing was prepared. At length, by devoting several nights to her religious task, she succeeded in writing with her own hand the letter which I am about to transcribe, which I have often touched and kissed at the Vatican, after reading it over and over.

JEHSUS MARIA.



“HOLY FATHER :

“Inasmuch as it has pleased God in his divine providence to order in his Church, that, under his crucified Son, Jesus Christ, all those who believe in him and are baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, should recognize as mother one Universal Catholic Church, whose commands, with the ten of the law, are to be kept under pain of damnation, it is requisite that all who aspire to eternal life should keep their gaze steadfastly fixed thereon. Therefore, I, born of royal parents, who were, as I

* Labanoff, vi. 444.

also was, baptized in it. Nay more, I, unworthy as I am, was from the breast called to the throne, and anointed and crowned by the authority and ministers of that Church, and nourished and reared under her wing and on her bosom, and by her instructed in the obedience owed by all Christians to him whom she, guided by the Holy Ghost, has elected according to the ancient decrees and order of the primitive Church to the Apostolical Holy See, as our head on earth, to whom Jesus Christ, in his last testament, speaking to Saint Peter of the foundation of this Church, to bind and to loose poor sinners from the bonds of satan, absolving us by him, or by his ministers for that appointed, from all crimes and sins that we commit and perpetrate, we being penitent, and as far as in us lies making satisfaction for them, after having confessed according to the ordinance of the Church. I call to witness my Saviour Jesus Christ, the Most Blessed Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary, all the angels and archangels, Saint Peter the shepherd, my peculiar intercessor and special advocate; Saint Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles; Saint Andrew, and all the saints in heaven, that I have always lived in that faith, which is that of the Universal Church Catholic, universal and Roman, in which being regenerated I have always intended to do my duty to the Holy Apostolic See, of which to my great regret I have not been able to render due testimony to Your Holiness, owing to my detention in this captivity, and my long sickness together. But now that it has pleased God, Most Holy Father, to permit for my sins and those of this unfortunate island, that I, the sole remnant of the blood of England and Scotland possessing that faith, should, after twenty years captivity, confined in a strait prison, and at length condemned to death by the States and heretical assembly of this country, as was this day communicated to me by Lord Buckhurst, Amias Paulet, my keeper, one Druw Drouri, knight, and a secretary named Beal, in the name of their queen, commanding me to prepare to receive death, and offering me one of their bishops and a dean for my consolation, a priest whom I had having been by them taken away and kept, I know not where, in their hands. I have considered it my first duty to return to God, and then with my own hand to signify to Your Holiness, in order that though I cannot make it known to you before my death, yet after the intent may be manifest to you; which is, the whole being duly sifted and considered, the subversion of their religion in this island, by me, they say, designed, and in my favor attempted, as well by their own subjects, obedient to your laws, and their declared enemies, as by foreigners, especially the Catholic princes and my family, who all (as they reproach) maintain my right to the crown of England, naming me as such in their prayers, by the churches and the ministers of the same in this nation, and professing obedience and subjection to me. I leave it to Your Holiness to consider the consequence of such a sentence, entreating you to

have prayers said for my poor soul [and] the souls of all those who are dead or dying, for the same or the like judgment, and even in honor of God to distribute our alms, and incite the kings to do the same, to those who survive this shipwreck. And my intention being, according to the constitution of the Church, to confess, do such penance as I can, and receive my Viaticum, if I can obtain my chaplain or other lawful minister to administer to me my said sacraments. In default whereof, with a contrite and penitent heart, I prostrate myself at the feet of Your Holiness, confessing myself to God and to his saints, and to this your paternity, most unworthy sinner and guilty of eternal damnation, if it do not please the good God, who died for penitent sinners, to have mercy ; entreating you to take this my general submission as a testimony of my intention to accomplish the remainder in the form ordered and commanded by the Church, and the salvation of my poor soul, between which and the justice of God I interpose the blood of Jesus Christ, crucified for me and for all sinners, the most execrable of whom I confess myself to be. Considering the infinite favors from him received, and by me so ill employed, which render me unworthy of pardon, if his promise made to all who heavy laden with sins and spiritual afflictions (come to him), to be by him afflicted, and his mercy did not embolden me, following his commandment to come to him carrying my burden, in order to be by him relieved of it, after the example of the prodigal son. Nay, more, voluntarily offering at the foot of his cross my blood for the adherence and faithful zeal I feel for his Church, without the restoration of which I never desire to live in this wretched world. Further still, Holy Father, leaving no worldly property, I entreat Your Holiness to intercede for me with the Most Christian king, that my dowry may be charged with the payment of my debts, and the wages of my poor desolate servants, and for an annual obit for my soul and for the souls of all our brethren and sisters who in this just quarrel have died. Never having had other private intention, as my poor servants present in my affliction will testify, and as I have willingly offered my life in their heretical assembly, to maintain my Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, and bring back the wanderers of this island, that is themselves, protesting that in that case I would voluntarily lay down all title and dignity of queen, and do all honor and service to theirs, if she would cease to persecute the Catholics, which I protest is the sole end at which I have aimed since I have been in this country ; and I have neither ambition nor desire to reign, nor to dispossess another for my sake, being, from sickness and long affliction, so enfeebled that I have no desire to exert myself in this world except in the service of his Church, and to regain the souls of this island to God. In testimony whereof, at my end I will not fail to prefer the public safety to the individual interest of flesh and blood. This makes me to entreat you, in my mortal regret for the perdi-

tion of my poor child, after endeavoring by all means to regain him, you being his true father in the faith, as Saint John the Evangelist was to the poor youth whom he took from among thieves, to assume in fine all authority over him that I can give to constrain him. And, if it please Your Holiness, call upon the Catholic king to assist you as regards temporals, and both join in endeavoring to ally him in marriage. And if God for my sins allow my son to be obstinate, as I know no Christian prince of these times who has labored so much for the faith, or who has so great means of reducing this island to the Catholic faith, as the Catholic king to whom I am much indebted, as it was he alone who aided me with both money and advice in my need, under your good pleasure, I leave all that I have of right or interest in the government of this kingdom, my son remaining obstinately out of the pale of the Church. Should he be regained, I desire that he be by that prince and my relations the Guises, aided, supported, and advised, enjoining him with my last will to hold them, next to you, as his fathers, and to marry with their advice, or into one of their houses; and if it so please God, I should like him to become the son-in-law of the Catholic king. Behold the secret of my heart, and the sum of my worldly desires, tending, as I understand it, to the good of his Church and to the discharge of my conscience, that I lay at the feet of Your Holiness, which I most humbly kiss.

"You will have a true account of the manner of my last hour and capture, and of all the proceedings both against me and by me, in order that, understanding the truth, the calumnies upon me of the enemies of the Church may by you be refuted and the truth known. And to this I dispatch the bearer to you, requesting for the end your benediction, and saying to you the last adieu, praying God long to preserve your person in his grace for the welfare of his Church and of your desolate flock, especially of this island, which I leave much erring and deluded, without God's mercy and your paternal care.

"From Fodringay, this xxiii November, 1586.

"Excuse my writing, on account of the weakness of my arm. I, to my great regret, hear evil reports about some who are near Your Holiness, who are said to receive bribes from this State to betray the cause of God, and that cardinals are implicated.

"I leave it to Your Holiness to examine into that, and to watch a certain Lord Saint John, who is strongly suspected of being a spy of the Great Treasurer. There are false brethren, and I answer that those whom I have recommended to you are altogether different.

"Of Your Holiness the most humble and devoted daughter,*

"MARY, queen of Scotland, dowager of France."

* This important document was sent from Rome to Prince Labanoff by Monsignor Marino

James Belton, archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador from Scotland to the Most Christian king, forwarded this letter to Louis Audouin, bishop of Cassano, who was then at Rome, and was to deliver it to the pope.

The Roman court, hearing of the condemnation of Mary, redoubled its efforts to save her. It is probable its earnest solicitations had the effect of suspending the execution of the sentence of death, for it did not take place until the following year, on the 8th of February according to the old calendar, and the 18th according to the new.

On the eve of the execution she wrote to Préau, her chaplain, thus: "I have to-day been attacked on my religion, and to receive its consolation. The heretics will learn by Bourgois* and others that I have faithfully made protestations of my faith, in which I will die. I have requested to have you to make my confession and receive my sacrament, which has been cruelly refused me, as well as the transport of my body and the power freely to make my will, or write any thing but through their hands and at the good pleasure of their mistress. In default of this, I confess in general the grievousness of my sins, as I had intended to confess to you in particular, begging you, in the name of God, to watch and pray with me this night for the satisfaction of my sins, and to send me your absolution and your pardon for all the offences I have given to you. I will endeavor to see you in their presence, as they have granted my major-domo, Andrew Melville; and if permitted to do so, I will on my knees ask your benediction in the presence of them all. Advise me of the most appropriate prayers for this night and for to-morrow morning, for the time is short, and I have not leisure to write. I will recommend you to the king—I have no more leisure."

Marini, on the fifteenth of the calends of January, 1838, the eleventh indiction, and the eighth year of the pontificate of our most Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI.

Monsignor Marini, who, in 1811, had brought it back from Paris, whither General Radet took it, attests in his certificate that he caused the copy to be made from the autograph deposited in the archives of the Vatican. In the copy, says Monsignor Marini, we have scrupulously copied the orthography and the accents upon the signature. I will add that I saw that letter in 1824. Monsignor Marini was good enough to show it to me. The paper is common—the coarse paper used in the public offices. The letter contains four closely written pages, and the signature is at the foot of the crowded fourth.

When I was at Rome it was supposed that this letter contained secrets of State and confessions. The letter really is just as I have given it, and such as it appears in the magnificent work of the Prince Labanoff (2d edition), entitled "*Letters, Instructions, and Memoirs of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, &c.*," accompanied by a chronological summary by Prince Alexander Labanoff. 8 vols., 8vo. London, Charles Dolman, 61 New Bond-street, 1844. (The queen's letter is in vol. vi., p. 447.)

On comparing the orthography of this letter with that of the letters to the duke of Guise and Elizabeth, a difference will be perceived, these two letters being from collections in which the copyists have adopted modern orthography, while the letter to Sixtus V. is copied exactly from the queen's autograph, which renders it the more precious.

* The queen's physician.

A copy of this letter was sent to Rome by Préau, the almoner, who had received it. The vicegerent of that city had ordered prayers for the queen in all the churches.

The faithful chaplain succeeded during the night in making his way to Mary's servants, who introduced him for a moment into her chamber, when he gave her communion with a Host that Pius V., in his pious solicitude for the queen, had formerly sent her.

Préau subsequently addressed to the Holy Father an account of the execution, drawn up under the eyes of a Protestant, Nicholas Andrews, sheriff of the county of Northampton, present at the execution.

There are many copies of this narrative in various libraries. There is one in the imperial library at Paris, French supplement, no. 311, fol. 127.

It is believed that Préau was invited to set out for Rome, where rewards awaited him for his fidelity and courage. He would, doubtless, have been raised to the rank of bishop, at the request of France, but I have not yet discovered any traces of this journey.

We have described scenes of martyrdom, we have depicted in the early centuries the strength of will which supported the confessors of the faith. But times changed, and it might be supposed that that lively ardor of Catholicity had expired. The example given by Mary avenged the new era, which might have been supposed colder and less generous. In vain does a minister of the Anglican worship summon the noble queen to those heretical demonstrations which she had always held in horror; the sublime princess died, as she herself had promised, *as a true Scotchwoman and a true Frenchwoman*. The heroine of the Roman faith ceased not to pray for her murderers; and Sixtus, who had taken so much pains to encourage and console her, failed not in the duties of his lofty ministry. All admit that his exertions postponed the execution of the sentence, which, though pronounced on the 12th of October, was not executed till four months later. But there are fatal destinies to be suffered in this life; and Mary Stuart, if she had to reproach herself with some weaknesses, inconsistencies, and political errors difficult for men to avoid, atoned nobly for them all by so glorious a death.

The labors of a pope are, as we have already remarked, innumerable. Every day in the temples Mary Stuart was prayed for; but already the dagger was whetted which, two years later, was to pierce the heart of the king of France. Rome was obliged to direct its gaze to that unfortunate country, where men turn a deaf ear to reason, and where the Holy See perhaps scarcely knew what part to take.

Meanwhile immense and magnificent works could no longer be interrupted. The head of the State, who alone knew all the misfortunes of the Church, lived in pain and grief, and every night he lost that sleep which,

our readers will remember, Pius V. called *the gift of God*. The workman, unconscious of the trials of statesmen, impatiently calls for work, and cannot conceive how princes can live without building, repairing, and completing monuments.

In his desire to protect antiquities and surround them with respect, Sixtus, in 1586, ordered the restoration of the superb column of Trajan, reared, after seven years' labor, by the Roman senate, in the year 106, to the Emperor Trajan. Around it are sculptures representing the actions of that prince, and especially the facts of the Dacian war.

The Holy Father having ordered the removal of the urn which had contained the ashes of Trajan till the barbarians scattered them, had a statue of the Prince of the Apostles cast by Sebastian Torresani, after a model of Thomas della Porta.

Nothing could escape the zeal of so magnificent a pontiff. He commanded the restoration of the Antonine column, and surmounted it by a bronze statue of Saint Paul, nineteen palms high, also cast by Sebastian Torresani from the designs of Thomas della Porta. This column is a hundred and seventy-five feet high.

Looking upon all these works, we cannot too much admire the greatness of Sixtus V., his love of the arts, and that irresistible attraction which led him everywhere to erect sumptuous monuments to the Catholic religion.

We do not speak of streets opened in the city, or of the numberless embellishments ordered by this pope. He deemed himself bound to fulfil his sovereign duties in his city of Rome, and he overwhelmed it with favors, rendering it the finest, as it was the most religious, city in the world.

The repairs which this pope ordered to be made at Saint John Lateran, rendered more imposing that Basilica which is called the *head and mother of the world*.

Switzerland having, in most of the cantons, embraced Calvinism, the popes had ceased to send nuncios, for fear of exposing them to insults and persecutions. But Sixtus, knowing that the Catholic cantons desired the presence of an apostolical nuncio, sent thither Monsignor John Baptist Santorio, who was received with great demonstrations of joy at Luzerne, then and now pre-eminently the Swiss city of the faith. The sacred college had lost many members. Sixtus determined to create two. However, previous to proceeding to a nomination, he published a bull, signed by thirty-seven cardinals, containing excellent arrangements upon their creation, their numbers, their qualifications, and the manner of life incumbent upon them. Among other things, it was his order that there should be seventy cardinals, and that any election in excess of that number should be void. They could be chosen from any Christian nation, provided that they should be adorned by the virtues indicated by the law, virtues that must be known to

the pope and to the sacred college. It was necessary to their creation that they should receive at least minor orders, and have worn, for a year previously, the clerical habit and tonsure. They were to be created only on fast-days in December, according to the ancient custom of the popes Anacletus, Saint Clement, Saint Evaristus, Saint Alexander, and others, during more than six hundred years.

The law rendered eligible to that dignity any one, who, though having sons or grandsons, by lawful marriage, had remained for some time a widower. During the life of a cardinal, no one could be promoted to that dignity who was his brother, his uncle, his nephew, or related to him in the first or second degree.

Of the seventy cardinals, there were to be, at the least, four masters in theology of the regular mendicant orders.

To complete the number of seventy, there were to be six suburbican bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons. These last could not be elected under the age of twenty-two. In the year of their creation, they must take deacon's orders, if not already ordained; in default of which, they can neither vote nor be voted for in the sacred college. Cardinal-deacons, when ordained priests, remain in the order of deacons, until the number of fourteen has been filled by other creations.

Illegitimate sons were incapable of the cardinalate, even though legitimized by a subsequent marriage of their parents, or by apostolical authority, or were of the blood-royal.

The law further ordains that the cardinals at a distance from Rome should visit that city in the course of the year, and must swear to do so before receiving the red hat.

When Sixtus ascended the throne, he found the treasury entirely empty. The vast ideas of that pontiff, the immense expenses of the embellishment of Rome, and the immediate wants of the Church, all required much money, which the apostolic chamber did not possess. To meet the heavy drain, Sixtus, in imitation of his predecessors, began to reform the *vacabili*,—offices conferred on persons who exercise them for life, by purchase. As they lapse on becoming vacant by the death of the incumbent, they were called *vacabili*. Sixtus suppressed the *vacabili* that he found in existence, and created others.* Aided by a good administration of these offices, Sixtus was able to provide for his heavy expenses, without burdening the people with imposts, and left in the treasury an amount estimated at three millions of dollars. Many of his foundations still endure; like that of the *Presepio* at Saint Mary Major, which we cannot describe within our narrow limits.

* There are important details on this subject in Tempesti's *Life of Sixtus V.*, books vi. and vii., of vol. i.

The *vacabili* were a source of money ; that is to say, the places were sold, not given. Sixtus introduced a formidable order into the financial department. Nothing was stolen, all reached the treasury which the treasury had the right to receive, and nothing went out again without special, precise, and explicit order. The accounts were inspected and balanced every week : hopes became neither delusions nor failures. Great financial and administrative skill is the boast of many courts in Europe ; yet never, perhaps, was there a government more upright or more watchful than that of Sixtus V. : and he has obtained renown for so much, that this has been forgotten, though it is by no means the least honorable to a sovereign. In this he, with a noble emulation, followed the example of Gregory XIII.

It will not be too much to say that the admirable administrations of Gregory and of Sixtus V. contributed to create in the Romans a profound affection for the Holy See. Rome, seeing that she had a father so attentive, a guardian so vigilant, could not but love with a new tenderness her generous benefactor, the pope. In fact, it is not sufficient to praise the good fortune that elicited the gratitude of Rome, for it extended all over the Catholic world. The Roman throne became too firmly set to move : the subjects, even the most undisciplined and the oldest, wore a submissive countenance ; and thoughts of revolt and disobedience, arising at times in Rome, no longer detracted from the veneration due the Holy See. But the isolated respect of Rome did not suffice Sixtus V.

John Pepoli, one of the wealthiest and most illustrious knights of Bologna, held an assassin as a prisoner, in one of his castles. Cardinal Salviati demanded him from Pepoli, who replied : " On my own domain, I know no pope, no prince." The cardinal arrested the insolent noble, and reported the affair to Sixtus, who ordered the case to be investigated at Rome. It was proven that the assassin had actually been liberated to disturb the public peace ; but also, that Pepoli had spoken of the Holy See in terms that might become a pretext for fresh rebellions. Sixtus, on the one hand, ordered the sentence against John Pepoli to be executed ; and then, to prove that no passion had dictated the sentence, and to prevent all insult to that illustrious family, he gave the cardinal's hat to Guido Pepoli, brother of John.

These labors did not prevent the pope from watching over the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline. In two years he issued more than seventy-two bulls of this character. Since that time, in some of the secretaryships of the congregations of the cardinals,* it is customary to pay a small fee, especially in that of " bishops and regulars," " immunity," " dis-

* Sixtus established fifteen congregations of cardinals ; afterwards, others were created. The Roman Diario gives the complete list.

cipline," and "repairs."* The fee pays the copyists, the translators, and the expense of parchment, paper, and seal. But in the other secretaryships, no fees whatever are paid. The other secretaryships, independent of a few which still receive nothing, not even a farthing, are those of the penitentiary, holy office, index, council; and the faithful are served gratuitously, not even the price of stationary being demanded.

We do not speak here of the datary, where fees are paid, but where a great abatement is readily granted.

The Vatican Basilica had up to this time remained incomplete, and that house of God called for the most anxious cares of the pontiff. He intrusted the continuation of the works to Jacopo della Porta and Dominic Fontana, that energetic artist justly favored by a pope who knew the value of time. Sixtus was never alarmed by the most difficult enterprises; such dangers flattered and stimulated his courage. He sent for the two architects, and told them that he had only two things to recommend to them; and we shall recognize the bold spirit of him who said these words—"Do not mind the cost: do it quickly." That great pontiff had, as it were, a commission from God to accomplish the most admirable works; and in the fulfilment of that mission he only found that he had not time to finish so many truly gigantic and superhuman enterprises.

The architects began their work on the 15th of July, 1558, by employing fifteen hundred masons; and on the 14th of May the vast cupola was finished, even to the lantern and the little cupola (*cupolina*). Thence to the cross, took seven months to finish.

This wonder-working pope did not rest, taking even scarcely time for sleep at night. He issued almost simultaneously four very important edicts. The first forbade insult to the Jews; who were not to be provoked, still less to be struck. The second forbade excavating the ground in or out of Rome, in inhabited places, as such excavations, imprudently conducted, ruined many buildings. The third related to attempts at illicit conversation with nuns. The fourth ordered the streets to be kept in the most perfect state of cleanliness, so that the atmosphere should not be infected with putrid or poisonous miasma.

Towards the close of 1588, the pope, on the request of John Baptist de Montegiano, of the March, guardian of Jerusalem, sent him aid for the pilgrims, and urged him to redouble his zeal in guarding the holy places.*

Tolerance, prudence, discipline, and the principal duties of the *Ædiles*hip received at once a homage and an incitement from this charitable, far-seeing, pious prince, so careful of the life of his fellow-citizens.

The Holy Father, in the midst of a grand solemnity in the Church of the

* Novaes, viii., p. 699.

Vatican, on the 14th of May, 1588, placed among the holy doctors Saint Bonaventure, a religious of his order; as Saint Pius had done, who had granted the same honor to Saint Thomas Aquinas, of his order. The 2d of July following, at the request of the Catholic king, Sixtus canonized the blessed Diego of Saint Nicholas, a Franciscan lay brother, who was born in a low condition at Porto, in the diocese of Seville, and died in the convent of Alcala de Xenares, on the 12th of November, 1463. The altar upon which the pope accomplished the ceremony was declared papal, and sent to Philip II., with a bull of the 20th of August, 1588, prescribing the persons who alone were to celebrate Mass on that privileged altar.

The books in the library of Saint John Lateran had previously been removed to the Vatican. This library is said to have been restored by Saint Zachary I., and some of his successors. Sixtus, seeing the insufficiency of the old locality, ordered the books to be removed to a place, in the same palace, called the Belvidere. Fontana again, by order of Sixtus, prepared the rooms in which the library is kept.

It may not be useless to give some more exact details as to the origin of the Vatican library, details which we owe to Monsignor Rocca. Whatever pains may have been taken by Saint Zachary in founding the Vatican library, since become such an inestimable treasure, it began, as German scholars admit,* with biblical manuscripts, chiefly by the Gospels, the Epistles of Saint Peter, of Saint Paul, of Saint James, of Saint John, and of Saint Jude, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Apocalypse, of the Decretals, of the Synodal Constitutions, and of a host of decrees published by laborious pontiffs, vicars of Jesus Christ, and worthy successors of the Prince of the Apostles.

Rome bases her opinion upon the testimony of Saint Jerome, who affirms that, from all parts of the Christian world, it was usual to have recourse to the Roman archives, where the acts of the general councils were filed. There application was made for the decision of questions, and to ascertain whether a canon had been altered or corrupted. Saint Gregory the Great, in reference to a controversy which arose in the Council of Ephesus, replied: "The Latin manuscripts are more genuine than the Greek." Now, these Roman manuscripts were somewhere, and the place in which they were kept was naturally called the library.

In the celebrated Roman council under Saint Gelasius, the fiftieth pope, elected in 492, mention is made of the Roman *archive* and *scrinio*, of the library, scribes, notaries, and scrinaries; whence it may be inferred that, towards the fifth century, the Roman Church possessed a great number of books, which it was very necessary to preserve in a library.

* Catalogue of the library, vol. i., *Cod. MSS., Bibliot. Vaticanæ*, preface.

Panvinus ascribes the institution of the Vatican library to Saint Clement, pope in the year 91.

Saint Julius I., the thirty-fifth pope, elected in 337, ordered every thing relative to the preservation and extension of the faith to be brought together by the notaries of the Holy Roman Church, and required the chief notaries to deposit it in the church. That pope also ordered all bonds, acts, donations, traditions, testimonies, allegations, and the manumissions of the clerics to be collected in the archives. Cenni regards this step as the formal commencement of the papal library.

Whatever may have been the commencement, a point upon which authors do not agree, it is certain that we speak here of a very ancient institution. It is ancient, because anciently it could not have been dispensed with, and without a library there could have been no ecclesiastical administration. Now, an admirable ecclesiastical administration, more or less universal, has existed since Saint Peter.

By the *Liber Pontificalis*, attributed to Anastasius the librarian, we are told that Saint Hilary, the forty-second pope (A. D. 461), formed two libraries in the baptistry of Saint John Lateran; and that Gregory III., ninety-first pope, formed one in the Lateran palace. We must suppose them united, for Saint Gregory the Great, without making any distinction, speaks of the Roman library, of which he was made guardian by Saint Sergius I. While the popes inhabited Saint John Lateran, the library was preserved there. At this juncture a great event occurred—the removal of the Holy See to Avignon; and the library was also transferred to that city. At the end of the schism, Martin V. had it restored to the Vatican, excepting a part, which remained at Avignon, but Pius V. recovered a portion of what was wanting. There still remained some ancient and important documents, which Pius VI. providentially restored to Rome in 1784, with all the documents of the administration of the popes at Avignon; so that this library became more and more celebrated.

However, we have properly only to speak of its condition under Sixtus V. We have seen the reception given by Nicholas V. to the Greeks who had been driven from Constantinople, and his care to have ancient works translated by them. All those labors, and many subsequent ones, increased his treasure. Callixtus III. and Sixtus IV. still further enriched that precious deposit. Sixtus V. ordered the accumulated mass of books and manuscripts to be arranged, and he erected the beautiful building now so generally admired.

Paul V. enriched it with some rare manuscripts. In 1622, it was considerably increased by the donation of the library of Heidelberg. That city having fallen into the power of the Count de Tilly, the emperor presented Urban VIII. with the library of the elector palatine, which, in fact,

Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, had already given to Gregory XV. It was rich in all the literary wealth possessed by the monasteries before the Reformation. Alexander VII. added the books of the dukes of Urbino, and Alexander VIII. the books purchased at the death of Queen Christina of Sweden.

There, also, were collected the manuscripts of the Maronite *Ecchelse*, of the noble Roman, Pietro de la Valle, and the private library of Pius II. Clement XII., faithful to the plan of Sixtus V., added another wing; and all his successors deserve the praise of enriching it still further by new acquisitions of literary wealth from the Catholic world.

Sixtus established a press here, on which he finally issued his edition of Saint Ambrose. There, also, were printed the works of Gregory the Great, Saint Bonaventure, and of other holy Fathers; the great Roman Bullarium of Laertius Cherubini; both editions of the holy Scripture, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, which was published in 1590.

This gave the stamp of immortality to that great Sixtus V., who with his own hand corrected the proofs of those monuments of divine goodness and human wisdom. Unfortunately, some errors crept in, which gave rise to many remarks in the Catholic world; but Gregory XIV. had them corrected, and the printing of the revised text began under Clement VIII.

It is impossible further to enumerate the advantage of the benefits we owe to Sixtus V. Civita Vecchia lacked water, and he had an aqueduct constructed to convey it to that city; he commenced the draining of the Pontine marshes, and he ordered the raising of the beautiful Scala Santa, because it was the stairway by which Jesus Christ ascended and descended from the palace of Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem. He began the *Ponte Felice*, near Otricoli, and he placed in the Quirinal the two magnificent marble horses, held by two young men, which Constantine the Great had removed to Rome.

At this moment the affairs of France required the attention of the pope. He had excommunicated Henry III., on account of the assassination of the Guises, which had excited just indignation at Rome. Henry III., in his turn, died by the hand of an assassin; and Sixtus, no longer cognizant of the real state of affairs, recalled his nuncio. Another was now to be sent. Cardinal Gaetani was sent to Paris to ascertain which party was most in the right. The sentiments of the pontiff could not be penetrated—he manifested no preference.

Gaetani was enthusiastically received by the League. Henry IV. and the princes of the blood thought it advisable to send an ambassador to Rome to give proper information to Sixtus V. The duke of Luxemburg had entered Rome. Olivares, Philip's ambassador, hastened to the palace of the pope, and said to His Holiness, with some vivacity, that if Luxem-

burg, the abettor of the prince of Navarre, were not driven from Rome, the ambassador of his Catholic majesty would protest. Sixtus replied: "Protest! what protest can you make? You offend the majesty of your king. We know how wise a prince he is. You also offend *our* majesty. Our love for the Catholic king is a fortunate circumstance for you. Now, *you understand us?*" He immediately rang his bell, and had the ambassador shown out, only adding the single word—"Retire!"

In the mean time, King Henry, at the head of only six thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, had gained, at Ivry, a brilliant victory over the Leaguers, commanded by the duke of Mayenne, who was at the head of three thousand cavalry and twelve thousand infantry.

The news of this event had scarcely reached Rome when the ambassador of the League demanded an audience of the pope, and presented to His Holiness the supplication of the Leaguers for aid. Sixtus replied: "Well! well! As long as we imagined that the Leaguers were laboring for religion, we assisted them; but now that we have learned that you fight for ambition, founded upon a false pretence, you have nothing to hope for from us." And he dismissed him.

Such was the state of things when the indefatigable pope was attacked by a tertian ague, which, changing to an intermitting fever, soon became mortal. Sixtus, whose illness was aggravated by his being compelled to keep his bed, beheld with calm courage the approach of his last moments, and died on the 27th of August, 1590, aged sixty-nine years, after governing the Church five years, four months, and three days.*

* The complete numismatic collection of the reign of Sixtus V. is a real treasure. I will commence by describing the medals which are in my own collection. All bear the words: SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX. The head of the pope, with a large white cap.

1. On the reverse of the first, PERFECTA SECURITAS. A traveller sleeping under a fruit-tree; alluding to the fact that Sixtus restored security to the roads. His severity was terrible, and perhaps carried too far, but he made travelling safe in all parts of his States.

2. EXALTAVIT HUMILES—*He has exalted the humble.* The statues of SS. Peter and Paul, on the Trajan and Antonine columns.

3. MEM. FL. CONSTANT. RESTITVTA—*The memory of Flavius Constantine honored.* The two horses of Monte Cavallo. On the plinth of the first are the letters OPVS PHID.—*The work of Phidias*; on that of the second, OPVS PRAX.—*The work of Praxiteles.* These are not correct in Du Molinet.

The two groups ornamented the adjacent baths of Constantine. Sixtus V. placed them at the gate of his palace of Monte Cavallo. Fea says: "One of these two monuments is attributed to Phidias; the other to Praxiteles. They are also said to represent Alexander taming Bucephalus. But if they really were executed by those artists, they cannot represent Alexander, for both lived before his time. It was only to render those groups more highly esteemed, that they were attributed to those celebrated sculptors. All scholars of the present day admit them to be Castor and Pollux, although they do not agree as to the sculptors.

Du Molinet describes thirty-one, and Bonanni forty medals of Sixtus V.

1. DOMINE IVBE ME AD TE VENIRE. Peter in his bark, with two apostles.

2. CVRA PONTIFICIA. Four streets opened to Saint Mary Major. The execution is not happy.

The body was taken from the palace of Monte Cavallo, which he had inhabited, to the Vatican.

Olivares endeavored to incite the mob to demolish the statue of Sixtus at the capitol; but the cardinals arrested the tumult. The Romans could not

3. VADE FRAN. REPARA. Saint Francis, with a scroll in his hands, supports a tottering building. Sixtus having repaired Saint John Lateran, alludes to the account that Saint Francis supported a part of the church from falling.

4. PAYPERIBVS PIE ALENDIS EXT. A woman throned, consoling a poor man; two children asking aid.

5. FECIT IN MONTE CONVIVIVM PINGVIVM. The three mounts—arms of Sixtus V.—surmounted by the sword of justice; the scales above, adorned with a cross. On the other mountains, a cornucopia and olive-branch. The legend alludes apparently to *Isaias* xxv. 6.

6. VIGILAT SACRI THESAVRI CVSTOS. A lion watches a chest clamped with iron. Near the lion, the three mountains surmounted by a star. Sixtus had an iron chest to hold the gold and silver, in the castle of Saint Angelo. The chest had six different locks, the keys of which were in the hands of six different persons of dignity.

7. SACRA PROPHANIS PRÆFEREND. The obelisk on Saint Peter's. The church has three domes, but less majestic in appearance than they really are.

8. VRBS LAVRETANA, 1586. Loretto, surrounded by fortifications. In the midst, upon a cloud, the Blessed Virgin, and the Santa Casa borne by angels. Du Molinet is again in error here. Bonanni is more exact.

9. FIERI FECIT. On a cloud, the Blessed Virgin; in the background, the Holy House. Sixtus raised Loretto to the rank of a city and Episcopal See.

10. FELIX PRÆSIDIVM, 1588. Five three-banked galleys, with their lateen sails, in the port of Civita Vecchia.

11. POPVLI CHRISTIANI TROPILEVM. The obelisk before the church of Saint Mary Major.

12. SACRA OCULO SPECTAT IRRETORTO—*With vigilant eye he watches over the sacred treasure*, 1587. The lion seated upon a chest, one paw on the three mountains, and the other holding a star surmounted by a flower.

13. TERRA MARI QVE SECVRITAS—*Security by sea and land*. The galleys, as in medal 10.

14. SVPER HANC PETRAM—*Upon this rock*. Medal of Gregory XIII. restored, representing the front of Saint Peter's.

15. ECCE REGNVN DEL. The Holy Ghost descending on a tiara. Saint Francis and Sixtus V. praying opposite to each other. Saint Peter's in the background. In the exergue, a column between a lion and a dog, both attesting vigilance.

16. DOMVS MARIE LAVRETANÆ FACTA CIVITAS. The house of Loretto, in which the Virgin is seated with the infant Jesus in her arms.

17. PONTINAS PALVDES, CONCESS., 1588. Sixtus V. ordered the Pontine marshes to be drained. We shall hereafter see the prodigies wrought by Pius VI. in this same attempt. In the field of the medal canals are seen running in different directions.

18. CVS DIEGO D. ALCALA IN SPAGNA. CA. D. P. SIXT.—*Saint Diego, of Alcala in Spain, canonized by Pope Sixtus*. In the background, the town of Alcala. In the middle of the field, Saint Diego, an Observantine. He holds a cross of rush in his hand.

19. BEATÆ MARIE D. POP. QVARTVM ANNO QVARTO EREXIT—*He erected the fourth obelisk in honor of the Blessed Mary of the People, in the fourth year of the pontificate*. The obelisk of the People's gate in front of the Corso.

20. PVB. BENEFICIUM. A woman holds in her hands two urns, from which water flows into subterranean pipes. The *Aqua Felice*.

21. AD LATERANVM P. CONSISTORIUM CELEBRAV. In the field, the façade of the church, and the newly raised obelisk.

22. In the exergue: SIC OMNIA TVTA—*Thus all is safe*. This inscription has been placed on two different medals. On the first, two cities, roads, and the lion holding a pike protruding from the three mountains, and surmounted by the keys and a star. Another medal has the same

but love this pope. Although born in a low rank of society, his views were never mean; every thing in him was grand, every thing in his conduct was firm. He was liberal, splendid, magnificent. He gave office to deserving men. He rewarded good ministers, leaving them no room to care for their own fortunes. The declared protector of the orphans, the poor, and the sick, he was endowed with great penetration and an impetuous will. The more difficult the project, the more readily he undertook it; and he surmounted all obstacles. He never lost his presence of mind; his memory was tenacious, and he was the declared enemy of vice. He conversed

words in the upper part. The towns are more distinct, and darts proceed from them towards a group of reptiles. On the right, a tower.

23. Another medal, struck on the occasion of the canonization of Saint Diego of Alcala: B. DIDACVM HISP. IN SS. NVM. RETVLIT, 1588. The pope, throned, blesses Cardinal Dega, minister of the Catholic king. Three cardinals seated on the right hand of the pope, and two on his left.

24. PONS FELIX—*The Felix bridge*. In the exergue: AN. DOM. M.D.LXXXIX. The bridge, beaten by the waters, is ornamented with buildings surmounted by a cross.

25. VNDA SEMPER FELIX. In the field: SIXT. P. MAX. The Felice fountain.

26. Bonanni gives a very fine medal, unknown to Du Molinet. On the reverse of a portrait of Sixtus V. are the letters: IVSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA COMPLEXÆ SVNT. Two female figures similarly dressed, without emblems. As to the character of the pope, it is certain that he forgave when he became pope many who had offended him; but he was animated by a kind of passion for justice, and he did not delay in making that feeling known, when, at the coronation, the master of the ceremonies said to him, when burning the tapers, "*Sic transit, Pater Sancte, gloria mundi*—Holy Father, thus passeth away the glory of the world." Sixtus, in a loud tone, replied: "*Gloria nostra pertransibit nunquam, quia solam justitiam habemus in voto*—Our glory will never pass away, because we look only to justice." Yet the courage with which he pursued the brigands, whom he at length destroyed, as Leo XII. did subsequently, will eternally illustrate the reign of Sixtus. The cardinals, according to ancient custom, asked him on the eve of a holiday for the release of the prisoners in Rome. He replied: "*There are villains enough in the city; there is no need of increasing the number by releasing those who are in confinement. Our duty is to save the innocent by the punishment of the guilty, and not to corrupt the innocent by the presence of the perverse.*"

27. The following are in Bonanni alone: IN TE SITIO. On the exergue: ROMÆ—I thirst for thee, Rome. In the field, Saint Francis, on mount Alvernia, receiving the stigmata. On the ground, an open book. Father Bonanni, of the Society of Jesus, gives a pious and learned explanation of this medal, referring to the bulls of Sixtus IV.

28. CRVCI FELICIVS CONSECRATA. In the field, four obelisks. That sort of addition of the four monuments of that kind, raised by Sixtus, is an idea at once happy, elegant, and novel. Such an honor could only be attributed to Sixtus V. The obelisks, which are not of equal height, are all surmounted by crosses.

29. CÆSARIS OBELISCVM MIRÆ MAGNITVDINIS ASPORTAVIT ATQVE IN FORO D. PETRIFELICITER EXCIT. AN. D. 1586. The letters occupy the whole field, and are cut into eight lines on each side of the obelisk, which rises in the middle. The three mountains are seen placed on the top of what is called the pyramidion.

30. In the field: ANCONA DORICA CIVITAS FIDEI. Above, a large French *fleur-de-lis* between two stars; beneath, a mounted warrior between two small *fleurs-de-lis*.

31. In the exergue: MONTALTO. The birthplace of the pope. In the field, the Blessed Virgin crowned and enthroned; her head is surrounded by twelve stars. On the right, Saint Lawrence holding his gridiron and a palm branch. On the left, Saint Apollonius praying.

32. BIBLIOTHECA VATICANA. The Vatican library is represented with its two stories and its nine arcades.

affably, but always without a laugh. When he spoke in public he was occasionally too emphatic, but he was none the less eloquent and majestic. His temper was at times somewhat fiery, and when angry his eyes seemed to flash fire.

He ate and drank but little. His ordinary attire was very simple, but he would have sumptuous ecclesiastical vestments. His tiara surpassed in richness those of all his predecessors.

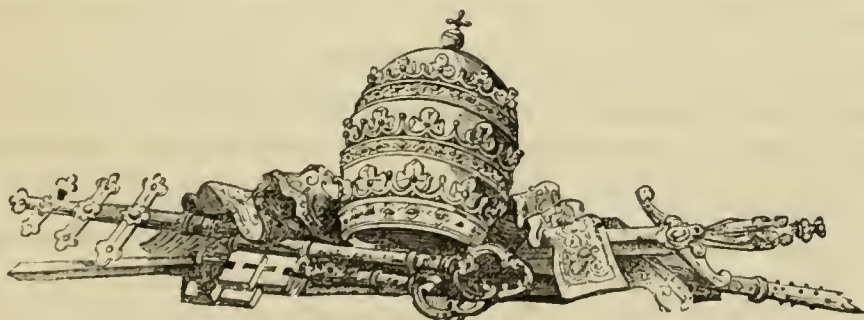
He was well versed in both philosophy and theology, and no stranger to poetry. If we consider this pope in the regularity of his private life, in public administration, or in the management of the most apparently inextricable affairs, we must consider him to have been one of those rare men who do honor to humanity, and have scarcely any thing of its weakness. We forget the immense distance between his father's humble cot and the exalted throne of the Vatican; in brief, that he was a sovereign well worthy to reign.*

As regards his personal portrait, this pope was robust, though he was of only ordinary stature. His complexion was neither dark nor pale. His reception of those admitted to audience was that of a great man inclined to affability, and who controls himself. His eyes were small but bright, and his eyebrows black and arched. His forehead was spacious, and somewhat wrinkled. The nose and mouth were well proportioned, and his beard thick, white, and long, as princes then wore it.

The *History of Sixtus*, by Gregory Leti, a starveling scribbler, should not be read, but that of Casimir Tempesti, a conventual Franciscan (Venice, Remondini, 1754, 2 vols. 4to).

The Holy See was vacant eighteen days.

* See Bercastel, tome xix., p. 422.



232. URBAN VII.—A. D. 1590.



JOHN BAPTIST CASTAGNA (Urban VII.) was born at Rome, on the 4th of August, 1521, of a noble Genoese family. He took the degree of doctor in the civil and canon law at Bologna. His uncle, Cardinal Verallo, being legate in France, John Baptist became his auditor. Julius III. made him referendary of the signature of justice; and then, about 1553, archbishop of Rossano: as such he attended the Council of Trent. By order of Pius IV., no decree affecting the pontifical authority was to be adopted without the sanction of Castagna. The Fathers, seeing his talent and his aptitude, made him prefect of the congregations. He gave much advice that secured a happy issue to the operations of that assembly. Julius III. made him governor of Fano, and Paul IV. invested him with similar authority over Perugia and Umbria. By command of Pius IV. he accompanied to Spain Cardinal Buoncompagni, subsequently Pope Gregory XIII. John Baptist had been made nuncio, and for seven years resided with that title at Madrid, where he held, at the baptismal font, Isabella, the eldest daughter of Philip II. On his return to Rome he resigned, without a pension, the archbishopric of Rossano; and Gregory XIII. sent him as nuncio to Venice, whence Gregory removed him to be for a year governor of Bologna. Thence he passed to Cologne, to aid the bishop of Liege in bringing about a treaty that would restore peace between the Catholic king and the United Provinces. At length, after this active life, full of important services to the Church, he was created by Gregory XIII. cardinal, on the 12th of December, 1583, and sent as legate to Bologna.

After the funeral of Sixtus V., on the 7th of September, when Anthony Boccapaduli had delivered a discourse for the election of the successor, fifty-three cardinals entered into conclave. An attempt was first made to place the tiara on the head of Mark Antony Colonna; but they could not agree upon him, and then, by common consent, they elected Cardinal Castagna, on the 15th of September, 1590. He chose the name of Urban VII., that he might not forget, as he said, the urbanity which he wished to show to every one. It was said that Sixtus V., who greatly loved him, predicted his elevation. It is related that, as they dined together at a country house, Sixtus helping himself to some pears, found a decayed one, and said:

“Just now the Romans do not like *pears* (Peretti); they will soon have (Castagna) *chestnuts*.” Desirous of showing the fitness of his name, Urban caused the poor of Rome to be numbered, that he might give them alms; and he at the same time granted liberal aid to cardinals whose income was insufficient.

Very early in his reign he ordered the reform of the datary, and determined upon continuing the buildings commenced by Sixtus V., saying that when they were finished inscriptions should be placed upon them in honor of Sixtus, and not the armorial bearings of the new pope.

Some of his relations hastened to Rome. He sent them back by the same road, without office, dignity, or any other advantage. He signified to his nephew, Mario Millini, governor of the castle of Saint Angelo, that he was not to accept the title of excellency, which is commonly given by courtesy to near relations of a pope, and forbid any of his kindred to assume a title superior to that previously enjoyed. Nevertheless, he gave a canonship of Saint Peter's to Fabricius Verallo, his nephew, exhorting him to keep within the primitive moderation, and religiously to exercise the office of canon.

He would not employ any of his relations in the court offices, in order that he might the more severely punish agents guilty of misconduct.

The fine qualities of this pope excited hopes of a corresponding administration, when symptoms of illness, which appeared on the day after his election, excited fears for his life. From that moment until his death he daily confessed and communicated, and the whole city of Rome incessantly put up prayers to God in his behalf. Public processions were made, the Holy Sacrament was exposed, and no pious exercise was omitted to obtain from God the restoration of so good a pope.

Then he thought of removing to Monte Cavallo, where the air is purer, and many of the cardinals prepared to accompany him. But the etiquette which is so austere observed by the masters of the ceremonies at Rome would not allow the pope to be seen in Rome before he was crowned; and instead of his being removed by night, when no one would have seen him, the projected removal was abandoned altogether.

The pope continued to grow weaker. He confirmed his will, by which he left to the Brotherhood of the Annunciation his whole patrimony, amounting to thirty thousand crowns, to furnish marriage portions for poor girls. He then returned thanks to God for recalling him so soon, so that he would have no account to give of his papacy. Yet surely he would not have blasted the favorable hopes entertained of him. But, at the end of a reign of only thirteen days, he died, at not quite sixty years of age, on the 27th of December, 1590, without having been crowned. However, the medal for his coronation had already been struck, and it served for his successor, with

only the alteration of the name and head. Urban was deposited at the Vatican until a tomb was raised for him in the Church of the Minerva.

The Holy See was vacant two months and seven days.*

* Short as this reign was, many medals were struck. The following are in my collection :

1. VRBANVS VII., PONT. MAX. ANNO I. Reverse: SPONSVM MEVM DECORAVIT CORONA. Medal prepared for his coronation. A woman seated, a cross in her left hand, and a mitre in her right.

2. SIC LVCEAT LVX VESTRA. A seven-branched lamp, resembling that of Jerusalem on the arch of Titus. It is believed that this medal was struck during the conclave, and that the object of the inscription was to solicit a choice such as that which placed the tiara on the head of Urban.

3. DEXTERA DOMINI FACIAT VIRTVTEM. The pope on his throne gives a standard to a kneeling warrior. This medal is supposed to belong properly to the reign of Gregory XIV., who gave the standard of the Church to Count Hercules Sfrondati, his nephew, on his departure for France. In the middle of the standard is seen Jesus Christ upon the cross, and two holy women.

Du Molinet describes another medal :

NON POTEST ABSCONDI. Alluding to Matt. v. 14. The medal represents a city upon a mountain. A church with a dome, and a column surmounted by a statue, resembling the column of Trajan or the Antonine column. The mystical sense of this medal is, that the Church can no more be hidden than a city on the top of a mountain.

Bonanni describes these other medals :

1. OMNIBVS GRATVS. On the eve of the death of the pope, the churches of Rome were filled by the priests and the faithful, praying God to restore the Holy Father to health. After his death, this medal was struck in attestation of the tenderness of all for the pontiff. This piece presents in the field the tiara suspended. Near the exergue, the globe of the earth attached to the pontifical crozier and cross. The globe, here, is the symbol of the universality of Catholicity.

2. ROMA. The scene of the Annunciation. This type is often repeated in papal medals.

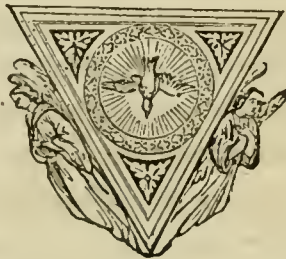
3. POPVLI QVIES ET SECVRITAS—*The repose and security of the people.* A young man holding the spear and a balance. On the left, at the feet of the young man, a helmet. In the exergue: GEN. P. R.—*Genius of the Roman people.* No doubt it was less a fact than an augury which suggested this medal.

4. IN VERBO TVO. Saint Peter, surrounded by a glory, in the bark drawing the nets filled with fishes. It is another posthumous homage.

Venuti, in a work upon the pontifical medals,* gives, under the reign of Urban VII., still another medal :

IVSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA OSCVLATÆ SVNT. Two women embracing. Subsequently, the same author says that this piece belongs to the reign of Clement XIII. Medals struck from two dies that do not properly belong together, like this, are not uncommon. They are styled *mules*.

* *Numismata Romanorum Pontificum, præstantiora per Rodolphinum Venuti Cortonensem aucta et illustrata.* Rome, 1744, 4to.



233. GREGORY XIV.—A. D. 1590



GREGORY XIV., originally named Nicholas Sfrondati, belonged to a noble family of Milan, which was founded by Conrad, a German, who, in the time of Otho IV., established himself in Italy.

The mother of Nicholas, Anna Visconti, died, and by the cæsarean operation Nicholas was brought into the world on the 11th of February, 1535. The infant, though for some time very weak, gradually gained a little strength. In the course of years he studied, successively, at Perugia, Padua, and Pavia, at which last he received the doctorate. While still young, he became a member of the household of Charles Borromeo. On the 12th of March, 1560, being then twenty-five years old, he was named bishop of Cremona, by Pius IV., who sent him to Trent, in which council he drew up the celebrated decree which prohibited the plurality of benefices.* The Holy See was so satisfied with the services of Nicholas, that without his own consent he was promoted to the purple by Gregory XIII., on the 12th of December, 1583, under the title of Saint Cecilia.

The sacred electors having entered into conclave, to the number of fifty-two, on the 8th of October, named as governor of it Octavius Bandini, who was afterwards a cardinal. There were several candidates in view for the tiara. Cardinal Montalto supported Cardinal Scipio Gonzaga, who opposed that design with a persistency as noble as it was courageous, and compelled Montalto to abandon his project.

A great number of votes were united on Cardinal Gabriel Paleotto, but he had not a sufficient number; two new cardinals arriving, thirty-six votes were requisite. At length, on the 5th of December, 1590, at about seven o'clock (Italian time as to reckoning, but in reality noon), the fifty-six electors elected, with *open votes*, Cardinal Sfrondati, then aged fifty-five years. He thus on the instant found himself honored with a charge which he had not expected or desired. At the moment he was so astonished, that, turning to the cardinals, who saluted him as Holy Father, he said: "God forgive you! What have you done?"†

However, he burst into tears, and refused to walk, and his voice was

* Oldioni, in the additions to Chacon.

† Vittorelli, in Chacon, vol. iv., col. 216.

choked with sobs. The *sedia gestatoria* was brought in, and he was carried in spite of himself into the Basilica of the Vatican, amidst the acclamations of the populace, who wished him a long reign.

It is known that Gregory XIII. gave the purple to Nicholas, and that he endeavored to refuse it, exclaiming: "Why, there is a host of prelates more deserving of it than I!" When the cardinals elected him pontiff they experienced still greater resistance, but only became the more animated to conquer each new repulse. Although he would not utter a word, it was necessary that a name should be selected for him, if he should persist in not selecting one for himself. That of Gregory was pronounced, and a feeling of gratitude, evidenced by a slight smile, was his only reply; but it was taken for a tacit consent. That slight sign was taken advantage of to prepare for the ceremony of the coronation of Gregory XIV., which took place on the 8th of December.

On the 13th of the same month, Gregory took possession of Saint John Lateran.

While he was cardinal, his modesty, his knowledge, and the purity of his morals, endeared him to Saint Philip Neri and Saint Ignatius Loyola. Gregory, deeming it a duty to offer the purple to Saint Philip, the saint declined it, alleging the same reasons that had formerly been urged by Gregory himself; and while warmly thanking him, would not accept that honor. It is related that when Saint Philip went to pay his respects to Gregory, the latter rose, hastened to meet him, and said to him: "We are greater than you in dignity, but you are far greater than we in sanctity." He immediately ordered the saint to be seated, and even to resume his biretta.

To show his respect for the virtues of Ignatius, Gregory, in 1591, confirmed the institute and the constitution of the Society of Jesus.

We shall here see the famous Arnauld d'Ossat, afterwards cardinal, figure in a remarkable manner. He will be more particularly spoken of when honored with the full confidence of Henry IV. of France. At present we confine ourselves to mentioning his proceedings in the service and name of Queen Louisa of Lorraine, who wished the Roman court to cause solemn obsequies to be celebrated in honor of Henry III., king of France, her deceased husband. But that prince had died excommunicated, and it was difficult to obtain such a compliance from the court of Rome, which had not deigned to make a reply. D'Ossat at length obtained a brief, but it could not have been quite satisfactory to her majesty. The pope, after congratulating her majesty upon her having had Masses said, and imposed upon herself fasting and almsgiving for the salvation of souls, proceeded thus: "*Ornatus sepultura, doloris castrum, et funeris pompa, vivorum solatia sunt, non subsidia mortuorum. Piis, certe, animabusque,*

nullis jam culpis obnoxie ad Dominum migrarunt, vilis aut nulla sepultura non nocet, sicut impiis et peccatorum nexibus detentis pretiosa non prodest—The ornamentation of a tomb, the show of mourning, and the funereal pomps, are consolations for the survivors, not benefits to the dead. For pious souls who, free from sins, have flown to the Lord, it matters little that their bodies have a sordid tomb, or none; even as the costliest tomb does nothing for the impious, and those who are still bound in the bonds of sin.”

Following the example of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., the pope publicly renewed, by the constitution *Romanus Pontifex*, that of Saint Pius V., which forbade to alienate or grant in fief the property of the Roman Church. The whole city of Rome applauded that just and courageous act. At that precise time Alphonsus II., duke of Ferrara, visited Rome, accompanied by a suite of six hundred gentlemen. Gregory gave him a magnificent reception, lodged him in the palace, and treated him the same as he would have treated the most powerful of sovereigns. The secret object of Alphonsus' journey was to solicit, in favor of another family than his own, the d'Este family, the reversion of the duchy of Ferrara. Alphonsus was the last of the house of Este who had enjoyed that duchy, and before dying he wished to present that possession to a friendly family, instead of restoring it to the Holy See, which was the sovereign of the duchy. Gregory intrusted the examination of that demand to thirteen cardinals, and, on their report, decided that he could not grant that favor without infringing the constitution *Romanus Pontifex*.*

Unfortunately, attacked by a feeling of nepotism, Gregory named as cardinal his nephew, Paulus Emilius Sfrondati, who was only thirty-one years of age.

By a new constitution, Gregory confirmed that given by Pius IV. regarding wagers upon the length of life and the death of the pontiffs, and upon the creation of cardinals. Some persons engaged in that illicit and indecent wagering, in order to save themselves from loss, sometimes disturbed the elections; and others, to increase their chance of winning, did not blush to circulate calumnies against worthy men who were thought likely to be raised to the purple.

He forbade the Capuchins to administer the sacrament of penance, in order that they might have the more time for the contemplation of divine things. But Clement VIII., in 1598, again permitted them to hear the confessions of the faithful.

He published a law upon the immunity of the churches, and rendered many decrees concerning promotions to bishoprics and other consistorial dignities.

* It is in the Bullarium, vol. v., part i., p. 246. In the official reply, expressions were chosen which seemed to soften the severity of the refusal.

On the 6th of March, 1591, Gregory made a second promotion of cardinals. Among others, it included Octavius Pallavicini, a noble Roman; Odoard Farnese, of the family of the dukes of Parma, and nephew of Cardinal Farnese. Odoard was declared protector of the crowns of Aragon, Portugal, England, and Scotland.

After consulting the cardinals, the pope issued a bull, at the solicitation of Cardinal Bonelli, a Dominican, nephew of Saint Pius V. That bull granted to the cardinals who belonged to a religious order, the right to wear red hats. Till then they had had to wear hats of the same color with the habit of their order. On the 9th of June, the pope himself, previous to leaving the Quirinal palace for the Church of the Holy Apostles, to hold a papal chapel, placed the red hats on the heads of Cardinals Bonelli and Berner, Dominicans; Boccafuoco, Minor Conventual; and Petrochini, Hermit of Saint Augustine.

Gregory erected into a religious order the congregation of the *regular clerks, ministers to the infirm*, founded at Rome by Saint Camillus de Lellis, priest of Buclano, in the diocese of Chieti. By the constitution *Ex omnibus*, of the 18th of March, 1586, Sixtus V. had approved the congregation, but declared that the *vows must be spontaneous*.

In the castle of Zagarolo, an estate situated twenty miles from Rome, which belonged first to the house of Colonna, then to that of Ludovisi, and then to that of Rospigliosi, the final correction was given to the Bible. That care had been intrusted to six able theologians, presided over by Cardinal Mark Antony Colonna.

Few persons had as yet noticed the tendency towards nepotism from which Gregory had been unable to free himself. That disease of the pontifical court soon manifested itself more fatally. The pope named his nephew, Hercules Sfrondati, general of the Holy Church,* and sent him into France at the head of an army of six thousand Swiss, two thousand Italian infantry, and a thousand horse. These troops were to assist the French Leaguers, who were fighting against Henry IV. Subsequently, the pope sent into France, as his nuncio, Marsilius Landriani, who was the bearer of two monitions. One of those documents concerned all persons who should espouse the party of Henry, and the other was especially directed against such nobles as should not abstain from encouraging heresy.

Spondanust† affirms that besides these monitions, Hercules Sfrondati was provided with a bull which directly excommunicated Henry of Navarre.

That was the last effort of this pope's power. He was suddenly taken ill. He was removed to the palace of Saint Mark, at Rome, which the re-

* See, in Life of Urban VII., p. 874, a medal attributed to him, but evidently belonging to Gregory XIV.

† *Annal. Eccles.*, an. 1591, n. 4.

public of Venice had momentarily restored, and that building was surrounded by gates and guards to prevent approach. But the condition of the pope was not to be ameliorated, and he himself considered that he was in great danger. Then he had all the cardinals summoned around him. He represented that his incapacity for government was still further increased by his infirmities, and he entreated that, even during his life, they would elect a successor. That demand was in opposition to a host of constitutions that had always been respected. The cardinals at once declared that they would not consent to be guilty of such an act. Then he exhorted them to choose, after his death, a successor worthy of the pontificate, and to choose him promptly, without cabals and without contests.*

To the other sufferings of Gregory were added those of the disease known by the name of the stone. Life was no longer for him any thing but a long torture.

Campana relates, that to relieve the sufferings of the patient, even pulverized precious stones and gold were administered to him. Muratori, on that subject, remarks: "This good pope, then, was surrounded either by stupid physicians or culpable ministers." The pope soon sank under the violence of his sufferings, and died on the 15th of October, 1591, at the age of fifty-six. He had governed ten months and ten days. He was interred in the Vatican, towards the middle of the Gregorian chapel, near Gregory XIII., in a tomb almost destitute of ornament.†

This pontiff, although he yielded to nepotism, was distinguished for his noble virtues. During his short pontificate, he expended considerable sums in favor of the poor. Some of his ministers did not serve him with that sentiment of obedience which a minister ought never to forget. During a scarcity, the pope himself was left to see personally to the care of obtaining a supply of grain. A great number of people in Rome and the vicinity died, nevertheless, in consequence of that scarcity. Gregory personally visited the sick, and only consented to take a little nourishment after he had assisted those who were on the point of sinking under so much suffering.

All admired his constancy, his piety, his temperance, and a fund of moral

* Cardinal Augustine Valerio wrote a little work on this allocution of Gregory. He breathed the most pious sentiments, and an invitation to concord which drew tears from all present.

† I possess three medals of this reign.

1. GREGORIUS XIV., PONT. MAX. *Reverse*, same inscription. In the field, the tiara and keys. On a shield of four quarters, the arms of the Sfrondati family. 1 and 4, a branch stripped of leaves; 2 and 3, a laurel. The origin of the name of that family is said to be as follows. Conrad, the founder of it, one day in battle, broke his sword. On the instant, he tore a limb from a tree, stripped the leaves from it, and thus rendered it *sfrondata*, literally *leafless*, and with that new weapon resumed the fight. Being victorious on that occasion, he placed that branch in two quarters of his blazon, and for the other quarters he received permission from Henry III. to place

purity, which had made him remarkable from the period of his being created a bishop. Little inclined to interfere in foreign politics, he unfortunately listened, sometimes, too trustingly to Philip II., who was the avowed enemy of Henry IV., of France. The bull which was issued against the latter prince, who was already prepared to learn and to profess our holy religion, retarded the success of that difficult negotiation. Threats were the least likely of all means to succeed with Henry IV.

The Holy See was vacant thirteen days.

the laurel. In each of the quarters 1 and 3, stars are also distinguished. This medal is engraved with great freedom and boldness.

2. CONSECRATIO. Not in Du Molinet or Bonanni; given in Venuti, p. 181. The pontiff is consecrating a bishop; two cardinals and other assistants holding the candles.

3. DIEBUS FAMIS SATVRAB. Du Molinet has given the inscription correctly. Bonanni gives the legend incorrectly. Abundance, with a cornucopia and an ear of wheat. Struck after the scarcity.

On the three medals the head of the pope has a long white cap, which almost entirely covers it. Du Molinet gives also:

1. DEXTERA DOMINI FACIAT VIRTVTEM. Described by us as a medal of Urban VII.

2. A TEMPORALI AD ÆTERNVM. ROMA. The Blessed Virgin throned, holding the infant Jesus, who places a tiara upon the head of a kneeling pope.

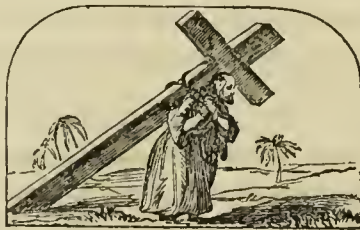
3. IN GRAM PHILIPPINARVM. ROMA, 1591. The Holy Ghost descending on Christ and the Blessed Virgin. The Philippines were discovered in 1521, and occupied by the Spaniards in 1542, under Charles V. The Hermits of Saint Augustine, and the Reformed Franciscans, carried the faith thither. The first bishop of Manilla was Dominic de Salazar, who, from the order of the Dominicans had passed into that of the Jesuits. Urban VII. and Gregory XIV. had granted many privileges to those islands. This medal was struck by order of Cardinal Paul Sfrondati, nephew of that last pope. Ten thousand of these medals were sent into those islands, with indulgences attached to their possession.

The head of Jesus is surrounded by the nimbus, as also is that of the Virgin. The Mother of God has a veil like that seen upon Philistis, queen of Syracuse.

4. GREGEM NE DESERAS. The pope in prayer, his crozier in his left hand. On the right, three sheep; on the left, the tiara on a hill. Bonanni, who thinks that the medal does not belong to this reign, gives also:

IVPITER PLVE MEL. Some authors think the three trees represent the Universal Church.

The shower of honey is ill expressed by the artist; it rather suggests rays of light descending in perpendicular lines from heaven. A shower of honey should be expressed by something thicker and less distinct. The shower of honey so solemnly invoked fell not upon the reign of Gregory XIV.



234. INNOCENT IX.—A. D. 1591.



INNOCENT IX. was previously named John Anthony Facchinetti. He was born on the 20th of July, 1519, at Bologna, of a senatorial family, native of Novara. After receiving the grade of doctor, John Anthony set out for Rome, where he became secretary to Cardinal Ardinghelli. Subsequently, he was governor of Parma, and bishop of Nicastro, in Calabria. In 1561, he went to the Council of Trent. Gregory XIV. named him cardinal on the 12th of December, 1583. After the funeral ceremonies of Pope Gregory XIV., fifty-six cardinals met in conclave, and on the 29th of October, 1591, they elected, in open scrutiny, Cardinal Facchinetti, who was then seventy-two years of age. He took the name of Innocent IX., in memory of Innocent III., a famous jurisconsult, and was privately crowned on the 3d of November, in the same year. On the 8th of that month he went, mounted on a white mule, to take possession of Saint John Lateran.

Faithful to ancient custom, the pope announced the news of his exaltation to the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops.

He immediately confirmed the bull of Saint Pius V., which forbade the alienation of the territories of the Roman Church.*

Then a scarcity occurred; and the pestilence, though weaker, still continued its ravages. The pope caused the price of bread to be lowered, and distributed relief to the poor. To meet this, he preferred to borrow forty thousand crowns, rather than touch the treasure left by Sixtus V., in the castle of Saint Angelo. Innocent said that it was useful that a treasure should remain in Rome, at the disposal of the Christian republic. Cardinal Gaetani, having solicited the pardon of John Anthony Orsini, with a

* We have only two medals of this pontiff.

1. INNOCENTIUS IX. PONT. MAX. Reverse: ROMA RESURGENS. We have seen this same type under Paul IV. 2. RECTIS CORDE, 1591. Angel offers the tiara.

In Du Molinet, we find:

1. PRO PHILIPPINIS ET ALIIS. The figure of Christ. 2. IN VERBO TVO LAXABO RETE. Saint Peter casts the net upon the shore. Christ extends his left hand.

In Bonanni, we find:

INNOCENTIO IX. PONT. MAX. *Argent*, an oak *vert*—the arms of the Facchinetti. Above, the keys and tiara. We have mentioned a similar medal under Julius II.

Almost all the other medals are repetitions.

sum of money as the price of that pardon, the pope was indignant, and replied: "We require not money, but obedience." From all circumstances, it has been concluded that if the reign of Innocent had been longer, it would have been a happy one. The Romans agreed in recognizing, in this pope, a matured wisdom, a pure life, liberality, magnificence, and experience in business.

On the 30th of December, 1591, he fell dangerously ill, and died, having governed the Church only a little more than two months.

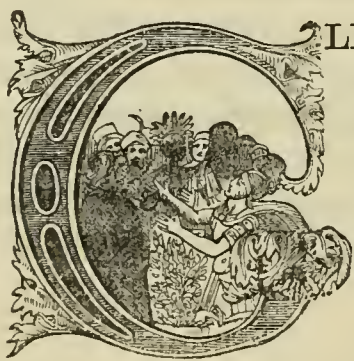
Rome then had to bewail the loss of three sovereign pontiffs in less than sixteen months after the death of Sixtus V.

Innocent IX. was removed from Monte Cavallo to the Vatican, where his ashes repose in the subterranean church.

He had a handsome countenance and a lofty stature. Fasting, however, had injured his health. It was his custom to eat only once a day, and in the evening. Among his effects was found a small mirror, divided into two parts: upon the one was painted a death's head, and upon the other a funeral procession. It was thus that he reminded himself of death, for which he daily accustomed himself by looking at that mirror.

The Holy See remained vacant one month.

235. CLEMENT VIII.—A. D. 1592.



CLEMENT VIII. (Hippolytus Aldobrandini), of a very illustrious Florentine family, was born on the 24th of February, 1535, in the city of Fano, where his father, Sylvester Aldobrandini was pontifical governor, having been driven from Florence, where he had been secretary of state, by the enmity of Duke Alexander de Medici. Hippolytus studied jurisprudence, and took the degree of doctor. At an early age he excelled in Greek and Latin poetry. At Rome he became consistorial auditor. Sixtus V.—and it was a striking mark of confidence—made him datary, on the 17th of May, 1585. On the 18th of December, of the same year, the pope created Hippolytus cardinal, and sent him as legate to Poland to solicit the liberation of Maximilian, archduke of Austria, who was held prisoner by the Poles. The Holy See never ceases to take an interest in the sufferings of the unfortunate. The nuncio succeeded in

his mission, and restored peace between Austria and Sigismund, who had succeeded Stephen Battory.

After the funeral of Innocent IX., fifty-two electors entered into conclave on the 10th of January, 1592. In this conclave several parties arose: on the one side, the Montaltists, headed by Cardinal Montalto, nephew of Pope Sixtus V.; and on the other side, the Spanish party. The latter showed a preference for Cardinal Santorio, who, on the 11th, was on the point of being elected by *adoration*. Thirty-five of the electors had given their votes; but Cardinals Altemps, Gesualdi, and Colonna put a stop to the tumult, which for several hours prevailed in the chapel. They constrained those who were clamoring for the adoration to consent to the scrutiny. Here Santorio, a fanatical partisan of the Spanish faction, had no more than thirty votes—five too few. But Providence had decreed the tiara to Aldobrandini. A single cardinal was here seen to exercise a sort of power of exclusion. Cancellieri thus relates the fact: “The cardinals were divided into two parties. Ascanius Colonna desiring the elevation of Santorio, cardinal of San Severino, wished the electors to proceed by way of adoration. The excitement of the two parties was so intense, that the Spanish party shut themselves up in the hall of scrutiny, while the other party retired to the Pauline chapel, and every thing seemed to menace scenes of violence. The tumult was such, that the senior cardinals could not count the votes, which, at that instant, were sufficient—thirty-five. Ascanius received a slip of paper from his relative, Mark Anthony Colonna. Ascanius read it, and exclaimed, *Ascanius will not have San Severino for pope, because he is not the choice of God*. And he rushed from the chapel, in spite of the efforts of the other cardinals to detain him. The effect of this renunciation was so rapid, that Santorio (San Severino) was at once excluded by a very great number of votes. Other candidates were proposed, but rejected. A cardinal suddenly named Aldobrandini. He was accepted with acclamation, and elected at nineteen o’clock (Italian reckoning), *i. e.*, noon, on the 19th of January, 1592.

“The electors had been impelled towards that choice, not only by the esteem in which they held Cardinal Aldobrandini, but also from his being only fifty-six years old; for all the cardinals observed that they had had to deplore the death of three pontiffs, whose united reigns had occupied only sixteen months.” All these observations of Cancellieri are confirmed by Novaes.

Before accepting the dignity, which he had not contemplated, Aldobrandini demanded permission to approach the altar. Yielding to an impulse of sublime humility, he said, with an emotion that excited universal enthusiasm: “O my God! let my tongue dry up, that I may not consent to this election, unless it be for the good of thy Church, which I love from the

very bottom of my heart, and of Christendom, whose glory and prosperity I desire." This admirable manifestation of modesty greatly impressed the cardinals. They sent for the pontifical vestments. They almost forcibly seized the cardinal, and attired him. He kept silence, but, when he saw them remove his red cassock, which he was never to see again, he exclaimed: "Give us back our beads and the office of the B. Virgin, which are the witnesses of our devotion." Aldobrandini could no longer withhold his consent, as he had used the papal first person plural—"Give *us* back *our* beads;" and he declared that he would take the name of Clement VIII. The name had once been given him by Saint Philip Neri, who predicted that he would one day become pope. On the 2d of February, the pope was ordained bishop by Cardinal Alphonsus Gesualdi, dean of the sacred college, and then crowned by Cardinal Sforza, first deacon; and on the 12th of April he solemnly took possession of Saint John Lateran. Clement made the distribution (*presbyterium*) of the pieces of gold and silver, that had not been made for some time previously.

When the pope had regulated some urgently important matters, he established a congregation under the title of *The Visitation*. It was to examine, in detail, all the churches, monasteries, colleges, hospitals, and brotherhoods of Rome. The first visit was made to Saint John Lateran, so that the example should strike all the administrators, and warn them to bring under better regulation the affairs intrusted to them. On all sides divine worship was restored, and a strict decorum was re-established: abuses were corrected: the eye of the master was everywhere, and every subaltern knew it. The guardian was ever there, watchful, and determined to maintain order. Every one could make his complaint. There are many other countries where such visitations would be permanently useful. It is not easy to say how much would be profitably borrowed from Rome, in the way of wholesome customs.

The constitution, *Graves et Diuturnas*, of the 25th of November, 1592, instituted the exposition named of the FORTY HOURS, in all the churches of Rome, so that the Holy Sacrament should be exposed day and night on every day in the year.

This pious institution, which Paul V. renewed, by granting a great number of indulgences, on the 10th of May, 1606, was adopted in many cities, not only in Italy, but in many other nations. Moreover, it had been already known in many churches of the first order.

Two sons of the elector of Bavaria at this time visited Rome, to offer, in the name of their father, their veneration to Pope Clement. The pontiff received them with tender affection, and in a consistory seated them next to the cardinals.

At this time died Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, one of the most

famous captains of his time, who had commanded armies against Henry IV., king of France. Clement bewailed Farnese, and ordered magnificent funeral ceremonies for him in the Vatican Basilica.

The pontiff was also much afflicted by the death of Alphonsus Gonzaga, lord of Castelgiufredo, which was under the pontifical protection.

The fatal custom of duelling, somewhat abated since the Council of Trent, again required the attention of the popes. Clement forbade those combats, under the severest penalties, by his constitution thirty, of the 17th of August, 1592, requiring duellists and seconds to be prosecuted. He also threatened to lay under interdict any places which by their law authorized or even tolerated duelling. He exhorted princes to enforce the execution of the measures prescribed by that bull, and severely to punish delinquents. Many sovereigns promised to put it in practice, as far as they had power, those wise instructions; for at that time, in the habits of the people, and in some remnants of the feudal law, there were obstacles that only religion could overcome.

About the year 1586, Sixtus V. had erected into a religious order the Hospitallers, known as the *Fate bene Fratelli*. Clement, in 1592, restored the order to the position it held under the reign of Pius V., so that it no longer was a religious order.

Clement's brief for the suppression was accepted in Italy, but not in Spain, where Philip II. refused to give it the royal *exequatur*. The same occurred in Russia, in 1763, at the suppression of the Jesuits by the brief of Clement XIV. But this state of things did not last. Paul V., by two briefs, in 1611 and 1617, restored them to the dignity of a religious order, and inferred that the Spanish members had not ceased to be religious, although the brief of Clement VIII. had not been received in Spain.

Meanwhile, the Holy Father, by letters of the 15th of April, 1592, commanded his legate to the League of Paris, Cardinal Philip Sega, to watch that the faith did not suffer in France, which had recognized a king who was still a Calvinist. On the other hand, Henry, gently urged by the Roman court, with all the delicacy that such circumstances required, and seeing that he could not easily hold the throne of France if he persisted in the errors of Calvinism, asked his Huguenot ministers if he could be saved in the event of his becoming a Catholic. They replied affirmatively. Then he said to them, "Certainly, then, it will be better that I shall go to heaven as king of France, than only as king of Navarre." From that moment, the prince received instructions in the dogmas of our religion from David du Perron, a former Calvinist, but sincerely converted to the faith.

The particulars of the negotiation tending to restore Henry to the bosom of the Church naturally find their place here.

We have already mentioned that a French agent, Arnould d'Ossat, em-

ployed in the French king's embassy at Rome, had solicited from Pope Gregory XIV., on behalf of Louisa of Lorraine, widow of Henry III., that solemn obsequies should be performed in honor of that prince, and that thus the excommunication should be revoked which had been pronounced against him by Sixtus V. D'Ossat, as we shall see, was to become the almost sole confidential servant of Henry IV., and it will not be useless to give some particular description of a personage who was to earn so honorable a reputation in a difficult negotiation.*

The papal absolution of King Henry IV. "was thwarted," says d'Ossat, "by the duke de Sessa, the Spanish ambassador, and by the Lorraine princes." The French Huguenots themselves, much attached as they were to Henry IV., whom they had assisted with both sword and purse, did not desire his reconciliation with the Holy See, preferring, as they did, their own individual passion to the safety of the royal person and the pacification of the kingdom, which depended entirely upon the Roman absolution.

Henry IV., whose sincerity was beyond all doubt, attentively read d'Ossat's correspondence, which exposed all the difficulty, and he deemed it so prudent and judicious, that he wrote to d'Ossat, announcing the departure of the duke of Nevers for Rome, and requesting d'Ossat to act in concert with him.

* Arnould d'Ossat was born on the 23d of August, 1536, at Cassagnabere, a village in the diocese of Auch. His father died when he was nine years old, and so poor that he was buried by charity. Thomas de Marca, a neighboring gentleman, educated him with the young lord of Castelnau de Magnoac, his lordship's nephew and ward. D'Ossat so applied himself, that four years later he was tutor to his former fellow-student. In May, 1559, they both went to Paris, and Thomas de Marca, pleased with d'Ossat's prudent conduct, placed other young relatives under his care. In 1562 he read law at Bourges, under Cujas, and became a licentiate, on which he was admitted as an advocate in the Parliament of Paris, trusting to assiduous study for success. In 1564 he sent to the press a defence of the Dialectic of Pierre de la Ramée against Jacques Charpentier, a doctor of medicine. Charpentier replied in terms of insult. Paul de Foix took d'Ossat to Rome in 1574, and when appointed ambassador in 1580, made him secretary. D'Ossat then commenced the diplomatic career. Mr. de Foix dying at Rome, at the close of 1582, Cardinal d'Este, protector of the affairs of France, offered his house to d'Ossat. Cardinal d'Este, feeling that he was dangerously ill, signed a will, in which, among other bequests, he left d'Ossat the sum of four thousand Roman crowns. Doubting the zeal and promptitude of the executors whom he had named, he ordered that a diamond, valued at twenty thousand crowns, should be at once given to d'Ossat, as an instalment of the bequest. D'Ossat had only the small emolument of his post as councillor to the presidency of Melun. He had no benefice, yet he refused to accept the pledge which the cardinal wished him to have. Cardinal de Joyeuse having succeeded to Cardinal d'Este as protector, received d'Ossat kindly, and gave him a priory. Henry III. offered him the post of secretary of state; but d'Ossat declined it, believing it sought by de Villeroy, who had befriended him. D'Ossat's delicacy excited in de Villeroy a feeling of grateful respect, which never left him. D'Ossat in vain endeavored to obtain the celebration of the obsequies of Henry III., at the instance of that prince's widow, Louisa of Lorraine. Nevertheless, it was not thought at Paris that the negotiator had been wanting in zeal or ability. See Life of Cardinal d'Ossat, in the *Letters du Cardinal d'Ossat*. (Amsterdam, 5 vols., 12mo., 1714.)

Clement VIII. congratulated d'Ossat, and told him that he should be pleased to treat with him, and that the selection of such a plenipotentiary could not but increase the favorable disposition of the Roman court. Mean time, the king's ministry at Paris imagined that the French prelates could give absolution to the king at Paris, *saving the authority of the Holy Apostolic See.*

The cardinal of Placentia, legate in France, endeavored to prevent such an invalid absolution, by a letter which he addressed to all the Catholics of the kingdom. In that letter, the cardinal stated that Henry of Bourbon, who styles himself king of France and Navarre, having called upon the French prelates to give him absolution, the legate believes it to be his duty to announce that the excommunication pronounced by Sixtus V. against Henry is and still remains effectual, and that the sovereign pontiff Clement alone can absolve the king from it.

Notwithstanding this notice, Henry IV. allowed himself to be persuaded that he could make his abjuration in the hands of the archbishop of Bourges, in the presence of Cardinal de Bourbon Vendome, and of seven or eight bishops. Chancellor de Chiverny says that the king determined to perform the ceremony in the abbey church of Saint Denis, in testimony that he desired to live and die, like the kings who are buried there, in the bosom of the Roman Church. As to the absolution, the archbishop pronounced it in these terms: "Saving the authority of the Holy See, I absolve thee from the crime of heresy and apostacy; I restore thee to the holy Roman Church, and admit thee to her sacraments. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." According to this condition, the king was still in need of the absolution of the pope, or, at the least, the confirmation of that of the bishops. On that account it was that he wrote the following letter to Clement VIII., in his own hand:

"MOST HOLY FATHER:

"Having, by the inspiration which it has pleased God to give me, become convinced that the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church is the true Church, full of truth, and in which lies the salvation of men; comforted still further in that faith and credence by the instruction given to me by the prelates and doctors in the holy faculty of theology, whom to that end I have called together, on the points which in past time had separated me from the Church; I am resolved to unite myself to that holy Church, and to live and die in her, with the aid of Him who has mercifully called me to her; and to make a beginning in that good work, after having been received to do so by the said prelates, with the forms and ceremonies which they judged necessary, accordingly I have willingly submitted myself. On Sunday, the 25th of July, I heard Mass, and joined my prayers to those of other good

Catholics, as incorporated in the said Church, with the firm intention to persevere in the same all my life, and to pay due obedience and respect to Your Holiness, as was done by all the Most Christian kings my predecessors. And assuring myself, most Holy Father, that Your Holiness will rejoice over this holy act, so fitting to the place where it has pleased God that it should be done, I have deemed fit, while waiting to pay my duty more fully by a formal embassy, to give by these few lines from my own hand the first testimony of my filial devotion to Your Holiness, earnestly entreating you to receive it in the spirit in which it is dictated by a most sincere and affectionate heart, hoping by my actions to merit your holy benediction. And with this, most Holy Father, I pray God that he will preserve you in perfect health, for the good government of his holy Church.

“HENRY.

“From Saint Denis, the 18th of August, 1593.”

Reasoning from a letter written by this prince to the duchess of Beaufort, it has been said that he had manifested less decided sentiments ; that he had said that he should be made to hate Saint Denis. And something was said about a perilous leap. We must reply that Henry had not yet subjected Paris, and was in a really dangerous position. Commanding a mixed army of Catholics and Protestants, he was closely watched by both parties. As he passed in front of his guards, he saw a crowd of those Protestants who had been mutilated in his service, and who looked upon him with a respect that was mingled with grief and compassion, perhaps, and even with something of menace. On entering his council, he saw Rosny, with his stern brow, and ardent Catholics who were unwilling to be disappointed in their hopes, and who were ready to desert a sovereign whom they supposed to be uncertain in his plans. He had promised that he would believe as they did ; and they awaited, but with no great confidence, the fulfilment of that promise. A third party consisted of friends, both Catholic and Protestant, of the duchess of Beaufort's faction, who knew not what to advise. By turns they blamed or applauded. Their sole view was to favor the king's passion for a woman who already aspired to share his throne. In such circumstances, a warrior who knew how devotedly the Calvinists had shed their blood for him, a prince whose line had so long aspired to the French sceptre, and who now saw the day come on which he could, as of right, wear a crown which belonged to him, and return into the true religion in which he had been reared, and which he had only abandoned on compulsion, and at an age when strength and courage are not yet fully developed ; a man—and here he is only a man to be pitied, carried away by a frantic love which he knew not how to control, and who feared the austerity of

Rome, as it was necessary to bend her and solicit a divorce, with the secret intention of a misalliance, which made it all the more difficult—a man thus distracted might well be inconsistent.

Clement VIII. was aware of, but disapproved, the step intended to be taken by the archbishop and bishops assembled at Saint Denis; and accordingly, they did not hesitate to give an account of it to the Holy Father, in the following letter:

“MOST HOLY FATHER:

“*Post humillima beatorum pedum oscula*—After having humbly kissed the feet of Your Holiness.

“We, archbishop, bishops, and ecclesiastics, who are yours in the bands of our zeal and of our tenderness, we who have labored for the act concerning Henry our king returning to the holy Roman Catholic Church, we beg you not to see in that act, dictated by the imperative urgency of our affairs, any thing to lead you to believe that we have rashly and arrogantly presumed or usurped. Your Holiness will judge and openly perceive that all was settled and concluded without offence to the dignity of the Holy See, or the respect due to Your Holiness. We shall speedily send one of our number to Your Holiness, further and more clearly to expose and explain what has been done; in the mean time, we earnestly entreat Your Holiness to consider us true sons of the Church, and filled with love and veneration for Your Holiness. May God for many years preserve Your Holiness to his Church!

“Given at Saint Denis, the 6th of August, 1593.”

Besides the signature of Cardinal Charles de Bourbon, this letter bore the signatures of an archbishop, seven bishops, and eleven abbots and doctors—twenty signatures in all.

A truce had been entered into, in order to suspend hostilities; but the Spanish and the Leaguers were for preventing the people from leaving Paris for Saint Denis. In spite of that prohibition, a great number of the citizens contrived, by urgency and entreaty, to pass the guard, and quite a multitude of Parisians reached the king, whom they loudly applauded as he passed.

D'Ossat having reported to the pope the feeling in France on the king's conversion, another negotiation commenced more serious than the first.

D'Ossat represented that the reduction of Paris had become more easy and more probable; that the French bishops appeared to have rendered a service to the kingdom and to the king, without offending the pope, who

definitively had the sovereign authority in the matter of absolution. At the same time Spain insisted that Clement should meet the king's request with a direct refusal, and the language of the Spanish ambassador was so unmeasured as to give serious offence to the Holy See.

Clement would not refuse audiences to d'Ossat, whom the Italians loved, because, as they said, he was "fertile in expedients." But the negotiation lasted several months.

Meantime, Paris had recognized the king of France. The 22d of March, 1594, was a holiday for almost the entire kingdom; and by the effect of a singular state of the public mind, the king's council did not so firmly press the request that had so long before been presented at Rome. Some of the ministers had raised the dangerous cry—"Let us temporize! Spain has too much power at the Vatican; let us await another reign in Rome!" That wish became known to the sacred college. D'Ossat thought it his duty to oppose that opinion, and wrote to Henry on the 23d of December. He commenced by agreeing with those who anticipated the death of the pope; and he then declared that that expectation, too much prolonged, was of no advantage to the interests of the king, and shows how all would have to be begun anew with a new pontiff.

An animated correspondence ensued between the king and d'Ossat. The latter also kept in constant communication with the pope's nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, a man greatly distinguished for his intellect. Though scarcely twenty-four years of age, he had obtained the entire confidence of his uncle. D'Ossat having asked permission from Clement VIII. to communicate the general state of affairs to that nephew, the pope replied: "Tell him every thing, even to what we have said in this audience." Thus the French minister on this occasion found an opportunity to repeat and strengthen all that he had before said, and he gathered the replies which, though substantially the same, yet often allowed admissions or concealments to be sufficiently visible to give the negotiator the advantage.

Cardinal Delfino, minister from Venice to Rome during the years 1596, 1597, and 1598, spoke thus of Cardinal Aldobrandini: "He is of a most noble nature, and amiable and graceful as can be imagined. We may add that he was very amiable, and thoroughly to be relied upon." * .

However, there was one point upon which Aldobrandini, with all his elegance, and d'Ossat with all his zeal, could not come to an agreement. Clement, in measured and paternal terms, had expressed his opinion upon

* It is noticeable, says Comines, that all the men who have been great and have done noble things began when very young.

*Scilicet ingenium et rerum prudentia vclox
Ante pilos venit, dicenda tucendaque calles.*—PERSIUS.

the absolution pronounced by the French archbishop and bishops. Aldobrandini, with all the forms of the most exquisite politeness, explained the consequences of that act of the French episcopate. The pope must needs treat as a nullity the absolution given by the bishops of France,* who, according to the laws of Rome, had no authority to revoke, or even to moderate, or interpret the judgments and censures of the Holy See. It was said at Rome that nothing like that procedure of the French bishops had ever before been witnessed, where, in a single morning, instruction, conversion, satisfaction, penance, and absolution had been hurried through simultaneously. That was the reason why the pope and Aldobrandini made no reply when d'Ossat, a good servant and somewhat exacting Frenchman, spoke so much about the Catholicity of the king, and his inflexible determination to live and die in the apostolical Roman Catholic religion.

Meanwhile, Seraphin Olivier, auditor of the rota, an able and courageous personage,† said one day very bluntly to the pope: "Most Holy Father, permit me to tell you that Clement VII. lost England through being too complaisant to Charles V.; and that Clement VIII. will lose France if he continue to be too complaisant to Philip II."

This was not quite true. Even without taking into account the indecision of Charles V., England was destined to fall under the yoke of Calvin. Moreover, in our life of Clement VII., we have shown how much Clement VII. did to prevent that misfortune. Nevertheless, the words of Monsignor Seraphin made a deep impression on the mind of His Holiness.

D'Ossat being made aware of this incident, returned to the charge, was better received, and so wrote to Henry.

A suspicion was felt by the Council of Paris, from the idea that it was sought to impose humiliating terms upon the king.

On this subject d'Ossat thus expresses himself in a letter to the king: "I told the pope that you had been assured that he sought to force your majesty to a rehabilitation; that, as regards your private person, you would not hesitate to take both absolution and rehabilitation, or even more than that, receiving all as tending the more to your advantage, but that the dignity of a king of France, which centres in your person, and which has devolved upon you by the Salic law, without your even taking it from any of your predecessors, together with the pre-eminence of the crown of France, and the unanimous consent of the French people, made that remedy repugnant, and required the substitution of some good expedient. Such an ex-

* Amelot de la Houssaye, *Lettres de d'Ossat*, i., p. 353.

† Seraphin Olivier was born at Lyons, but brought up at Bologna, his mother's town. He belonged to the Olivier family which had given chancellors to France. He was made auditor of the Rota by Saint Paul V., on the recommendation of Charles IX. He was a witty, companionable man.

pedient was sought for and found by d'Ossat, because the king, filled with prudence and penetration, left freedom of action to that man so *rich in expedients*.

At length, Davy du Perron,* bishop elect of Evreux, was sent to act, in conjunction with d'Ossat, as proxy of his majesty, in the great ceremony of the absolution.

D'Ossat, who at first singly conducted that negotiation, had acted so ably, that when du Perron arrived he had little more to do than to reap the fruits.

After several conciliatory proceedings, which were approved by the pope, du Perron and d'Ossat, on the 30th of June, 1595, presented a formal application to His Holiness.

It is true that he treated with two personages of singular integrity in business, and who preserved that reputation during their whole lives.

"The Holy Father," says d'Ossat, "on Wednesday, the 2d of August, summoned all the cardinals to a general congregation, and called their attention to *the said business*, informing them of all that had been done in it from the commencement of his pontificate. He pointed out all the severities which he had used concerning it, and how ineffectual such severities had been, seeing that the king had still prospered and established himself in the kingdom, notwithstanding all the resistance that could be opposed to him. His Holiness proceeded to state that at length he had informed Cardinal de Gondi that His Holiness would give audience to any new envoy from the Most Christian king, and that thereupon the king had sent Mr. du Perron as the bearer of two letters from his majesty, one of which was in his own

* James Davy du Perron, reader to Henry III., was born on the 25th of November, 1556, of Protestant parents. His father was a Protestant minister, named Julian Davy. From his earliest years James showed the happiest dispositions, which a good education and the love of study perfected. His memory was prodigious, and his progress was surprising in every study, but more especially in logic, a science then in great request. Moreover, he had a supple and amusing wit, and attracted a great number of friends and patrons. Fortune called him to court. He immediately renounced Protestantism, and became one of the most zealous defenders of the Catholic religion. In 1576, being then only twenty years of age, he lectured publicly, in the great hall of the Augustinians, upon peripatetic philosophy and mathematics. In all his disputations with the Protestant authors who attacked him he was victorious.

After the death of Henry III., du Perron passed into the service of Cardinal Charles de Bourbon; and formed the third party in favor of that cardinal, whom he had proclaimed king under the name of Charles the Tenth, which has subsequently been more honorably borne. The bishop elect of Evreux took a prominent part in the conversion of Henry IV., and on the day when the absolution of the king was pronounced at Saint Denis he was at the side of that prince, and rejoicing in his own share of bringing him to the foot of the altar. During the truce, of which we spoke some time back, du Perron gained another complete victory at the assembly of Nantes, on the 7th of December; he silenced in debate fourteen ministers, among whom were the famous Berau and Rotan. (See *Du Cardinal d'Ossat*, 1771, vol. i., p. 375.) About the month of April, 1595, Henry IV. gave du Perron the title of councillor of state and first almoner, that he might be able to send him to Rome.

handwriting, and explained his request. His Holiness urged that this was *the most important business that the Holy See had had before it in several centuries*; and His Holiness begged, prayed, and exhorted those assembled princes of the Church to consider it well, and to lay aside all human passion and interest, and to have no thought but for the honor of God, the preservation and extension of the Catholic faith, and the common benefit of all Christendom. His Holiness reminded them that in this instance they had not to deal with the case of a private man detained in prison, but with that of a very great and most potent prince, commanding armies and much people, and that they ought to consider less that prince himself than that whole great kingdom which followed and depended upon him, and not to be as strict in absolving from censures as in absolving from sins. The pope added that in four or five days from that time he would separately consult each of the cardinals, in their rank and order, so that in his own chamber he might have the true opinion and best advice of each of them; and he desired that they would all be prepared. After thus speaking, he caused to be read in the said assembly the two letters of the king and the written request.”*

“On the following Monday, the 7th of August, the pope began to hear the opinions of the said lords cardinals, and partly on account of the slowness which is natural to Rome, and partly because His Holiness could not neglect the general business of that court, he did not finish hearing them until Wednesday, the 23d of that month. More than three-fourths of the cardinals were of opinion that His Holiness should give the absolution. In the week which has elapsed since the pope finished hearing the said opinions, we have solicited and treated upon the conditions of the future absolution, and have come to agreement upon the same. At the least, we have said to them, and guarantied in writing, all that we could grant them, without reserving any thing to ourselves, and we have declared that we could add no more. It would seem that they require more, but more they will not have from us;† and we require that the business should be ended without delay, as we entreated of the Holy Father in the third audience given to us by His Holiness, on Monday, the 28th day of this month. We then made him, in person, the above declaration,‡ that we could add nothing to the conditions by us previously conceded. Accordingly, to-day, the 30th of August, His Holiness held a consistory, in which he declared to the cardinals that, having collected their votes, he found that nearly all were

* *D'Ossat's Letters*, i., p. 562.

† This refers to the opposing cardinals, who still wanted to dictate new conditions, and especially to Cardinal Santorio, or San Severino, the ardent partisan of Spain.

‡ It is to be observed here that d'Ossat no longer writes singly, and that du Perron also gives his opinion, which, throughout the negotiation, is a little less favorable to Rome.

in favor of granting the absolution, and accordingly he had determined to give it, and had already consulted with the proxies as to their conditions, the principal and most important of which they had heard from him; adding, that he would endeavor to obtain more if possible, and what he could not obtain at present, he would endeavor subsequently to obtain by means of a legate, whom he would send, and by means of nuncios whom he would keep near the king, and by the ambassadors from his majesty. It now remains for us to sign the above-mentioned conditions and promises, and for His Holiness to make and publish the decree of the absolution.

“Meantime there is great eagerness to draw up the form of the abjuration and confession of faith that we shall have to make here in the name of the king; and the form of the bull of absolution, of which we are to have a copy, and on which nothing is to be done without previous consultation with us. That done, His Holiness will publicly perform the solemnity of the said abjuration and confession of faith, and of the absolution which will govern with reference to it, and of the same tenor. And we have the hope, almost the certainty, that that will occur on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady, the 8th of next month,* and that the same bull, signed and sealed, will be conveyed to the king and published in France and in all Christendom.

“The Spanish ambassador (the duke of Sessa) has always persisted in maintaining the king to be impenitent, and that he should on no account be absolved; and in the mean time he has a great number of venal tools who have privately aided him, by urging all sorts of pretexts on which the absolution might be denied altogether, or deferred as long as possible.

“Now, the more malignant spirits endeavored to prevent or postpone so great a benefit, the more our Holy Father has caused public or private prayer to be offered up by all good people in Rome; and the more he has himself been assiduous in prayer and in the invocation of the grace and inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Besides his customary devotions, which at all times are great, on Saturday, the 5th of this month, the feast of the dedication of Saint Mary’s of the Snows, accompanied by a small number of servants, both he and they being barefooted, he went at daybreak from his palace of Monte Cavallo to Saint Mary Major,† where he prayed at

* It did not occur till the 17th day of September.

† Saint Mary Major is one of the four patriarchal Basilicas, and one of the finest churches in Rome. It was built in the year 352, by John Patrizi, a Roman, one of the ancestors of the house of the Patrizi, and under Pope Liberius. (See Life of Pope Liberius). The ground-plan of it was miraculously suggested to that pope by a snow that fell on the Esquiline Hill on the 5th of August; the church was consequently called *Saint Mary of the Snow*, and *Basilica Liberiana*. (Fea, 1821, vol. ii., p. 82.) On the tablet of the fine altar of Our Lady, in the Borghese chapel, there is a bas-relief, in gilt bronze, representing the miracle of the snow. On the 5th of August, the Feast of Our Lady of the Snow, jessamine petals are scattered from the roof in imitation of snow.

great length. He returned thence, still barefooted, to his palace, weeping, with downcast face, without giving his benediction or looking at any one. And on the day of the Assumption of Our Lady, the 15th of the month, he returned at the same hour to the above-mentioned church, barefooted, and again prayed earnestly, and still barefooted, said Mass; and then he held the chapel of that day, attended by the cardinals in state, whom he awaited there more than two hours after finishing his devotions. And, as he daily makes some new demonstration of his devotion and piety, so, in the audience that we had of His Holiness, on the 28th of the month, he gave us a very great and distinguished testimony of his esteem for the king and kingdom of France, and of his paternal affection for both, as will be declared to you at more secure time and place."

We may now give the letter to M. de Villeroy, in which d'Ossat announces the termination of that business of the absolution.

"MONSEIGNEUR :

"Though not quite so quickly as had been announced to you, yet this morning the absolution was given to the king by our Holy Father the pope, with all the solemnity and amidst all the public joy that you could desire. To communicate this news to you, we dispatch Baptist Mancini,* whom we have directed to travel by the safest roads, and to be less careful about speed than about safe arrival.

"In addition to the letters we now write, he will deliver to you the duplicates of the two previous dispatches, the copy of our written petition to the pope, the articles that have been granted in order to obtain the absolution, and those which we declined. And if the said Mancini do not so very speedily arrive, he is not to be held blameworthy therefor.

"Since my letters of the 30th of August and 1st of September, we have had much discussion and labor to come to an agreement upon a more terse demand which was required from us, and upon the form of the decree of absolution that our Holy Father was to give, and the abjuration and confession of faith which we had to make this morning, immediately before the absolution. But, at length, all has been done consistently with the dignity of the Most Christian crown and the tranquillity which is necessary for France, so much afflicted by the past civil wars, those being the two objects which we have kept in view, next after the honor and glory of God, throughout this negotiation.

"It now remains to put in form the said acts, and to expedite the bull of absolution, upon which we are laboring with all diligence, in order that his

* Thus fortune in sport raises the humblest to the highest places. (Note by Amelot de la Houssaye.)

majesty may receive the whole as speedily as possible, and that his majesty and all France may as speedily reap the anticipated benefit.

"However, the Spaniards have never yielded, although, in the consistory, the pope declared his intention to give the absolution. And when they found that they could not prevent its being given, and that, too, at Rome, they did their utmost to delay it; at least, to prevent it from being publicly given, and to have it unannounced by the guns of the castle of Saint Angelo, and unaccompanied by any public rejoicings, until, as they urged, the conditions should be ratified in France, and an ambassador sent thence to this court, at which time they thought that the guns of Saint Angelo might salute.* But the guns were fired this morning, no doubt to the great annoyance of Spanish ears, and this evening there are signs of rejoicing which must be equally annoying to Spanish eyes.†

"In my letter of the 30th of August, I mentioned that, in our audience of His Holiness on the 28th of August, he gave great proof of his esteem for the king and for France, and of his paternal affection for both. It was that,

* This obstinacy in interfering with the pope's peculiar concerns, criticising his acts, insulting his conscience, and misrepresenting his authority, is here courageously expressed. It should never be forgotten that if the Spaniard, Cardinal Toledo, had carried into the Spanish camp his strength of will, his knowledge, his love of religion, his zeal for peace, his spirit of concord, and the just predilections of his order, the French ministers would have encountered almost insurmountable obstacles.

† Francis Toledo, whom the French writers call Tolet, was of neither wealthy nor illustrious family. He was born in 1532, at Cordova, a city of Spain, distinguished as the birthplace of the two Senecas. He studied at the university of Salamanca. His master in philosophy always called him the *monster of intellect*. (*Life of Cardinal d'Ossat*, vol. i., p. 368.) The reputation of Toledo was such, that he was appointed professor of philosophy when only fifteen years of age. He then became a Jesuit. His superiors sent him to Rome, as a place of observation worthy of his talents. Popes Saint Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Urban V., Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., and Clement VIII., honored him with their esteem and confidence. The first four of those popes chose him for their preacher, and the last three employed him as their theologian in ordinary. He was also appointed to accompany Cardinal John Francis Commendon, in his legation to Germany. He exerted himself to form, with the Emperor Maximilian and Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, a league against the Turk. Toledo also showed himself as good a negotiator as he was a theologian. In 1593, Clement VIII. rewarded his services and his merits by raising him to the purple. De Thou remarks that he was the first of his order who was raised to that dignity.

The friend of justice and truth, Cardinal Toledo did not lend himself, Spaniard though he was, to the ambitious views of the king of Spain, but constantly labored for the reconciliation of Henry IV. to the Holy See. The duke of Sessa one day said to him: "*Were you as good a Spaniard as you are a good theologian, you would not advocate the absolution of Henry IV.*" "*And you,*" replied Toledo, "*were you as good a theologian as you are an able ambassador, would be of my opinion.*"

Henry IV. showed his gratitude to Toledo on every opportunity, and when he received information of the death of that cardinal, he publicly testified his grief, and honored the memory of that great man by having solemn services performed in both Paris and Rome.

Cardinal Toledo left several theological works worthy of his great reputation; but what still further proves his profound knowledge, is the brief addressed to him in 1584, by Gregory XIII., by which he was made censor of the pope's own writings.

regardless of personal fatigue and great expense, and of the inconvenience of leaving his Italian States, he offered to us that he would go to Avignon, and if the king would trust himself there, he would there give him the absolution; or, if his majesty would not go to Avignon, then *His Holiness would go whithersoever the king pleased*, and give the king the absolution in the place of the king's own appointment. But considering the length of time that would be required, and the infinite accidents that might occur to prevent that journey, and the doubts and suspicions that the past had caused, and that this journey might revive in many minds, we entreated His Holiness to reserve the execution of that good intent for some other opportunity that time might produce for doing some other general good to Christendom, and give us speedily the absolution which it was thought was already given, in France, at that moment when His Holiness was speaking."*

Here we may usefully give some details upon the ceremony or the absolution.

A scaffolding was erected on Saint Peter's square, on which was placed a very lofty throne for the pope; and all the cardinals took their places below him. The ceremony was commenced by the reading of a decree of His Holiness. The pope approved and confirmed all the acts of religion that had followed the absolution at Saint Denis. The request of the king was then read that had been presented by du Perron and d'Ossat, who were then introduced. Kneeling, they abjured the errors of Calvinism in the usual form. Then the conditions of the absolution were read. Especial stress was laid upon a peace to be concluded with Spain; after which du Perron and d'Ossat, in the name of the king, promised, upon the holy Gospels, that he would persevere in the Apostolic Roman Catholic faith. They were then conducted to the foot of the throne of His Holiness, where, again kneeling, with downcast eyes and bowed heads, they recited the Psalm *Miserere*. At each verse the pope, having in his hand a long and slender wand, like those which the Romans termed *Vindicta*, and used for the enfranchisement of slaves, slightly touched with that wand the ministers of the king, as was the custom of the Church, to signify that *Christian liberty was restored to those who had been in the bonds of censure*.†

Then the pope rose, and having, with uncovered head, recited the usual prayers, resumed his tiara, and, seating himself upon his throne, he raised his voice and declared, that by the authority of the Almighty, by that of the blessed apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and by his own, he gave

* No pope had then been in France subsequent to the reign of Clement VII., who, in 1533, went to Marseilles to see Francis I., and negotiate the marriage of Catherine de Medici with the duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II.

† De Thou, t. xii., book c. xiii., p. 477.

to Henry of Bourbon, king of France, absolution from the ecclesiastical censures incurred by reason of heresy. Then the pope gave his benediction to the ministers of the king, and said to them: "You will make known to the king your master, that we have opened to him the gate of the Church militant here on earth, and that it is for himself, by a lively faith and by works of piety, hereafter to enter into the Church triumphant in heaven." Then, by order of the pope, the hitherto closed doors of the church were thrown open, and the Cardinal of San Severino, grand penitentiary, conducted the French envoys to the church, where the *Te Deum* was sung amidst a great concourse of all orders of the people. Cardinal de Joyeuse then conducted them to the church of Saint Louis, the national church of the French, where the *Te Deum* was again sung with an equally numerous concourse, and William d'Avanson, archbishop of Embrun, celebrated the Mass. In the afternoon the *Te Deum* was sung the third time at the *Trinita de' Monti*, a convent of the French *Minims*, where the bishop of Lisieux* officiated. All the prelates, and the gentlemen, who were subjects of the king, and even a great number of Roman prelates and gentlemen, followed by an immense crowd, were present at the religious acts of that day. The king was prayed for in all the churches, and the *Te Deum* was sung.

For three days there were fireworks and illuminations at Rome, in token of rejoicing, the Spaniards alone standing aloof. The popular joy evinced on this occasion was the more humiliating to the enemies of the king, because it especially proceeded from the attachment of the people for Henry IV. For, not only were the arms of France seen upon many houses, but even the poorest people bought Henry's portrait, which had recently been engraved, and which was fixed upon the walls amidst cries of *Vive le Roi de France, who is restored to us!* In brief, all were eager to give tokens of affection for Henry IV., and of joy at his reconciliation to the Holy See.†

* Anne des Cars of Givry, to whom the pope, on his own motion, gave the purple, in 1596.

† Unjust writers in several countries have alluded to some circumstances in the absolution of Henry IV., pretending that the pope gave *blows with a stick* to the two ministers of the king. Can bad faith go beyond this?

We must give such writers more correct information. As we have already briefly said, the enfranchisement by the *Vindicta* was customary among the Romans. It was introduced in the year following the expulsion of the kings, by P. Valerius Publicola, when, to reward the slave who had discovered the conspiracy of the young Romans in favor of the Tarquins, he gave him his liberty. That slave was named *Vindex* or *Vindicus*. It was from that name that the ceremony was called *Vindicta*. After having the slave's hair cut quite close, his master took him to the prætor, to whom, presenting the slave, he said: "*I wish this man to be free.*" The prætor—"*I tell thee that thou art free, according to the custom of the Romans.*" (*Persius*, sat. 5.) As he said these words, he tapped him lightly on the head with a wand, and on the instant the slave became free and master of himself.

At the present day, especially in the morning, in the churches which have penitentiaries, the pilgrims kneel at about three yards from the confessional; they cast down their eyes, and can scarcely feel the wand of the penitentiary which is laid for an instant upon their head.

Bonanni (ii., p. 483), treating of the pontifical medals of this reign, gives the following details upon the ceremony of the absolution.

“Sixtus V. disapproved of the actions of Henry, king of Navarre. As that pontiff was of warm temper, and was not timid towards offenders, he launched his anathema, in 1575, against Henry, as a heretic and the patron of heretics. Gregory XIV., in 1591, ordered the archbishops and bishops of France, and all the members of the clergy, to break off all relation with the same Henry. Subsequently, Clement VIII. made every effort to save the Church of France. He loved that Church, so celebrated for its antiquity, its sanctity, and its knowledge, and he assiduously prayed for it. According to Baronius (vol. vi.), he unceasingly and with tears entreated God on behalf of that Church. And that France, *daughter of the Clementine tears*, saw that Church flourish in tenderness, in piety, and in veritable love, under Henry IV. and his son. Clement had warned the confederates that they were to recognize rights to the crown of France only in a Catholic prince.

“In the midst of these perturbations, Henry, struck by the divine light, and by the arguments of the Apostolic Church, was instructed in her dogmas, learned to detest errors, and professed in Saint Denis the Roman religion, which was that of the holy kings of France.

“He successively sent, to ask absolution in his name, Peter de Gondi and the Marquis de Pisani. Clement would not listen to either of them. Then Henry sent the duke de Nevers, who succeeded in discovering in Clement an inclination towards pardon. Subsequently, du Perron and d'Ossat renewed the attempts. They affirmed that Henry from the bottom of his heart had renounced all his previous errors. Saint Philip Neri interposed, and zealously supported the efforts of the king. On the 20th of December, 1595,* Clement, in consistory, declared that he had collected the opinions of all the cardinals, and that a great portion of them inclined to the reconciliation. The king's agents were treated with : the Saint Denis absolution was declared null and void. The king was to abjure again between the hands of a legate. The prince de Condé was to be recalled from Rochelle and reared at Paris, as presumptive heir to the king. The Catholic religion was to be re-established in Bearn. The Council of Trent was to be published and observed. Finally, the king was to notify all the Catholic princes of his conversion.”

Bonanni subsequently says that the two agents, taken before the pope, pronounced the abjuration—du Perron aloud, and d'Ossat in a lower tone. They swore upon the Gospels of God, which were placed before

* Here Bonanni is in error, for the absolution took place on the 17th of September, in that same year. For the 20th of December we should read the 30th of August, 1595.

them, and Don Cosmas de Angelis then read the decree of absolution. Then the pope, with mitre on head, recited the psalm *Miserere*, and at each verse touched the heads of the king's agents (the wand is not mentioned). All was conducted in the pontifical form, but in that form the wand called the *Vindicta* is concerned.

When the doors of Saint Peter's were thrown, the Cardinal San Severina said to the king's two envoys: "*Enter, O you whom your king has empowered to act for him, enter into the Church of God; recognize that he inconsiderately departed from it, and that he has escaped from the bonds of death; let all hold heretical depravity in horror, and adore Almighty God!*"

Bonanni subsequently relates that letters from Henry testified to his lively gratitude to the pope; and Henry, in his own letters, speaks of his intention to go to Rome to return thanks in person.

In commemoration of those events a granite column was set up in front of the church of Saint Anthony the Abbot, near Saint Mary Major. The inscription is given by Bonanni, thus:

D. O. M.
CLEMENTE OCTAVO PONT. MAX.
AD MEMORIAM
ABSOLVTIONIS HENRICI QVARTI
FRANCIE ET NAVARRÆ
REGIS CHRISTIANISSIMI
Q. F. A. D. XV. KAL. OCTOBER MDXCV.

The pope, in addition to all the demonstrations of joy permitted at Rome, struck a medal, with his own head on one side, and that of Henry IV. on the other.*

On this occasion, also, the king gave the cardinals the title of *cousin*. Till then, he addressed them only as *dear friend*.†

The League from that moment was destroyed, and was no longer mentioned, excepting in detestation and in denunciation of the fact that, under the pretext of religion, Frenchmen had allied themselves with the enemies of France herself; and that, consequently, that fair land had for forty years been the theatre of scenes which she should long have to deplore.

At the same time, the pope considering that Henry had no children by Margaret of Valois (daughter of Henry II., and sister of the three last kings

* John Paul Mucante, master of pontifical ceremonies, and Muzio Piacentini, wrote accounts of this benediction of Henry IV. The first of these works was published at Viterbo, 4to, in 1595; the second, also 4to, at Ferrara, 1595.

† It was about that time that Henry gave to the Chapter of Saint John Lateran the abbey of Clairac, in the diocese of Agen. The chapter enjoyed the revenues till 1789.

of France, Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III.), to whom the young king of Navarre had been married by force, ordered the delicate circumstances of the case to be carefully examined; and at length complied with the entreaties of the king, who subsequently applied for a divorce, that he might be enabled to marry Mary de Medici, daughter of the grand duke of Tuscany.

Previous to the absolution, two fanatics, Peter Barrière and John Chatel, attempted the king's life. The enemies of the Jesuits did not neglect that opportunity to tell the prince that those religious had incited the assassins to that crime, the assassins being recognized as having studied in the schools of the society. The Jesuits were expelled from the kingdom; but Clement, who yielded to no one in esteem and good-will of the society (as he himself wrote to the archbishop of Lima), so urgently pressed the monarch, who did not share the error of a part of his council, that the Fathers were recalled to the kingdom and their colleges. Subsequently, in 1604, in spite of the representations of the parliament, the prince gave them the magnificent college of La Flèche, where, in token of his affection, his last will ordered his heart to be deposited.

On the subject of the Jesuits, the king was accustomed to say: "I observe that two classes of persons are opposed to their return; first, the partisans of the pretended reformation, that is to say, the Huguenots; and then ecclesiastics, whose life is not very edifying."

The barefooted Carmelites having been instituted in 1562 by Saint Teresa, assisted by Saint John of the Cross, Gregory XIII. approved the reform on the 22d of June, 1580, and separated them from the Great Carmelites. Clement completed the separation, and included the discalced Carmelites among the mendicant orders.

In a promotion of cardinals, Clement gave the purple to two of his nephews.

The missionaries sent to distant countries had not discontinued their holy labors. The patriarch of Alexandria, stimulated by the exhortations of missionaries, sent to Rome two Egyptian ambassadors, who were received with honors by the pope. At his feet they made their profession of faith, abjuring the errors of the Greek sect on the procession of the Holy Ghost, and on the repetition of Baptism. They admitted seven sacraments, and declared that they received the first Council of Nice, the first and second Council of Constantinople, and those of Ephesus and Chalcedon; they reprobated the Eutychian heresy; and finally, in the name of their patriarch, they acknowledged the primacy of Rome, received the Councils of Florence and Trent, and earnestly entreated the pope to unite the churches of Egypt to the Apostolic Church. The Holy Father sent those ambassadors home filled with joy, giving them rich presents, and holy relics.

The sufferings of the Catholics of Mount Lebanon were from time to time made known at Rome by monks who visited there, and Clement intrusted an important mission to the Jesuits Dandini and Bruno, who were directed to visit in that distant part such Catholics as recognized the Holy See, and to present them with various gifts in money, church plate, books, vestments, and a *Pontifical*, intended for the patriarch. The arrival of those Jesuits was joyfully greeted on the mountain, *and the ancient cedars shook with joy.*

In 1596, there was a great promotion of cardinals, among whom were—Anne de Cars de Givry, of the counts of Limoges, and related to the royal house of France, who had several times been ambassador to Rome from the princes of the Valois branch,—Saussay has included him in the Gallican martyrology; 2. Camillus Borghese, who became pontiff in 1605, under the name of Paul V.: 3. Cæsar Baronius, born of an honorable family at Sora, and sent at an early age to Rome, where he placed himself under the direction of Saint Philip, in his congregation of the Oratory. There, by order of that saint, he composed that immortal work, the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, which obtained him the surname of the *Father of Ecclesiastical History*. That noble and learned personage, after eloquently preaching in the churches of the Florentines, of the Charity, and of the Vallicella, was named Librarian of the Holy Church. In 1605, in the conclave which elected Paul V., Baronius would have been made pope, there being thirty-five votes for him, but that his humility and his eloquence turned the electors from their determination. He begged so earnestly, and spoke so eloquently, that he succeeded in preventing his own election.

One of the most glorious works of the pontificate of Clement VIII. was, doubtless, the union of the Duchy of Ferrara to the States of the Holy See. Duke Alphonsus II., of Este, being without legitimate heir, asked Gregory XIV. for permission to bequeath the principality to some of his relations of the house of Este, and it is said that Gregory XIV. made no very great resistance. Alphonsus dying on the 27th of October, 1597, it was found that he had left a will, by which he left as his heir Cæsar d'Este, a distant relation; and Cæsar, with the favor of the emperor, caused himself to be crowned duke of Ferrara. It was thought that Clement would consent, but while he was still a cardinal, he, as strongly as was consistent with respect, opposed the concession that had been asked from Gregory. Now that he had become pope, Clement acted in concert with Henry IV. That prince declared that Ferrara was a dependency of the exarchate of Ravenna, formerly given to the popes by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious. In consequence, Clement, assured of his right and of a powerful support, would not recognize Cæsar d'Este. On these grounds, enumerated in the *Bullarium Romanum* (pages 175, 176, and 181), he declared that the duchy had reverted

to the Holy See. He fulminated serious penalties to deter the usurper from taking possession; and having levied an army, he gave the command of it to his nephew, Peter Aldobrandini, with orders to resist the pretensions of Cæsar. The latter, already duke of Modena and Reggio, and confident of obtaining from the Holy See the rights enjoyed by Alphonsus, at once renounced his pretensions, and the papal army occupied Ferrara on the 24th of January, 1598. Clement, by the bull *Sanctissimus*, declared the duchy of Ferrara restored to the Holy See, because, in addition to all other reasons, by the terms of a constitution of Saint Pius V. it was forbidden to alienate the property of the Church. The duchy was attributed in perpetuity to the patronage of the holy apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. But the pope granted to the duchy of Ferrara the right to keep an ambassador at Rome, with the same privileges as all the other members of the diplomatic body.

A dispute then arose between the Ferrarese ambassador and the ambassador of Bologna as to precedence. Each wished to precede the other in the ceremonies of the papal chapel. Clement ordered that they should only attend there alternately, and never together, so that the question of *precedence* was forever decided between them.

Clement next determined to give his subjects the benefit of his presence. He left at Rome, as legate and vice-pontiff,* Cardinal Innico Avalos, of Aragon, and set out to take possession of the duchy, attended by twenty-seven cardinals, and by a large number of prelates. According to ancient custom, a priest bore in front of the pope the Most Holy Sacrament, in a costly shrine, under a rich canopy of cloth of gold. The Ferrarese received some privileges; an imposing citadel was erected, and the pope returned to Rome with the blessings of all his subjects.

He had returned to the city only three days, when, on the 23d of December, the Tiber furiously overflowed its banks,† and a great number of per-

* Novaes, ix., p. 34.

† The famous Jesuit Riccioli having with his usual exactitude collected the dates of the inundations of the Tiber (t. iii., Ind. iii. of his *Chronology*; Bologna, folio, 1651), gives the following particulars. "There were inundations in the years 364, 214, 206, 195, 103, and 10 B. C. The Tiber overflowed so violently in the year 3 A. C. as to destroy the Publicius bridge; and another in the year 14, which injured that bridge, which had been rebuilt (see Suetonius and Tacitus). Such mischief did not occur until the year 83. Again, in 132, there was an inundation of the Tiber (see *Spartian in Adrian*); and one in 141, under the reign of Antoninus. That emperor, at his own cost, rebuilt both public and private edifices that the waters had destroyed. Ten years later, in 151, the Tiber renewed its ravages; and again in 161. Other inundations occurred in 222, 411, 555, 570, 685, and 717. In this last year the waters flooded the city for seven days. Platinus says that large boats passed from Ponte Molle to Saint Peter's. The same scourge afflicted Rome in 778, 791, and 860. During nearly four centuries the Tiber was a less dangerous neighbor, and did not revisit the Pantheon (always the first place in Rome to be submerged) until 1260; and in 1280, it rose to above four feet at the high altar of the Pantheon. On the 8th of November, 1379, the river rose to the height of ten palms, as is stated on the column of the Minerva. In the fifteenth century there were three inundations—in 1412, in 1476, and in 1495.

sons perished in the fields. A bridge, serving as a dam, was constructed between Rieti and Terni, so that the waters could not again accumulate so disastrously to the citizens of Rome.

This year, 1598, is famous. Philip II. died on the 13th of September, and about the month of October an agent of Rosny procured the last will of that prince, or, rather, the copy of the discourse or treatise which, when dying, he addressed to his son. We give it, because it often touches on the policy of the court of Rome at that time, and is a confession of all the sentiments which, during a long reign, animated the son of Charles V.

The king of Spain thus addresses his son, who was about to be Philip III.

“PRINCE:—Seeing that I have reached the end of the time ordained by Heaven for my earthly rule,* as you are at the commencement of yours;† it seems to me that I might reasonably be blamed for lack of prudent judgment, or a failure in affectionate care for you, were I to leave you, young as you are, heir to so many great kingdoms, states, territories, and lordships, without at the same time giving the precepts, advice, and opinions that an almost unlimited experience, difficulties, labors, projects, and pretensions, mainly useless, have taught me (though too late for my own good and repose, and those of my peoples and my neighbors), to be not at all necessary to render so important a government as yours is about to be (extending over so many peoples, languages, and various nations, so distant from each other, and separated by such vast extent of land and sea), wise, just, and prudent, and consequently mild, fortunate, and prosperous, and far less rife than mine has been of griefs, cares, and anxieties, of which you will one day have to give an account, as I shortly must, to Him who is the King of kings, in whose presence all subterfuges and disguises are vain. He knows the inclinations, the intentions, and the secrets of the hearts of all men, even before they have conceived their thoughts. And he can fulfil his judgments upon the greatest and most powerful earthly monarchs, as, without seeking proofs in older histories, I at this moment am a proof, by the extreme languor to which I have for months been reduced, together with

Subsequently there were inundations in 1514 and 1530, the latter being higher by eight palms than any former one. Then followed those of 1547, 1571, 1589, and 1598; 1606, 1637, 1647, and 1660. I saw that of 1805, under Pius VII. The pontiff was then at Paris, but his worthy minister Consalvi encouraged the people, and personally, in his cardinal's attire, took bread to the inhabitants who had fled to their house-tops.

* He was born at Valladolid, in 1527, the year of the sack of Rome, and was the son of Charles V. and Isabella of Portugal. When twenty-nine years old, he became king of Spain by the abdication of his father.

† Philip III. was born at Madrid, son of Philip II. and Isabella of France, daughter of Henry II., on the 14th of April, 1578. At twenty years of age he was master of most of the wealth of both worlds.

pains and infirmities so strange that I am a torture to myself, and from which I pray that good God speedily to release me. by calling me from earth to heaven. I pray him to make more favorable use of his compassion and mercy than I and mine have heretofore done, towards an infinity of peoples who will require them at our hands; and that he will vouchsafe to be satisfied with my present intense pains and poignant griefs for the expiation and satisfaction of my past errors. Now, as the examples and experiences of others, and especially of our elders of the same lineage, affect us more sensibly, and are more efficacious in disposing the mind to excellent things, especially in the fierce fever-heat of youth, which cannot brook the requisite meditation, or subdue its boiling temperament,—are more efficacious, I say, than all remonstrances, arguments, and fine speeches that can be uttered,—I will not waste time upon remonstrances and long discussions, but will content myself with telling you very summarily (because I have already written this course, and now speak only with difficulty), what I consider to have been the most remarkable and instructive in the lives of the emperor my father and myself. This will serve you as a reduced picture in which you will see the perfect features, the natural lineaments, and the infallible traces of what you must follow, and upon which you will have to form your designs and regulate your actions, so that they may be honest, honorable, and useful to you, to your States, your peoples, and your successors. In that true mirror you will perceive that there is nothing so difficult to govern as the ardent affections of a youth ambitious and greedy of honors, nor so difficult to subdue as the pride of a lofty domination flattered by fortune with success. The emperor my father, while still younger than you are, succeeded, like you, to so many crowns, territories, and lordships, and soon after, in spite of all the intrigues and practices of the greatest kings in Christendom, being elected as emperor among the Christians, it became very plausible to that admirable and generous mind to indulge a delusive hope of being able to make himself not merely the sole monarch of Europe, but also, by uniting the various States of Europe, to go still further, as was his device, and undertake the destruction of the infidels.

“You will also learn that that great prince at length encountered so many obstacles to his high and magnificent designs, that they were mingled with as much misfortune and loss in the close as they had been blessed with glory and advantage in the beginning; which caused him so much grief and vexation that he resolved to seek, away from earthly domination and worldly affairs, cares, and intrigues, the rest of body and tranquillity of mind which they had never been able to give him. Vigorous and healthy, he resigned all these States to me, and gave me much good and wholesome advice, had I but known how rightly to ponder it, and act upon it at proper time and

place. But the ambitious boldness of a young prince,* caressed by all, and inflated with the breath of a thousand fine hopes, to which none had dared to tell a disagreeable truth; the proud successes of a favorable fortune, and two battles† gained in the first two years of my reign, alienated my mind not only from the advice of the emperor my father,—which especially warned me not to aspire to the monarchy of Christendom, as a thing which experience had taught him to be impossible for any of its kings to succeed in, on account of the diversities of religion, which render nations too obstinate against a prince whose creed is different from theirs—and their levity and inconstancy, which make them desirous of the new, and weary of the old—the infinite number of great and strong cities, and the universal warlike inclination to which all the nations of Europe incline,—but also alienated my mind from all pacific and tranquil thought. Thus I suddenly threw myself upon the high seas of extravagances, and ambitious projects and designs, among the impetuous waves of which it has since been impossible for me to find any port, harbor, or haven of certain shelter. High enterprises, and the troubles and cares that attend them, followed each other without cessation in my mind, like the boiling and bounding waves of ocean when tormented by contrary winds. I am now obliged to confess, by the truth of things, and the success of those far removed from my attentions, that after having envied my uncle Ferdinand the empire, and vainly made all sorts of attempts to induce him to name me, after the example of the emperor my father, king of the Romans, instead of his own son Maximilian, and aspired to get myself named emperor of the New World, to take possession of Italy, to dominate my rebellious subjects of the Low Countries, to get myself elected king of Ireland, to conquer England by means of the greatest and most formidable naval force that has ever been seen, in the composition of which I employed more than ten years of my life, and more than twenty millions of ducats; and also to conquer France by means of my understanding, very dearly bought with the greatest and most ambitious among the French, founded upon the indolence of the then reigning king, and upon the religious differences that I nurtured by means of ecclesiastics who were in my pay; and after having in all those designs employed thirty-two years of my life, and spent more than six hundred of millions of ducats in extraordinary expenses, paid within my own knowledge, of which you will find my written accounts in my private

* That royalty was not so very young; it had been on the throne twenty-nine years. It is true, however, that in 1554, when he was but twenty-seven years old, his father caused him to be recognized as king of Naples.

† The first of these battles, that of Saint Quentin, was gained on the 11th of August, 1557, over the French. The Spanish army was commanded by Philibert Emmanuel duke of Savoy. The second battle, that of Gravelines, was also gained over the French, and compelled them to sign the peace of Chateau-Cambresis, 13th of April, 1559.

cabinet, after having been the cause of the death, if not the murder, of twenty millions of men, and the destruction and depopulation of more provinces and extent of country than I possessed in Europe;—after all this, I find that I have gained nothing from all these magnificent designs, this expense, fatigue, and ruin, except the petty kingdom of Portugal. For that of Ireland escaped me through the little fidelity there is in those savages, the difficulty of approaching the island, and the tediousness of a stay in it; that of England by a furious tempest; and that of France by the natural fickleness of the French, the incompatibility of that nation with all others, and the admirable ability and good fortune of the new king (with whom I now wish to leave you at peace); Germany by the jealousy of my own relatives; and the whole, generally, by the absolute will and power of God. Upon all which things, enjoining you carefully to meditate, I now proceed to the instructions which I judge to be the most necessary for you; and I will commence by telling you my intentions upon those domestic matters which now most affect my mind.

“Firstly, as to your marriage; I have left my advice upon that, written in my own hand and carefully sealed, in the hands of Loo, which advice you will please me by following. Dearly love your sister, as I do; loyally keep your faith sworn upon the Gospels with respect to what I have done to the advantage of her and of her husband. Do good to the doctors Ollias and Wergeais, who carefully attend me in my sufferings. Love Christopher de Mora, who has always been to me an agreeable, most trusty, and most useful servant, having always preferred the prosperity of my affairs to care for his own, which is but seldom the case with servants. If you retain him in your service, as I desire and beg that you will (though I do not expect it, for it is one of the commonest faults of kings to have little liking for the servants of their predecessors), you will act both wisely and profitably. Preserve the archbishopric of Toledo to Garcia Loyola, and do not tax its revenues unless compelled by war. Take care of all my other servants to whom I have shown friendship or confidence; and take care not to diminish their property, offices, honors, or profits, for their injury would redound to my shame. Endeavor to effect a reconciliation with Antonio Peres, but do not allow him to reside in Spain, France, or the Low Countries. He will be better placed in Italy than in any other country. Have a watchful eye upon those whom you make your confidants, councillors, and secretaries. Make yourself acquainted with ciphers. See and reply to all the most important dispatches; do not let one go by neglecting to look at it. Never outrage noble and courageous men—*your elder brother experienced the mischief of that.**

* The unfortunate Don Carlos.

“Encourage and pay virtue and services rendered, no matter in whom you may find them. Do not mingle or confound together new and imaginary nobility with what is old and true. Make use of the latter, and foster among them faith, honor, and modesty, and distribute among them the wealth, dignity, and offices that are at your disposal. For, besides that wealth and honors, when joined to illustrious descent, increase courage and occasionally give birth to ambitious aspirations, it is equally true that dastardy, disloyalty, and treason are more rare among such men than among those who have sprung from a sordid and plebeian stock. Make use, in your more urgent need, of the too ample wealth of the ecclesiastics; for the too great abundance of their wealth often tends to plunge them into luxury and sensuality, and sometimes even into impiety. Diminish as far as you possibly can the number of ecclesiastics, domestic officers, and financial and judicial officers, for such men consume the wealth of your estates and never increase it. But increase as much as you can the number of merchants, artisans, laborers, shepherds, and soldiery, among whom I include the nobility; for the former cost little and enrich the provinces,* and the latter by their valor and military discipline will make you feared and respected by your neighbors, defend your dominions, and preserve peace within them, and thus trade, commerce, and manufactures will flourish, and money and provisions abound. So far as to the interior of your States. As to the exterior, *keep on good terms with the pope and the cardinals*. Have a number of votes in the conclave. Pay all your pensioners liberally, and by sure and secret hands. Carefully and diligently cultivate the bishops and prelates of Germany, and especially those who are electors: let what you pay them pass through the hands only of your own ministers, and not by those of the emperor or his servants. Yet keep constantly on good terms with him, and all those of our house, and, when opportunity serves, patronize them. Carefully keep in your own power the entire and absolute navigation of both Indies, in which you need not fear being thwarted by France or any other Christian kingdom, because they are either weak or neglectful of the sea,—with the exception of England and the rebels of the Low Countries, who abound in every thing that is calculated to annoy you. Make frequent changes among the principal officers in those places, lest wealth, power, and distance should incite them to ambitious designs of usurping for themselves. Refuse no conditions to the rebels of the Low Countries, provided they will recognize your authority; but in any case endeavor to have peace with them if you can, so as to withdraw them from their close, and to them necessary, alliance with France and England, as the courageous and generous sovereigns, now ruling those countries, might give

* Here is a commencement of the system of centralization which has spread all over Europe

the rebels a support fatal to you. Fear no attack on the side of Germany or of Italy. Those countries are parcelled out among too many princes who will not yield to each other, being so diverse in temper, affections, and interests. Nor on the side of Poland, however ample the dominion of its king, for he is too far removed from your States, and has too powerful neighbors who keep him in a state of anxiety for his own territory; and, moreover, he is rather the servant than the lord of his people. Neither does there seem any reason to fear the kings of Denmark and Sweden, for they are too far off; and, sunk in their frozen seas, marshes, woods, and desert lands, are too needy, and their people too little experienced in war, and still less disciplined for it.

But never, for a moment, fail to keep your gaze and your thoughts constantly bent upon the British islands and seas; especially if it should happen, as seems likely, that the three kingdoms should be united under the single crown of an active and warlike prince, sincerely allying himself with France, and with your Low Country rebels, in a common design against you. For from them you have all sorts of dangers to fear, should they conjointly undertake to attack you simultaneously by sea and land; for those three powers, united, abound in their numbers of good soldiers, ships, money, munitions of war, and provisions. Therefore, spare neither money nor seductions, neither practices nor inducements, to break up their good understanding, and to disturb their friendship, making good use of State interests, founded on the pretensions of England in France, and the diversity of their religion. Do not neglect, however, to get rid of the old English spies, who, being now suspected, can no longer be of use to you. Get new ones in their stead. Get rid also of your French pensioners, whom the altered temper of the people, and the popularity their king has acquired, as well as the peace in which I leave you with him, render as useless as expensive.*

"If, nevertheless, contempt of my experience and advice, which tend rather towards the preservation than the increase of your States, and the anxieties of your mind, shall urge you into the vanity of conquering the States of others, and dispose you to try whether you cannot prove more fortunate in that than my father the emperor or myself; take especial heed to the changes, and bad qualities of governors, as well as their necessities, lest if you neglect to take timely advantage of their discord or weakness, your undertaking be without profit, and with danger. Often read these memoirs and instructions, as well as those which were left to me by the emperor my father, which I have folded and sealed together, so that

* No one can fail to observe this firebrand, lighted at both ends and thrown upon both France and England.

they may be seen by none but yourself and those whom you choose to intrust; and those should be few in number. Compare them together, ascertain where they agree and where they differ, so that you may use them with prudence, as occasion may arise. This is all that my pains of body and disturbance of mind permit me to leave you in writing, praying you, my son, to love and serve God, to be prudent, and not to despise my precepts.

"I THE KING."*

Rome is somewhat roughly treated in this document. Philip repeats what Mary Stuart had already said, that many votes and influences at Rome were purchased by foreigners. This is not easily credible as regards the Roman prelates. The Holy See must be flattered to perceive that Philip advises and requires of his son and successor a constant alliance with the pontiffs.

Rome being concerned in the public affairs of the whole world, it seemed to me fitting to quote one of the most important documents of the reign of Philip, a document which, at least in the main, emanated from his own genius, one of those conceptions most characteristic of that insatiable ambition which was inconsolable on having conquered only the *single little kingdom of Portugal*, and which regretted England, as though it were allowable to regret that which could never be preserved.†

* Rosny affirms that this document was sent to him by Bongars, the king's agent in Germany. Rosny's secretaries also say that the letter of Bongars is in existence, but they are unaware whether the document is entirely exact. It is certain, on the one hand, that it contains facts which, probably, were known only to Philip. Yet we find in it little of that imagery and Spanish grandeur which are peculiar to Castile. In some respects, and especially in the accumulation of substantives of the same meaning, there are indications of the French composition of that day, and some resemblance to the style of Rosny himself. For the rest, the document may have been sent to Bongars from Hesse and Genoa. The latter city, like Venice, was truly the best informed as to European affairs, and so continued till 1792.

However it may be as to the authenticity of the document, it certainly gives a rapid sketch of the whole life of the king. It is said that when Philip read it to his successor, Isabella, daughter of Philip, was present. That is not very likely, for Isabella was affianced to Albert of Austria, and such secrets were not fitted to *travel* into Germany. There would be no harm in that as to the past; but with respect to the instructions as to the future, to allow them to cross the Alps would be a serious mistake on the part of a monarch surnamed the *prudent*.

† This document includes a eulogy of Henry IV. We shall not be incredulous as to this homage paid to so great a king; and then truth readily seats itself on the lips of the most hypocritical and unjust man, when he sees the shroud and the coffin near at hand. There, as often in history, the French are reproached with levity, fickleness; which, however, did not prevent the conquests of Louis XIV. or Napoleon.

One fact, hitherto secret, shows the profound wisdom of Rome under preceding popes. Philip sought to be king of the Romans, in order subsequently to become emperor. He was *not* only opposed by the unwillingness of his uncle Ferdinand; let no one doubt that he had also against him the wisdom of Rome, which repelled such a danger from Italy.

At the time of the unexpected publication of this confession, France was beginning to be strong; and for her this document was in effect a series of historical lessons, and a warning, more or less essential, as to the measures that Spain would adopt in the pursuit of her own interest. But Rome found in that communication most important information and caution; she could *beware*, without risking any thing in investigations uncertain of success. She could warily make inquiries and researches around herself, and thenceforth more completely understand her position, and weigh and measure the perils that threatened her, and the trials of attacks and *meddlings* which were to torment the wise Clement VIII., and, by associating the Roman policy with violences useful in other countries, deprive him in his own capital of that peace which he so much desired to secure to every country in the world.

I shall always repeat it—there is no rest for Rome, whose glance must contemplate at once the openly hostile and the seemingly peaceful and friendly.

The Protestants complained to Henry IV. about some administrative embarrassments which had affected them, and of which Henry had been unaware.

The edict of Nantes was published. On occasion of that publication, the Holy Father addressed to all the bishops of France the constitution *Dives in misericordia sua Deus*. He exhorted them to propagate the increase of the Catholic faith, the observance of ecclesiastical discipline, and the extirpation of vice, especially in the cities to which the exercise of the Catholic religion was restored.*

On the 3d of March, 1599, in a very numerous promotion of cardinals, the pope gave the purple to Arnaud d'Ossat. All who have read our work thus far, must be aware of the title of that negotiator to even that high reward. Du Perron did not obtain the hat until 1604. D'Ossat had merited it far more than du Perron, but Henry chose to show himself grateful to both negotiators.

In the same promotion, the purple was granted to Robert Bellarmine, a noble Tuscan of Montepulciano, nephew of Marcellus II., by his mother

The reader will readily discern for himself many shrewd points in this discourse; as, for instance, this: *The king of Poland is rather the servant than the lord of his people.*

We must lament, as we close this examination of a system of espionage, corruption, shameful bribes, and dastardly treasons, and all the infernal snares laid by Philip II. to the poverty, the greed, and the sordid avarice of every country in which he had no other power—we must lament the existence of such a system; and we must rejoice that in our own time the press would successfully expose and hunt down such abominable dealing, such shameful desertions, which are among the most fatal poisons of society.

* Cardinal Valerio published on that subject a little work entitled, "*On the Paternal Charity of the Sovereign Pontiff Clement towards the very vast Kingdom of France.*"

Cynthia Cervini. That Jesuit, celebrated by his lectures in the schools, and by his Latin sermons against the errors of Lutheranism, had so high a reputation that Protestants from England and Holland travelled to Italy for the purpose of hearing him. He was named professor in the Roman college founded by Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. assigned him as theologian to Cardinal Gaetani, legate in France; and Gregory XIV. appointed him as one of the seven learned persons to revise the edition of the Vulgate, published under Sixtus V., and corrected under Clement VIII. On the death of the Jesuit Cardinal Toledo, the pope named Bellarmine his theologian, consulter of the holy office, examiner of the bishops, and finally, as we have just shown, promoted him to the purple. In the allocution to the consistory, Clement expressed himself thus: "*We select Father Bellarmine because he has not his equal in the Church in learning.*"

Bellarmino died at Rome in the novitiate of the Jesuits, where he was visited by Gregory XV. On the death of Leo XI., Bellarmine would have been pope, if he had not, with sincere firmness, opposed his own election. The cardinals could not resist so formal and so sublime a renunciation of the highest dignity within the reach of man.

Under Clement VIII., in 1599, took place the trial of the celebrated Beatrice Cenci, accused of having, with her step-mother Lucretia, murdered her father. The whole city of Rome, in consequence of the beauty of that young Roman lady, and still more on account of some doubts which arose on the trial, as well as of the horrible charges brought against the father, were upon the very point of pardoning her, when a Roman lord was guilty of the disgraceful crime of matricide. That fresh abomination aroused the indignation of the pope. He summoned Monsignor Taverna, the governor of Rome, and intrusted the Cenci case to him. Taverna, after a most careful examination, pronounced sentence of death against all the parties concerned; and Beatrice was executed on the 11th of September, 1599, on the square of the palace of Saint Angelo. The details of that terrible affair have been given by a host of authors.*

The Roman lord, whose crime had intercepted the pope's clemency, was subsequently punished with the same severity.

D'Ossat, become cardinal through the expressed wish of Henry IV., could

* See the "*Mélanges publiés par la Société des Bibliophiles Français*" (Paris, Firmin Didot, 1822, vol. ii.), for a translation, by the Countess Malartic, of an Italian account of that affair. The fidelity and the elegance of style of that translation deserve the highest praise. In the same volume we find the original Italian, entitled: *La Funesta morte di Giacomo e Beatrice Cenci, fratelli, e di Lucrezia Petroni loro Matrigna, seguita in Roma, nel Pontificato di Clemente VIII., a di 11th Settembre, 1599*—*The terrible death of Giacomo and Beatrice Cenci, brother and sister, and their step-mother, Lucretia Petroni, executed at Rome, in the pontificate of Clement VIII., on the 11th of September, 1599.*

The *Miscellanies* of the Bibliophiles are very rare, only twenty-nine copies having been printed.

not be otherwise than doubly zealous in the still difficult business of his royal master. The interests of France, those of Rome, and doubtless, indirectly, those of all Europe, required Henry IV. to strengthen his glorious dynasty by a marriage which would secure to that family the succession to the throne in the person of a legitimate son. Henry, at the time of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, in 1572, had been compelled to marry Margaret of Valois; her brother, Charles IX., and her mother, Catharine de Medici, deeming that marriage useful to their cause.

Margaret of France, queen of France and Navarre, had thrown obstacles in the way of the divorce, as long as there was any hope of the duchess of Beaufort marrying the king. But the duchess having died suddenly and terribly in 1599, in a manner which history has not even yet sufficiently explained, Margaret was again solicited to consent to the divorce. Clement VIII., on his part, caused the princess to be spoken to by several pious and devout persons; and Sully was charged, without concealing any thing from Henry IV., with various measures for ascertaining the inclinations of the king's wife.

A correspondence between Rosny and the queen* being laid before Pope Clement, he saw in them a favorable augury. D'Ossat negotiated, and the sentence dissolving the marriage was pronounced on the 17th of December, 1599.

In the year 1600, Clement celebrated the eleventh Jubilee of the Holy Year, which he had published on the 19th of May in the previous year.

Independently of the pilgrims who were received into private houses, the hospital of the *Trinità de' Pelegrini* received five hundred thousand. It was calculated that in the course of the year they reached three million two hundred thousand. On Easter-day two hundred thousand pilgrims were present. From France alone there successively arrived three hundred thousand, which caused an immense joy to France, and to the enemies of France a great confusion. They had represented that nation as thoroughly Protestantized; an accusation as false then as now. Among the personages of rank at Rome, at this Jubilee, were the duke of Bavaria, concealed beneath the simple habit of a pilgrim, the duke of Bar, the duke of Parma, and Cardinal Andrew of Austria, who chose to visit the churches incognito. The pope, in spite of his age and infirmities, made seventy visits to the churches, although the number of visits prescribed to Roman residents was thirty, and to strangers fifteen. Clement, on his knees, ascended the *Scala Santa*, accompanied, barefooted, the processions, washed the feet of the pilgrims, served them at table, heard their confessions, and distributed alms among them to the amount of more than three hundred thousand crowns. He had

* The letters are given in the original.

had a palace fitted up in the *Borgo* of Saint Peter's, for the reception of all bishops, prelates, and clerics, who were at liberty to remain there ten days. At the sight of so tender a proof of practical piety, and at the example given by the pope, the cardinals, and the prelates, who seemed to vie with each other in works of piety, even Turks asked and received baptism, and many Protestants, indignant at the calumnious epithets of Antichrist and Babylon, so insolently applied to the pope of Rome, detested their past blindness, and abjured, with execration, the heresy which inspired such an unjust fury, and distinguished themselves as the most exemplary and docile sons of the Roman Church. Among that number was Stephen Calvin, a relation of the heresiarch, John Calvin; the pope confirmed him, treated him as a son, and provided magnificently for the expenses of his stay in Rome until the moment of his admission into the order of the bare-footed Carmelites, in which he died piously.*

The same year, at the request of Cardinal Baronius and of the pious Fulvia Sforza, the Holy Father instituted the order of the Nuns of Saint Clare, called of Saint Urban, from the name of their church. They were poor girls who were called the *scattered*, because they had no fixed resting-place in the city; they were then collected in the conservatory of Saint Euphemia, and placed under the direction of the cardinal-vicar. Four years previously, the pope had given a constitution in favor of poor youths of the other sex who were equally *scattered*, and who, having been got together by a learned though poor man, were called *poveri literati*.

We must not forget the institution of the College for the Scotch, in which young men of that country were so instructed that, on their return home, they should take with them a love of the faith, and a desire to restore the primitive Christian religion. Another college, also, was created at Rome, for Italian youth; it was called the Clementine college, and still, to the present day, preserves that glorious name. In 1604, the pope intrusted the care of it to the fathers of Somasco, who discharged their duties with untold zeal. They thus trained to piety and knowledge the flower of the Italian nobility. The Illyrian college, which, at first, was annexed to the Christian college, was afterwards removed to the city of Loretto by Urban VIII.

Gregory XIII. had ordered that none but the Jesuits should propagate the faith in Japan and China. That pope knew that it was they who first successfully introduced the Catholic religion there. Clement extended that privilege to all religious orders, especially the mendicants, so illustrious for their doctrinal purity and their piety. The privilege was granted, on condition that all the missionaries should be sent from Portugal to their respective superiors in the East Indies, belonging to that kingdom, which,

* Novaes, ix., p. 54.

although then united to Spain, wished to keep the Portuguese and the Spanish conquests apart.

To the commencement of the year 1600 must be referred a deed which was not useful to religion, and which indicates a certain serfdom to the malignant and cruel policy of Philip III.; a deed which some hold up to excuse the infamous cruelties committed by the servile agents of Elizabeth of England against the Catholics. I allude to the execution of Jordano Bruno, a Neapolitan, who perished at Rome, in the field of Flora, in consequence of a trial that had been commenced a long time previously in Venice, but was continued in Rome herself.

"The Escorial," says Bartholomès,* "at that time, gave the law to Rome." Philip II., as his last will and testament has shown us, would not have required such an obedience from Clement VIII. To the son of Charles V., it sufficed that the holy office should extend the terror of the name of the INQUISITION over the vast provinces subject to Spain, wherever the sun rose on them." No doubt, Philip II. had oppressed or tried to oppress Rome in his demand for the refusal of the absolution of Henry IV.; but that opposition, violent as it was, and bitter as d'Ossat describes it to have been, was yet made within bounds, and yielded before the wisdom of the *Vatican*.

Let us now consider what interest the cabinet of Madrid could have in persecuting a Neapolitan friar, formerly attached to the school of the Dominicans, but become, it must be confessed, an implacable heretic. Madrid cared far less about the friar, guilty of denying the dogmas of our faith, than about that friar who was flatterer of a queen, especially hateful to the leaders of Spanish polity.

Bruno, born at Nola, in the kingdom of Naples, about 1550, was very carefully educated. After mathematical, or rather the philosophical studies, he devoted himself to literature and theology, exhibiting from his youth upward great power of memory, a facile comprehension, and a mind naturally tending to enthusiasm. To pursue still higher studies, he entered the Dominican order. Unfortunately, such advantages as this, when imprudently directed, lead to error. Bruno manifested his peculiar opinions upon the *Immaculate Conception*, a question upon which others had previously written. His opinions were condemned by some of his superiors. Then Bruno quitted his convent and retired to Geneva, in 1580. In that city he embraced Calvinism, and exerted in defence of that heresy the talents which he ought to have exerted against it. This sectary was at Paris in 1582. A self-constituted professor, he attacked the doctrine of Aristotle. Repulsed by the disciples of the Stagyrice, Bruno took refuge in England.

* See *Jordano Bruno*, by Christian Bartholomès, (2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1847), vol. 1., p. 10.

It was at that period that Gregory XIII. sent a consecrated Host to Mary, queen of Scots, who was daily threatened with death by Queen Elizabeth. There, almost at the very moment when Sixtus V. received the sublime letter of Mary, Bruno, braving the Roman court and the bull of Saint Pius V., called upon all the pagan divinities to assist him in chanting the praises of Elizabeth.

An historian may sometimes find himself in an embarrassment which startles his love of unity of views and consistency in principles.

We have inserted documents unfavorable to Elizabeth, and have not endeavored to soften the accusations accumulated against her spirit of persecution. We now see a miscreant cast upon the shores of England by hunger and distress. Elizabeth gives him not only food and raiment, but even honors.

Bruno, in his gratitude, wrote, under the title of the *Song of the Swan*, an apotheosis to the glory of his benefactress. To him, Elizabeth was so great that her kingdom resembled none of the States of the continent, and everywhere, under her reign, the verses of Virgil had become a reality :

“Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.”

It is my duty to mention this document, because this act incited the Spanish government to destroy Bruno. Philip II., after marrying Mary, queen of England and sister of Elizabeth, had lost the throne by the death of Mary. England, under Elizabeth, who succeeded Mary, crushed the hopes of Spain. An Italian had eulogized Elizabeth in the most fulsome terms, and irritated the vexations of Madrid. That Italian would have long been confined, could he have been taken. When asked if he composed that panegyric, read to him, he acknowledged to the minutest shade the exaggerations of his rancor. The poem becomes a document of his trial, and as it is necessary to explain here in an important particular the action of Clement VIII., that document must be included in the narrative devoted to making known the events of his reign.

The Neapolitan thus expressed himself :

“Endowed, raised, favored, and supported by Heaven, neither speech nor force will succeed in injuring the divine Elizabeth. No noble of her empire equals her in dignity or heroism ; no statesman equals her in wisdom.* As to beauty, and knowledge of languages,† both vulgar and learned ; as to acquaintance with the arts and sciences ; as to talent for governing—the fruit

* I emphatically maintain here what I said a few pages back, in a note, especially as relates to the qualities necessary for the understanding of religious government.

† The talent of Mary Stuart in that particular was very much more distinguished. She spoke Latin promptly and elegantly, and spoke nobly in that language to the Polish ambassadors accredited to the court of the king of France, her husband. Elizabeth did not possess equal advantages ; though it is true that Elizabeth was well acquainted with foreign languages.

of a long experience ; as to the other natural and acquired qualities, what to her were the Sophonisbas, the Faustinas, Semiramis, Didos, Cleopatras, and all those female glories of whom Italy, Greece, and Egypt in the old day made their boast ? To me, the best proof of genius is to be found in deeds—in *success*.

“ Our century beholds that princess with astonishment, with admiration. While political tempests swept over the whole face of Europe, the queen, by the majesty of her flashing gaze, imposed upon the great ocean a peace which has now endured more than five lustres.* She constrained it, amidst its perpetual ebb and flow, to receive serenely into its vast bosom that dear Thames, which, fearless and unfatigued, winds tranquilly and gayly between its flowery banks.

“ That extraordinary lady† rose like a brilliant light, to diffuse itself over the whole world by her title and by her royal dignity. She is inferior to no monarch in the world. For the judgment, prudence, and reflection that she displays in governing, it is difficult to discover a queen who approaches her. Certainly, if the empire given by fortune were in proportion to the empire merited by the finest and most generous genius, this new Amphitrite would dominate not England and Ireland only, but the entire globe, and her potent hand would sustain a universal monarchy.‡ Still, it is not for me to speak of those designs of such profound maturity, with which that heroic soul has made peace and rest to triumph, as though by a single glance of her eyes,§ during more than twenty-five years, and amidst a sea of adversities.”||

After this eulogy, Bruno published at London his famous book on *the expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*. It has been supposed that he alluded to the pontifical power. Several authors, and among them Bartholomès, think the accusation ill-founded. It does not even appear that the Roman tribunals laid much stress upon that accusation, among those which were to press hard upon Bruno. Bartholomès says, on that point : “ We must remember, that that word, so often misinterpreted,¶ has more than one sense,

* This fixes the date of this rhapsody at about 1584, for Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558.

† See M. Bartholomès, vol. i., p. 110.

‡ That mania for dominating the whole world is not a thing of to-day ; Charles V., Philip II., and Henry IV., a little by the too impetuous advice of Rosny (see the *Œconomies Royales*, vol. ii.), without counting so many Eastern despots, and him who from Alexandria brought such ideas to Paris, had similar projects. We may add, that some of the English in our day might be supposed to have read the dreams of Bruno. But let me return to the pontiffs, as my plan and my conviction prescribe to me. They have always combated those unnatural notions, and that, too, with equal ability and courage.

§ Not to be too serious, let us grant the possibility of that universal monarchy, but let us insist that in the hands of a woman the helm of State would necessarily need the hand of a man little occupied by the petty interests of life.

¶ At all times, and as to all queens, this is untrue.

¶ Vol. i., p. 73.

as well as the book of which it is the summary. Strictly speaking, it refers to the beasts,* that is to say, the animals, that astronomy and mythology put in the sky; figuratively, it refers to the popular superstitions as to the influence of the stars upon the destinies and volitions of men. The beast is called *triumphant*, because the signs of the zodiac and the notions of starry influences, with the whole tribe of cognate prejudices, were things generally received."

Moreover, that time would have been ill-chosen for calling the authority of Rome *triumphant*. Pretended reformers and monarchs of both sexes denied it. More correctly judged, that book seems to contain a pitiless and exaggerated attack, sometimes ill-founded, upon the humanists in all countries. In thus violently attacking the humanists, and accusing them of ignorance, almost ferocious hatred was aroused; and this was the blunder of a man who thought a woman worthy of *universal monarchy*. That sufficed to bring Spain upon the battle-field, and caused her to form an alliance with the humanists so cruelly handled. In my private opinion, it is clearly proven that if Rome (Clement VIII.) had any insult to complain of, the Holy See, as far as that was concerned, had pardoned the offender, and the prolixity of the proceedings favors that opinion.

Bruno, meanwhile, kept up some correspondence with Rome. The friends whom he still possessed there, saw, in all that series of libels, only attacks upon the humanists. Perhaps Spain had not yet seriously thought of making use of her pensions, her hirelings, and her rage, which she claimed had all privilege at Rome. The pope had as dexterously as generously shown his clemency in the business of Henry IV. Bruno persuaded himself also that Cardinal Aldobrandini shared the sentiments of his uncle. Home-sickness too misled Bruno. Whithersoever he had taken his bitterness and his disorderly eccentricities, he had been but little liked. From Wittenberg, the primitive country of Protestantism, for which the restless Dominican doubtless appeared to be still too much of a Catholic, he went to Prague; from Prague, where the halo of Nepomucenet† was still too brilliant upon the banks of the Moldau, he went to Brunswick, and thence to Helmstadt; and at length was in Frankfort, which, in 1591, was still a

* The word *beast* is taken collectively for the whole animal kingdom in the abstract, for every kind of brutes. (See Ozanani's *Dante*, and the *Catholic Philosophy of the Thirteenth Century*, p. 101, first edition.)

† Saint John Nepomucene, thus called because he was born at Nepomuk, was confessor of the Empress Jane, wife of Wenceslas, king of Bohemia, who wished him to divulge the confession of Jane. He would not do so, and the king had him bound hand and foot and thrown into the river Moldau, which river traverses Prague. It is not generally pointed out to travellers, that on reaching Rome, by the way of Tuscany, towards one of the extremities of the *Ponte Molle*, there is the statue of Saint John Nepomucene, admirably placed at the entrance of the august capital, the residence of the great penitentiary.

somewhat *mixed* city. Finally, he thought he might venture to Venice, which seemed to observe a judicious obedience to the Holy See; but there he was arrested, thrown into a dungeon, and then transferred to Rome. In that city, more than one humanist, instead of observing in the mild Christian spirit that some terrible sentence might be pronounced, united with the pensioners of Madrid. No doubt the whole life of Bruno had been devoted to labors very ill-befitting a son of Saint Dominic. But he had done still worse than that: he had told the professors of all Europe that they were ignorant, and he had lauded the adversary of Madrid in the pursuit of a sceptre so heavy that no human hand could support it. Bruno had heaped errors upon errors; nevertheless, he might change his conduct. A devoted subject of the monarchy of Spain, why should not he, the exile, aspire to revisit Naples or Nola? He was called upon to abandon his errors. There commenced an error of another kind. The *Song of the Swan*, in favor of Elizabeth, had its excuse in hunger and distress. The insults to the humanists were for the most part dictated by his peculiar pride. He knew that no reform is made in the arts and sciences by insult, contumely, and gross imputations.

At Rome, Clement VIII. and Cardinal Aldobrandini reigned: we know them both. The astronomical doctrine of Bruno alone could be attacked, because experience had not yet produced the triumph of that which now is received as incontestable truth at Rome, at London, at Stockholm, and in Spain. But the requirements of paltry and contemptible vengeance, the great mace left by Charles V. and Philip to a prince who, without experience, resigned his power to subalterns more imbecile than energetic, decided the question differently.

In his agonies, Bruno neither asked nor accepted quarter, entered into no explanations, remained obstinately plunged in his books, and seemed to disdain the clemency on the throne. He was sentenced to be burned, and the sentence was executed in the field of Flora, on the 17th of February, 1600.*

* It may be noted here, that Voltaire represents the punishment of burning to have been invented by the Christians against the heretics. This is quite untrue. The stake and the fire were the punishment which the secular authorities most frequently inflicted upon all offenders—upon robbers, and traitors against king or country, or those who were represented as being such. So true is it that Calvin took care not to dispense with that mode of execution when he determined to rid his tyranny of the presence of Servetus. Dante was condemned by the Guelfs, as were several other Florentines, for the pretended crime of *Barrateria*. The sentence is thus worded: "*Ut si quis predictorum ullo tempore in fortiam dicti communis pervenerit talis perveniens igne comburatur, sic quod moriatur*—If any of the above shall at any time fall into the power of this community, such individual shall be burned to death." (Portirelli's edition of *Dante*, vol. i., pp. 37 and 38.) *Barrateria* is not heresy. Here is yet another fact which proves that the Christians did not invent burning as the punishment of heretics. We have previously related, that, "in the year 259, Saint Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona, was martyred. The governor, Emilius,

And now, with the candor of an historian, let us examine whether Philip II., so jealous of his authority, would have required such a vengeance. I do not believe it. He would readily, in his kingly hauteur, have perceived that it was not for him to pander to the rancor and indignation of certain humanists, who had been insulted in their works. If Philip had been still alive in the year 1600, the *Song of the Swan* would have passed far enough out of his memory; and the satisfaction of having a rebel subject put to death would have little affected him, who said to his son in 1598, as some pages back we related, *Keep up a good understanding with the pope and the cardinals.*

The execution of Bruno, that fatal exigence, deeply humiliated and wounded Clement VIII.; and the more so, because it was obstinately demanded by Santorio de San Severina, his rival in the conclave of 1592.

In this purely Spanish affair, we may almost say that no one did his duty. There was a natural and appropriate punishment that might have been inflicted upon Bruno. He had been repulsed by every country into which he had carried his absurd imaginations. Venice should have thrown him into a gondola, and from Mestre had him conveyed to Germany; though there, also, he was not wanted. If the *Ten* could not adopt that course, they should have required his trial to take place at Venice, in order that the sentence should not be dictated by Spain.*

But we restrain ourselves. In thus describing the deeds of other ages, we have no desire to arm ourselves with that factitious indignation by which certain restless minds are animated, who believe that such times may return again. Such sentiments belonged to such times, and no one is justified in adding to the horror that they inspire, the pretended fear of their revival. Such times, we love to repeat it aloud, such times will never return.

Here we feel obliged to insert a very extraordinary historical fact, which Rosny records in a single page of his *Æconomies*.† The scene takes place between Rosny himself and Cardinal Aldobrandini, who was at Chambéry with the French army. It was difficult to conclude peace between Henry IV. and the duke of Savoy. Yet that peace was concluded in a few hours, under memorable circumstances.

asked him: 'Art thou a bishop?' 'Yes.' 'Thou art no longer so,' and he was ordered away to be burned alive. Servetus was burned alive at Geneva on the 27th of October, 1553; and it is said that his brother heretic, John Calvin, *was present at that brutal execution.*"

* Another sectary, Palearius, perished at Rome by the gibbet and the fire, in 1570; and Vanini, a Neapolitan like Bruno, did he not perish on the gibbet, to be afterwards cast into the flames, at Toulouse, in 1619? He was accused of composing a book, entitled *De Admirandis Naturæ, reginæ deæque mortalium, arcanis* (Paris, small 8vo)—*On the Admirable Secrets of Nature, the Queen and Goddess of Mortals.* It was a sort of imitation of the poem of Lucretius, but failed to overthrow holy and invulnerable Catholicity. The goddess of nature fails as signally as did the goddess of reason to destroy our faith in Christ.

† *Æconomies Royales*, vol. i., p. 456.

So much can be done by two honest men of ability, enjoying the full confidence of their respective masters. One required only three turns around his room to settle what he could grant, and the other needed to say only a few words to the king to persuade him; and thus the difficult treaty of Saluces was concluded between the high contracting parties. It has been said, in reference to this treaty, that the king of France acted like a merchant, and the duke of Savoy like a prince. But I do not agree with the judgment. The little marquisate of Saluces interfered with the habitual measures of French policy.* This *rogneur*, as the Florentine secretary called it, compelled France to convey troops thither by sea, and to see that almost useless strip, producing no considerable revenue, become a kind of battle-field, where French honor was at every moment compromised. Henry IV. received in exchange la Bresse, which enlarged several provinces of eastern France and our Burgundy. As to the duke of Savoy, he consented to enormous sacrifices to possess a country surrounded as it were by his States, whence he could be much injured; and the result was, that a succeeding duke became powerful enough to be made king of a most important part of Italy. When it is remembered that in 1815 Genoa ended by falling into the net that was spread in 1600, one cannot but admire the foresight of the house of Savoy, those who, with the Bourbons, the house of Lorraine, and Saxony, are among the first houses in Europe. La Bresse did not lead to Genoa. Saluces, in the course of time, opened the ports of the States of that old republic, doomed to perish without a crime, and only in consequence of that existing tendency which there is everywhere to efface nations. As to France, it must be observed that, in presence of the danger which we have here pointed out, she early felt the value of those annexations which resulted in forming a whole so formidable that the teeth of her neighbors could no longer harass or dismember her.

With respect to the negotiator, Aldobrandini, that man who was at once so prudent and yet so capable of taking a sudden resolution, he preferred

* The marquisate of Saluces was formerly a fief of Dauphiny, belonging to the Dauphins of Viennois, as is proven by the faith and homage paid in the name of the marquises of Saluces to those princes, and to their heirs, the kings of France.

The counts or dukes of Savoy sometimes disputed that right with the kings of France, on the plea that the marquises of Saluces, having had some quarrels with the Dauphins of Viennois, had asked the protection of the princes of Savoy. That dispute was settled by a sentence of the parliament of Paris, on the 10th of May, 1370. It occurred on the occasion of the difference that arose as to the tenure of that marquisate, between King Charles V., Anne, count of Savoy, and Frederic, marquis of Saluces. By that sentence, the king was maintained in his right of a suzerain, and the marquis in possession of his marquisate, on the condition of his owing faith and homage to the king of France, on account of Dauphiny, which belonged to that prince. After various vicissitudes, John Louis, marquis of Saluces, dying without issue, devised it to Charles IX., who declined it in favor of Gabriel, brother of John, on whose death without issue it reverted to the king. Charles Emmanuel, during the troubles of the League, invaded Saluces in 1588, and the dukes of Savoy constantly refused to restore it.

seeing in Italy a still feeble duke of Savoy, than to see there a nucleus of Frenchmen planted, within eighty leagues of Rome.

In 1601, Clement was the first to introduce the practice of sending blessed linen to the infants of Catholic princes. The Holy Father dispatched Maffeo Barberini to France, to take such clothes to the dauphin, afterwards Louis XIII., son of Henry IV. and Mary de Medici, born on the 27th of September.

The same year, Clement solemnly canonized Saint Raymond de Pennafort, third general of the order of Saint Dominic, and chaplain to Gregory IX. Raymond died at the age of one hundred, on the 6th of January, 1275.

In 1538, there was printed, at Lisbon, a book entitled, "*On the Agreement of Grace and Free Will*," by Louis de Molina, a Spanish Jesuit. That book, which had been circulated all over Europe without any opposition, and with great success, was denounced to the Inquisition of Rome. Clement ordered the matter to be most strictly examined. In 1602, he named eight theologians, who, after a deliberation of three months, declared sixty of Molina's propositions to be erroneous and rash. The Jesuits replied, and a second and more numerous congregation reduced the said sixty propositions to twenty.*

Then the Holy Father ordered that, with the assistance of the cardinals of the supreme Inquisition, of the deputed examiners, and of the two generals of the two disputing orders, the Dominicans and the Jesuits, the two parties should state their case in his presence.

To determine this affair, forty-seven congregations were held between the 20th of March, 1602, to the 22d of February, 1606. They were termed *De Auxiliis*. The pope presided over twenty-seven of them. He fell sick before he could pronounce sentence, and a decision was not given until the reign of Paul V., who, after being present at the last ten congregations, where the examination was left to the cardinals only, pronounced, on the 27th of April, 1606, that it would be allowed for both orders to teach in their respective schools the *contrasted* systems as to grace, provided they did so with that prudent and respectful moderation which becomes Catholic theologians in general, and religious in particular.

In the month of April, 1603, died Elizabeth, queen of England; in some respects a personage of great merit, but, with respect to religion, a scourge of the Roman faith, which she abhorred, and which she persecuted with all the worst zeal of the primitive tyrants of the Church.

By her will she called to the throne James, king of Scotland, whose mother, Mary, had perished on the scaffold, as much by order of the par-

* Novaes, ix., p. 59.

liament as by order of Elizabeth,* who persecuted her because she professed the Catholic religion. The pope thought that with James the faith would again ascend the throne of England; but it speedily appeared that all the exertions of the pope in that direction were fruitless. The king embraced the doctrine of the Church of England, and very soon, by his writings, began to insult the Catholic religion. He was the first to take the title of king of Great Britain, as he was also the first wrongfully to

* In the course of this work, we have often spoken of Elizabeth of England, and truth forbade us to speak well of her. The same love of truth now impels us to speak of her under circumstances in which there is no room to blame her, and it is due to ourselves to speak in praise as candidly as in blame. Under her reign, England enjoyed a flourishing position, in respect to other States of Europe. Its commerce extended to the four quarters of the globe, and its manufactures were established. And Elizabeth banished luxury, that most cruel enemy of a State.

We may cite, from de Lally Tollendal, an incident which does honor to Elizabeth. The arbitrary and excessive severity of her general rule, did not prevent her from one day showing the most generous clemency. A Scotchwoman who had been in the service of Queen Mary, one Margaret Lambrun, had seen her husband die of grief, on learning the cruel end of the queen of Scots. Bent upon revenging both her murdered queen and her deceased husband, Margaret went to the English court, disguised as a man, and provided with two pistols, and watched an opportunity to assassinate the queen, and then kill herself, so as to avoid execution. But, hurrying into the crowd, she dropped one of her pistols. She was arrested. Elizabeth personally questioned her, was struck with the audacity of her replies, and coldly said to her: "You thought, then, that you were doing your duty to your mistress and your husband? Well, what do you think is now my duty towards you?"

"I will reply frankly to your majesty; but, do you ask as queen or as judge?" "As queen." "In that case you ought to pardon me." "But how will you assure me that you will not abuse that pardon, and make another attempt on my life?" "Madam, pardon granted with so much precaution ceases to be pardon; your majesty can act as judge." Turning to her courtiers, Elizabeth said: "In the thirty years that I have been a queen, I have never received such a lesson." She then granted the pardon without any reservation, in spite of the opposition of the president of her council. A council almost always knows how to flatter sovereigns, but rarely advises what would immortalize them.

I will now return to my own reflections. When we have hidden nothing of the crimes of an often criminal life, we embrace any opportunity to praise an act of lofty virtue and magnanimous clemency. But in the present case, who is the grander, the queen or the Scotchwoman? We only remind our readers of what Mary said of a Scotchwoman knowing how to die.

Never was Spartan man calmer than this Scotchwoman, Margaret Lambrun. But that powerful queen, whose orders, even given by a sign, were so promptly obeyed, she too was admirable.

Elizabeth systematically conciliated those whom she had offended. She was right; to conciliate those whose resentment is to be feared, is a part of the art of governing.

Henry VIII., Elizabeth's father, said that England was the beam that could balance as it pleased the two scales of Spain and France. The Spanish secretary of State, Antonio Perez, confessed as much in one of his Latin letters to the earl of Essex, the favorite of Queen Elizabeth: "*Quod illic*" (he says, alluding to a book which he sent to that nobleman), "*in equilibrio Gallie et Hispanie asseritur Angliam esse Examen Europæ, staterasque illa duo regna ejusdem Europæ, non omnino rejiciendum est a prudenti viro.*" This shows how important it is to those two crowns to court the friendship of England, who, from the advantage of her situation, is their veritable beam, and can always give great weight to whichever party she may embrace. Elizabeth well knew how to profit by the prudent lessons of her father, for she made it the fundamental maxim of her long and prosperous reign. She assisted France, lest its fall should raise the king of Spain to universal monarchy, while it was to her interest to keep him down.

exercise the rights exclusively belonging to the vicar of Christ. So that all hope vanished of seeing the true faith restored in the kingdom.

An untoward event at this moment grieved the pope and disturbed all Rome. An offender, pursued by the police, took shelter in the palace of Cardinal Odoard Farnese. The *sbirri*, on entering the palace, were resisted by the cardinal's domestics, so that the criminal escaped in the confusion. On being informed of the fact, the pope was much irritated, and ordered the governor of Rome to prosecute the servants of the cardinal, whom he rebuked sharply, and ordered to give up the offenders.

Several Roman princes, and the ambassadors of the Catholic king, waited upon the pope and endeavored to appease him. Then the cardinal left Rome, but with so strong an escort, that he had nothing to fear from violence. That circumstance still further irritated the pope, who would no longer consent to pardon.

Ranutius Farnese, duke of Parma, hastened to Rome to obtain his brother's restoration to favor. He presented himself before Clement with such a good mien and such a deeply respectful manner, that he succeeded in appeasing the pope, and the delinquents obtained their pardon. The cardinal was recalled, but did not hasten to return. It was on that occasion that the pope took into his pay six hundred Corsicans and two hundred mounted arquebusiers, who were to guard the pontifical palace and other important points of the capital.

In his sixth promotion, Clement gave the purple to Seraphin Olivier,* whose tart expression in relation to Henry's absolution we have cited. James Davy du Perron also received the purple in the same promotion.

In 1604, France and Rome deplored the death of Cardinal d'Ossat. That faithful servant of Henry IV. was only sixty-eight years of age, and it had been hoped that he would preserve his health in a country where the air is so mild, and the temperature favorable to the aged. Henry experienced a deep affliction, which he did not attempt to conceal, when he heard that news.

We have seen that d'Ossat, devoted in his youth to severe study, was thoroughly acquainted with the learned classics. He had especially studied and relished Tacitus, Pliny, and Cicero. Ideas from Tacitus frequently recurred to the mind of our negotiator.

Father Tarquinius Galuzzi, of the Society of Jesus, pronounced the funeral oration on Cardinal d'Ossat, at Rome, on the 18th of March, 1604. It is given at length in the collection of his letters.

We shall not attempt to describe the grief that was felt by the Holy

* Monseigneur Seraphin was seventy-one years of age when he was made cardinal. He was one of the best friends of Cardinal d'Ossat, who died without witnessing the promotion of one whom he so much loved.

Father. When a political agent has the good fortune to acquire the confidence of a sovereign pontiff, His Holiness anxiously hastens to do whatever is useful or agreeable to the government by whom that agent is employed; and also consults him, under the seal of secrecy, as a Christian and a son of the Church, upon other business of the Holy See. Such a priest did Clement VIII. lose when d'Ossat* died; and Clement fell seriously ill.

In the following year he was attacked by an intermittent fever. It was so violent that he at times was delirious; suddenly losing his memory, and that understanding which had been so vast and profound, he died, aged sixty-nine, on the 3d of March, 1605, after having governed the Church thirteen years, one month, and four days. He was interred in the Vatican, and afterwards removed, on the 26th of April, 1646, to a magnificent tomb, in the Borghese chapel at Saint Mary Major.

Clement was endowed with many virtues. He was zealous for the propagation of the Gospel, for the extirpation of the heresies which then flooded all Europe, for the conversion of the schismatics of the East, and for the restoration of morals and of discipline. Unwearied in the discharge of duty, age and infirmity in naught diminished his courage. Humble in heart, he nevertheless distinguished himself by a certain air of command, and by an absolute tone, as was shown in the business of Cardinal Farnese. Extremely kind of heart, he could protect his just rights and avoid dangers fatal to some of his predecessors. More than once he was seen at the confessional, receiving, like some good parish priest, all those who presented themselves, who desired to have it to say that they had received absolution from the lips of the pope himself. He said Mass daily, often in tears, and every evening confessed to Cardinal Baronius. He fasted every Wednesday, and had only bread and water every Saturday. A hair shirt, next to his infirm body, attested his spirit of penance. He often went barefoot in ceremonies. He daily invited to a frugal repast as many paupers as there were years in his pontificate, served them with water to wash, blessed their table, and sent the dishes to them from his own. He visited the unfortunate, he consoled the afflicted, and he spent considerable sums in redeeming from slavery Catholics who had fallen into the power of the infidels. Such was the pope whom the impudent sectaries would represent as the Antichrist.

Literary men received his rich favors, and he gloried to be numbered among them. He gave the purple to Baronius, Bellarmine, d'Ossat, du

* De Thou (*Hist.*, lib. cxxxii.) gives a eulogy on d'Ossat. Cardinal Pallavicini calls him one of the principal and wisest ministers the kingdom of France ever had.—(Chap. x., book 24, of *Hist. of Council of Trent*.) Finally, Wicquefort says (sect. 3 of the 54th book of his *Ambassador*) the negotiations of Cardinal d'Ossat and of President Jeannin, are alone almost sufficient to form an ambassador.

Perron, and Marzali—the first of the Capuchins who received the hat—and to the Jesuit Toledo. Toledo and Bellarmine were the first of their order to obtain that honor.*

He forbade Italians to reside in any places out of Italy, where they had not liberty to exercise the Catholic religion in public,—a rule confirmed by

* The following medals are in my own collection :

1. CLEMENT VIII., PONT. MAX. Head of Clement VIII. *Rev.* : SALVA VOS DOMINE. The bark, altogether modern in style, sinking. The disciples invoke Christ, who is properly at the helm. Du Molinet, Bonanni, and Venuti have overlooked this.

2. IVBILEI INDICTIO. In the exergue : AN. M. D. C. Pope crowned and throned ; cardinals. A prelate reading. In front, heralds sounding trumpets.

3. FERRARIA RECUPERATA. The city of Ferrara.

Du Molinet gives thirty-eight others :

1. FVNDATA SVPRÁ FIRMAM PETRAM. The Holy Ghost descending on a seated female figure with a crucifix and tiara.

2. FORTITVDO MEA, ET REFVGIVM MEVM. Clement praying before Christ crucified ; the tiara on the ground. Struck during the negotiation with Henry IV.

3. DOMINE IVBEE AD TE VENIRE. Saint Peter on the vessel.

4. IN VERBO TVO. (See Life of Innocent IX.)

5. CONSECRATIO. (See Life of Gregory XIV.)

6. ET NON PŒNITEBIT EVM. In the exergue : CIOIC.XCIII. The pontiff, as Melchisedech, places bread and wine in a chalice. Andrew de Nevers, the ambassador of Henry IV., kneels to receive, as proxy for his royal master, the first absolution.

7. HENRICVS III., D. G. FRANC. NAV. REX. CHRISTIA. (Here a lily that Bonanni has overlooked.) The head of Henry.

8. RVTHENIS RECEPTIS. In the exergue : CIOICXCVI. (1596). The pope blesses the kneeling Russian bishops. Several Russian bishops, wishing to return to the Roman faith, sent two of their number to the pope—Hypalius, bishop of Bresta, and Cyrillus Terleciski, exarch of the metropolitan of Kiow. They asked Clement to permit them to retain the Greek rite. The envoys read, from their own handwriting, the required profession of faith, and kissed the feet of the Holy Father ; and then the ambassadors requested that their suite, and their fellow countrymen, might have the same permission.

9. TV SCIS DOMINE. Jesus Christ, Saint Peter, and another disciple.

10. VENI DILECTA MEA. "The Holy Father receives Margaret of Austria, who offers him a flower. Margaret, who is affianced to Philip III. of Spain, on her way to Madrid to be crowned, passed through Ferrara. Near the two figures are the keys of the Church, surmounted by the pontifical canopy." (Du Molinet, Bonanni.) Venuti thinks the figure seated upon the throne cannot represent Clement ; it is in fact, rather, a female. The other figure has no characteristic of a queen. Venuti, consequently, thinks the seated figure the Church, and the other the city of Ferrara. The recovery of Ferrara just then occupied all minds, and I incline to follow the idea of Venuti.

11. CHRISTIANÆ PAX REIPUBLICÆ. Henry IV. and Philip II. An ear of wheat, the symbol of peace, between the two heads. Struck at the peace of Vervins, in 1598.

12. RENIGAVIT ERIDANUS. A crowned river lies near two pines. Upon the stream are several aquatic birds.

13. HINC PAX, HINC VICTORIA. The cross erected on a hillock ; on one side an olive branch, on the other a palm. Venuti takes this to be a new allusion to the restoration of Ferrara. Bonanni says that the inscription is taken from Saint Chrysostom, who, in his fifty-fifth homily on Saint Matthew, exhorts us to have a representation of the cross in the most retired parts of our houses, on the walls, on the windows, and in some sort to carry it upon our brows and within our hearts—*Unde pax et victoria*.

14. IVSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA COMPLEXÆ SUNT SE. Du Molinet and Bonanni give it incorrectly.

15. EXVRGAT D. ET DISSIP. INIM. EIVS. The pope, throned, gives the standard of the Church

Gregory XVI. He declared that it was not allowable for any one to confess by letter or by message to an absent confessor, or in such manner to receive absolution; for though the Council of Trent had decided that those who, after baptism, had sinned, were to present themselves at the tribunal of penance, to be absolved by the competent minister, yet the scholastics,

to John Francis Aldobrandini, going to the assistance of Rodolph, engaged in a long war against the Turks.

16. LILIA PROPAGANTVR IN ORBE. Henry IV. and Mary de Medici, full face. Between them, and above the head, the Golden Rose sent to Mary before she left Florence for Paris. (Du Molinet.)

17. MAGNUM GRATIÆ SACRAMENTUM. In the exergue: LATERANI. The tabernacle, with the Blessed Sacrament exposed. "In the other Sacraments," says Bonanni (ii., p. 454), "God gives us divine graces—in the Eucharist he gives us the very source of grace. So, Saint Paul calls the Eucharist the great Sacrament of piety." Medal struck in commemoration of the embellishments made to Saint John Lateran by Clement VIII. There is another medal which bears the same inscription, but represents the Last Supper.

18. IVSTI INTRABUNT PER EAM, MDC. On the right, the holy door. On the left, two angels in the clouds. Above the door, in small characters, CLEMENS PONT. MAX. Jubilee medal.

19. ABSOLVTO. A. IVBILEI. The pope closes the holy door.

20. PORTAM SANCTAM APERVIT CLAVSIT ANNO IVB. MDC. The holy door, with a cross on it.

21. LAUDATE NOMEN DOMINI. MDC. A procession entering a church. An angel with an olive branch. According to du Molinet, struck to commemorate a pilgrimage of a hundred Benedictines from Florence. Bonanni calls it an assemblage of pilgrims who had previously been heretics, and had newly returned to Catholicity. Among them was that relative of Calvin already mentioned.

22. EGO VOS REFICIAM. Du Molinet attributes this also to the Florentine Benedictines. The medal represents nine pilgrims of both sexes entering the holy door. Our Saviour, on clouds borne by cherubim, blessing them.

23. INTROITE IN EXULTATIONE, AN. MDC. The Holy Father, kneeling, watches a flock of sheep going in at the holy door.

24. REGNIS NATUS ET ORBI. A boy running, holding in his right hand a sceptre, with a lily at the end, and holding in the other hand a large lily; before him, a cock carrying a crown. The boy is Louis, dauphin of France, born on the 27th of September, 1601, to occupy the thrones of France and Navarre.

25. VNVS DEVS, VNA FIDES, MDCL. Religion, standing, holds the cross and chalice.

26. PAX ET SALVS A DOMINO. MDCL. A crowned female holds the cross in her right hand, and with her left applies a torch to bucklers. It is an allusion to the peace between the French king and the duke of Savoy.

27. VELLINO EMISSO. AN. MDC. The cascade of Terni is one of the finest sights that the traveller to Rome can witness. It is formed by the fall of the Vellino, which rushes into the Nera from a height of 1063 Roman feet, by a channel which Mark Antony Dentatus cut in the solid rock, in the year of Rome 480, to give an outlet to the waters of Lake Lucus, which, previously, sometimes flooded the valley of Rieti. These admirable works of the Romans, so long neglected, though for a time attended to by Paul III., were in urgent need of repair. Clement VIII. intrusted that duty to the Marquis John Baptist Castelli, of Saint Eustace. His Holiness, therefore, had a right to transmit to posterity the memorial of it. The medal represents the fall, which, towards the centre, is spanned by a bridge, which the architect, John Fontana, threw across the river just above the fall.

28. DA QVOD IVBES, MDCLII. The Holy Father, kneeling before Christ, uses the words of Saint Augustine. Between our Lord and the pope, sheep are grazing. At the feet of the pope is the tiara, which is always lowered before Jesus Christ.

29. S. P. Q. R., MDCLII. The south front of the palace of the capitol. Clement VIII. laid the first stone of it. The designs of that front were left by the great Michael Angelo Buonarrotti

fertile in subtleties, had taught that confession could be made, and absolution received, by letters or by proxy. Nothing could be more convenient than to commit one's sins to paper, that raises no blush; or to confess them, like the Sacramentaries, only to the Eternal Father. In that wise, Confession would be deprived of its most rigorous quality, because it is necessary to confess *viva voce* our own proper departures from the right path. The sacred tribunal would thus be deprived of what it has of the most salutary, for Confession is a great part of the penance for the past, and one of the most efficient preservatives against relapse. On those grounds, Clement was obliged to condemn the new opinion as false, erroneous, and rash, forbidding it to be maintained either in public or in private, even as merely probable, under pain of excommunication, reserved to the pope. He condemned the opinion of those who affirmed that Christians ought not to hear Mass except in their own parish churches, or to confess to any one but their own parish priest. The pope declared that both were perfectly lawful, provided each one duly received communion at Easter in his own parish church. He forbade any litany* to be chanted in public offices except the

30. AB ORIGINE MUNDI. Pope Clement, as Abel, offers a ram in sacrifice to God.

31. PORTV CENTVM CELLARVM INSTAVRATO. In 1604. Clement VIII. extended the fortifications of that city. The principal works were devoted to the antimural, built by Trajan. In addition, the pope built two light-houses. One of them is ruinous and useless; the other has prevented and will prevent many shipwrecks.

32. SEQVERE ME. Saint Peter near Christ; three other disciples follow.

33. CONFREGISTI DRACONVM CAPITA (Ps. lxxiii. 13). A cross, in which a serpent is entwined. In the field, on the right, a church. Du Molinet takes the serpent to represent Calvinism. Bonanni and Venuti take it to represent the Turk.

34. ANNONA PUBLICA. A female running; wheat ears in one hand and the cornucopia in the other. The popes have frequently borrowed this reverse from the emperors of old Rome.

Bonanni also gives:

1. SINE CLADE. Struck on the recapture of Ferrara, where not a drop of blood was spilt. In the field, two crossed keys; above, a crown; lower down, a cross, with this monogram: GI, 1598. This medal is genuine, and was seen by Fea in the magnificent collection of pontifical medals belonging to Prince Augustin Chigi.

2. PORTA CÆLI. In the exergue: DOMVS DEI, 1600. Clement opens the holy door. To the right and left, cardinals and bishops.

3. The face of Clement VIII. On the reverse, without an inscription, a circus, a very miniature likeness of the colonnade of Saint Peter's; in the centre, a fountain. It is evidently the front garden of the Belvedere villa at Frascati, built by Cardinal Aldobrandini, under the reign of Clement VIII. No doubt, it is without inscription because it refers to none of the monumental works of that pope.

4. PHILIPPVS III., HISPANIARVM REX CATHOLICVS, ARCH. AUSTRIÆ, &c. Philip III., decorated with the order of the Golden Fleece. Medal struck on the occasion of the reconciliation between Henry IV. and Philip III.

5. The Aldobrandini arms, without inscription. In the field, behind the shield, the keys, surmounted by the tiara. Beneath, the heads of two Cherubim. That family, originally of Florence, had—*azure*, a fasces, toothed *argent*, the teeth pointing to the top of the shield; above the fasces, three stars *or*; beneath, also, three stars *or*.

* See the dissertation of Mondelli upon the Litany of Loretto; it is the eleventh of the Ecclesiastical Dissertations collected by Zaccaria. (Rome, 1795, 8vo.)

Litany of the Saints and Litany of Loretto. He corrected the Roman pontifical, breviary, and the ceremonial of the bishops.

Bartholomès, a recent writer (vol. i., p. 220), passes this judgment on Clement: "This pope was one of the most eminent of modern times. He was prodigiously active and untiring; an experienced and adroit administrator; jealous to govern by himself; a persevering statesman; circumspect even to taciturnity; rarely inclined to even an innocent duplicity; an enemy to Spain and to the Medicis."

The Holy See was vacant twenty-eight days.

236. LEO XI.—A. D. 1605.



EO XI. (Alexander Octavian de Medici) was born at Florence in 1535, son of Octavian de Medici and of Frances, daughter of James Salviati and Lucretia de Medici, sister of Leo X.

As he evinced from youth an inclination for the priesthood, his mother, to dissuade him, placed him at the court of her cousin, Cosmas, grand duke of Tuscany, who immediately made him a knight of the order of Saint Stephen. On his mother's death, he resumed his first intention, and was sent by Cosmas as ambassador to the court of Saint Pius V. at Rome, where he spent several years.

In 1573, he was made bishop of Pistoia, and in 1574, promoted to the archbishopric of Florence. Gregory XIII., in 1583, made him cardinal of the title of Saint Quirico and Giulitta, which he exchanged successively for those of Saint Peter *in vinculis*, Saint Praxedes, and Saints John and Paul. As cardinal, he took part in the election of Sixtus V., Urban VII., Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., and Clement VIII. The last of whom sent him, in 1596, as legate *à latere* into France, where he remained two years, to the great satisfaction of Henry IV., who thanked the Holy Father in a letter dated on the 8th of December, 1596.

In 1600, Clement VIII. made the archbishop of Florence suburbican bishop of Albano, and of Palestrina in 1602.

After the funeral of Clement VIII., sixty-two cardinals entered into conclave on the 14th of March, 1605. Cardinals Zacchia, Blandrata, and de Medici were proposed as candidates. A strong party was disposed to elect Cardinal Baronius. Spain was opposed to him, because, in his Annals,

Baronius had combated the claims of the kings of Spain to the monarchy of Sicily ; and because, moreover, he had been in favor of absolving Henry IV. Some of the cardinals having left the conclave from illness, only forty votes were required to render the election canonical. Baronius at first obtained twenty, and then thirty-seven, so that only three votes were lacking to enable his friends to congratulate him. But the truthful historian and dispassionate annalist, speaking nothing but what he believed to be true, exempt from every kind of adulation, and utterly free from the use of equivocal language, would not advance his cause by a single smile, or by a politeness not strictly called for by the occasion. He passed amid his brethren in the conclave, thoroughly sincere, seeing nothing and saying nothing, alone with himself in that crowd, as though, pen in hand, he were at work in his study. He left friends and electors to themselves,—impartial men to take part according to their individual convictions, and thus to conspire against the repose and the liberty of the historian. He asked nothing, and he repelled nothing. Let us explain that situation, which exists only in Rome.

There, the highest, the most imposing, the most terrible of earthly dignities is conferred. I cannot say that views of personal ambition may not sometimes actuate those who have been more or less successful. I may not seem to launch an indirect moral anathema against any who have erred in soliciting, but subsequently have done good on reaching the throne. I will say that a noble, generous, though perhaps aspiring, and so far reprehensible sentiment, animates some ; but a still nobler feeling of resignation, of obedience, necessary and willed on high, also animates other members of the sacred college.

In general, the agreeable days of the pontificate are those of the first year. Then come disgusts, embarrassments, from which there is no escape, men who demand impossible concessions, men who believe immobility the true science of government, and men who seek to throw off old shackles only to put on others. Men of intellect, learning, experience, and observation know all this on the eve of an election. The crown placed upon the head of the elect announces a great favor of God ; but beneath that crown the mental eye discerns the tumultuous billows that are to replace the brilliancy of the pomp. At such a moment, after the inebriating effect of the triumph, the adorations, the *sedia gestatoria*, and the chanted *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* has passed away, when the pope considers calmly the course of public affairs, one may form some just idea of what is beneath the pontifical robe. And then, what other feeling arises, not in the mind, but in the heart of the upright priest ? Baronius may have thought that he would make a distinguished pope (every man has his value, and should know it) ; and then he might reflect upon the dangers of the papacy. Were there not dangers to

be discerned in Spain and France,—pacified, but still ready to come into collision? The Turks were then a people without history, whose soldiers might return, because they knew not of the lesson given by Charles Martel, nor of the crescent driven from the Iberian peninsula, nor Malta delivered, nor Lepanto made illustrious by the defeat of Islam. There was America, source of labors and duties, seemingly too great for human faculties. Baronius saw what the pontificate had become: he took not a single step to court an elevation, nor give expression to any desire to avoid it.

But Spain labored to exclude from the papacy the friend of order and the friend of truth—he who taught the powerful ones of earth that one day they also would be judged, even on that earth on which they had kindled so many useless wars; and Baronius accordingly was excluded.

Another cardinal had also been named, Bellarmine, who obtained ten votes; but the choice fell upon Alexander de Medici, who was at length named by adoration. Moved by a sense of duty and honor, Cardinal Alexander accepted the tiara, and chose the name of Leo XI. He was crowned in the Vatican, June 10, 1605, and on Low Sunday took possession of Saint John Lateran.

Cardinal Gallo having solicited the suppression of some imposts, he not only readily granted it, but thanked the cardinal for having given him the opportunity instantly to do a public service.

The Spanish ambassador, the marquis of Villena, having shown some discontent with the election, Leo said to him: "We were well treated in your country; write to your court that we shall be its friend as far as it depends upon us."

Some time after, Leo made Cardinal Cinthius Aldobrandini high penitentiary, and distributed generous aid among poor cardinals. On his return from taking possession of Saint John Lateran, the pope was attacked by a disorder which was speedily aggravated by his age. Fever set in, and having been compelled to take his bed, the disease increased. All the court entreated the pope to name as cardinal one of his nephews, a man of pure morals, and to whom he was very partial. But he resisted all entreaty, even that of his confessor, to whom he replied: "Do not suggest to us any care for earthly interests; you must speak to us now only about things eternal."

Leo died on the 29th of April, having occupied the pontificate scarcely twenty-six days.

* 1. I possess one medal: LEO XI. PONT. MAX. ANNO I. Reverse: DE FORTI. DULCED. MDCV. The dead lion of Samson. Beneath it, GIOV. PA.

2. A laurel wreath inclosing a bouquet of roses: on the ribbon, SIC FLORVI. Struck after the death of the pope. It alludes evidently to the graceful line of Ausonius, often attributed to Virgil: *Una dies aperit, conficit una dies*. See, too, Job xiv. 5.—(Du Molinet.)

3. Bonanni gives another medal, with the same words around the wreath.

He was a prince of grave but agreeable countenance, liberal, affable, type of the good Medicis, full of candor, and the enemy of every kind of fraud in either word or deed.

He was interred in the Vatican Basilica; but Cardinal Pompey Ugoni, his nephew, removed his body to a magnificent tomb reared on the left side of that Basilica by the celebrated Algardi.

The Holy See was vacant eighteen days.

237. PAUL V.—A. D. 1605.



PAUL V. (Camillus Borghese) was born at Rome on the 17th of September, 1552, of an illustrious family of Siennese origin. After studying philosophy at Perugia, and law at Padua, he became a consistorial advocate, then prelate-abbreviator, referendary of the two signatures,* and subsequently vicar at Saint Mary Major. In 1588, he was sent by Sixtus V. to Bologna, as vice-legate. Gregory XIV. recalled him to employ him as auditor of the chamber, vacant by the death of his brother, Horatius Borghese.

Clement VIII. dispatched Camillus into Spain with extraordinary powers, and created him cardinal of Saint Eusebius, on the 15th of June, 1596. He was surnamed the excellent cardinal, and already spoken of as likely to become pope. The cardinals entering into conclave May 8th, showed a disposition to elect Cardinal Toschi of Modena, and some proposed to go into the chapel and *adore* that cardinal; but Cardinal Baronius said that the election of Toschi was not for the good of the Church.

Toschi, according to Tiraboschi, retained from his early education and associations some low words and expressions, which, to the severe Baronius, seemed unbecoming in a vicar of Christ. This unexpected declaration diverted the votes from Toschi, and thirty-two cardinals declared for Baronius. The latter was justified in excluding Toschi, who had been a servant to John Baptist Brugnolo, auditor of Monsignor Archinto, the pope's vicar. Toschi's rise had been rapid, for at an early age he was governor of Rome, and purity of language apart, all admitted him to be a man of courage, an able jurisconsult, and the author of useful works.

* The signatures of pardons and justice are two important tribunals presided at by the pope or a cardinal.

But Baronius, in excluding his colleague for good reasons, did not expect to be himself declared pope. He wished one chosen who would govern the Church well, but he did not wish to be the one.

The great cardinal did not remain neutral, as in the election of Leo XI., but felt obliged to oppose his new friends: he proposed Bellarmine, who employed the same eloquence to prove that another choice would be preferable. Such rare and sublime modesty deserves the highest eulogy of history. A Baronius and a Bellarmine, two eminent men, on this occasion, set an example of admirable magnanimity; and the more they depreciated themselves, the more their greatness is to be admired.

Cardinals Montalto and Aldobrandini were next mentioned, the heads of the two parties who divided the power in the conclave.

The French cardinals had not as yet pronounced their opinion; but, seeing that Montalto sincerely supported Borghese, they joined with the Montaltists, and Borghese was named pope on the evening of the 16th of May, 1605, at the age of fifty-five, though he appeared to be scarcely forty. On the 29th of May he was crowned under the name of Paul V., and on the 6th of November he took possession of Saint John Lateran.*

One of the first cares of Paul V. was to publish a special jubilee, to obtain from the divine mercy a prosperous government of the Universal Church. He then ordered his vicar, Cardinal Pamfili, to notify all bishops then in Rome to return to their dioceses.

He at first abstained from distributing favors, saying that asking and giving inconsiderately were both too easy at such times. The early months of the reign of Gregory XIII. prove how judicious these words are.

In the month of August, 1605, Henry IV. sent d'Halin-court, marquis de Villeroy, as ambassador extraordinary, to compliment Pope Paul V. D'Ossat was no longer in the Eternal City.†

Paul V., in order to put an end to the controversy on grace, that was carried on between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, once more revived the congregations *de Auxiliis*, instituted by Clement VIII., and finally permitted each party to maintain its own opinion. On the 18th of July, of the same year, Paul raised to the purple Scipio Caffarelli Borghese, a noble Roman, and his maternal nephew, who, by his direction, dropped the name of Caffarelli. This selection, it may be remarked, pleased the whole city of Rome. Scipio was distinguished for such gentle and kindly manners, that he was called *Delizia di Roma*. He built the magnificent villa the Pinciana

* Before the latter date he had already created cardinals, issued many bulls, and performed all other acts of the supreme dignity. This shows the incorrectness and inconsistency of those who maintain that the pope possesses the papal authority only when he has received the two keys in Saint John Lateran.

† Artaud gives at length the instructions of Henry IV. to his ambassador.

Borghese, where, notwithstanding losses and sales of many of the statues, a host of most costly objects is still to be seen.

Paul V. at this time addressed to Rosny (Béthune de Sully) the following letter :

“Paul V., pope, to you, illustrious man, health, grace, and divine light.

“We have so great an affection for our beloved son, Mr. de Bethune, your brother, for his rare prudence and piety, and for the courtesy and respect with which he treated us when we were still among the number of the cardinals, that the memory of his person and of his actions is always pleasant to our mind. Considering the close ties with which nature has connected you in consanguinity, and knowing your great experience and courage, which are represented to us as very special both in arts of peace and war, we feel urged by an extreme desire to find an opportunity to testify how much we desire to embrace you in the Lord. But in our charity there remains mingled this regret, that what should serve as our consolation, turns to our displeasure, we being all the more anxious for your salvation because we recognize the infinite mental gifts that nature has developed in you, and see that they are led so far away from the way to salvation; for, in truth, it is impossible to be acceptable to God without confessing the orthodox faith professed by the holy Roman Catholic Church, the mother and mistress of all the others. And in this we must not presume any thing because we are daily loaded with the favors of his divine bounty, for all the servants may easily receive the talent from the father of the family, but it does not follow that therefore all are to enter into the joy of the Lord. On the contrary, the riches acquired in this world by sinners resemble dreams, which vanish when the sleeper awakens, it being necessary that he who departs from God shall perish. We the more, therefore, desire that your abundant temporal gifts shall be accompanied by spiritual blessings; and to that end we constantly pray the Almighty to enlighten your understanding with the light of his Holy Spirit, so that you may the more easily arrive at the knowledge of the truth of the Catholic faith. Surely, if among the great labors of the pontificate we were permitted to add our zeal and our teachings to our prayers, we should omit nothing that might aid in your conversion, so greatly do we desire it. We should think and act with the good shepherd in the Gospel, who left the ninety-nine sheep of his flock to seek the one that was lost. In like manner, we should willingly forego all other anxieties for the sake of bringing back your soul, that we so desire to be among the blessed. Nevertheless, as that is a thing wholly forbidden to labors such as ours, in default of it, we have determined to testify to you our ardent zeal for your salvation, in which zeal we shall all the more constantly persevere because we are informed of the generosity of your mind,

which we easily believe to be great. Your ancestors and yourself being descendants of so illustrious a house as that of *the former counts of Flanders*, we feel sure that you will receive in the best spirit the proof of our sincere good-will, and we trust that we soon shall receive proof that our advice is acceptable.* It is a thing very easy of execution, provided you allow yourself to be instructed in the truth of the Catholic religion; for if upon that subject you question your fathers, they will tell you who were their predecessors. Inquire what was taught them by Saint Dennis, Saint Remigius, Saint Hilary, Saint Martin, and Saint Bernard, who preached Christianity in France, and you will judge whether there is any difference between their doctrine and that of the holy Roman Church. Learn what was the belief of Clovis, Charlemagne, Saint Louis, and, in fact, all the kings of France, and then you will perceive that they were always united in faith with the most holy pontiffs, our predecessors. But especially interrogate our most dear son in Jesus Christ, King Henry, at present reigning,* and he himself will clearly show you what it is to believe in his most dear mother, the Roman Church. In truth, in doing this, you will do what will be very agreeable to him; and we all the more ardently exhort you to yield to our will, because it is an occasion in which, in a single moment, and by a single act, you can give unbounded pleasure to us and to your king, while providing for the salvation of your own soul. It has been represented to us, that on many subjects concerning the dignity of the Holy See, you have always obeyed the instructions or intentions of our predecessor of happy memory, Clement VIII., and that you have also rendered good offices to the legates and apostolic nuncios, by which we are made to feel the more assured that we may expect the accomplishment of our wishes, and, chiefly, since this concerns your own salvation, and since we, equally with that holy pontiff, desire that you should be received with open arms, to remain in the Temple of our Lord Jesus Christ, with much rejoicing—that is to say, in the Catholic Church. Further, our hope is still increased since we learned that you greatly honor (as is quite reasonable) the sanctity of a Saint Alpinus de Bethune, one of your own race. For, certainly, that blessed person professed the Catholic and Apostolic faith of the Roman Church. It follows, therefore, that you must either follow his example, or cease to appropriate to yourself any portion of the glory of his life. For, if you exalt and laud his sanctity, while persisting in your present creed, you must necessarily be in self-contradiction, since you cannot both persist in your first belief and form a right judgment of his doctrine and actions.

* How delicately Godfrey of Boulogne is indicated here, without being named! There had been an alliance between the house of Lower Lorraine, to which Godfrey belonged, and the family of Bethune.

"Now, it seems to be time that we should here terminate this letter. We therefore conclude it, but not with it do we conclude the care and interest we take in you, nor the devout prayers that we offer up to God for your salvation. On the contrary, we shall redouble them, in order that the Eternal, in his mercy, may dispel the clouds and shadows from your understanding, and not permit you, thus entreated by our charity, to refuse the brightness of his divine light.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mark's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the 5th of October, 1605, and of our pontificate the first.

"PAUL, PP. V."

To this letter, replete with wisdom, paternal feeling, and real power, Rosny replied :

"MOST HOLY FATHER :

"The infinite benedictions and graces, as well spiritual as temporal, with which the great eternal God has in such plenitude favored Your Holiness, and the signal testimonies of paternal affection which Your Holiness has so continually lavished on my king and my country, had already exercised such power over my will, and so thoroughly disposed my heart to be the very humble and very faithful servant of Your Holiness, that I did not deem it possible for any thing to add to the extreme passion I felt to be honored by the commands of Your Holiness, to which I have vowed perpetual obedience. But at present, seeing, by the brief with which Your Holiness has been pleased to honor me, all my designs and my hopes overpassed by such an excess of kindness, charity, and courtesy, I will not attempt to find words in which to express the feelings they have excited in my soul, nor the bonds with which so special and peculiar a grace binds me to the service of Your Holiness, but content myself with admiring them as effects proceeding from Heaven, and from a virtue unequalled. But for my fear of being suspected of ingratitude, and to all appearance not unjustly suspected, I should deem it more becoming me to remain silent than to speak ; confessing, by a silence full of humility, at once my faults and the infinite merits of Your Holiness, which lead me to hope that—after the example of Him who has been so liberal of his graces to you, and who, without distinction of persons, receives with pleasure and acceptance the praises and the offerings of even the meanest of his creatures, when they proceed from a sincere heart—your piety and clemency would incline you to accept the vows of my humble service and of my dedication of my days and my life to be employed in obedience to Your Holiness, however useless I might prove to be ; protesting, nevertheless, that if my misfortune deprives me of the means of proportioning my services to my duty and to my devotion, my desire to

have that happiness remain eternal, and that I shall publish in all places your glory and immortal praise, returning a thousand thanks to Your Holiness for the beautiful admonitions with which you have been pleased to honor me; and in all humility entreating you not to be offended if, believing myself incapable of doing more praiseworthy than by striving to imitate Your Holiness, I address my most ardent prayers to that great God, the creator of all things, that it may please him, who is the father of resplendent light, to assist and illuminate with his Holy Spirit your zeal and beatitude, and to give you more and more entire knowledge of his truth and good-will, in which consist the salvation and the eternal felicity of all creatures. In that devotion, I most humbly kiss the feet of Your Holiness and Greatness, as one on whom Your Holiness has imposed the strictest obligations, and who desires to preserve, during the whole remainder of his life, the quality of

“Your most humble, most obedient, and most faithful servant,

“BETHUNE DE SULLY.

“At Paris, this 17th of November, 1605.”

How tender, generous, and paternal is the letter of the pope! The reply of Rosny is somewhat studied and embarrassed. In one passage he makes it evident that it is in vain that he desires to devote his days and his life to employment under obedience to the pope; and Saint Alpinus de Bethune, one of the race of the Rosnys, and so skilfully alluded to by Paul V., would seem not to have been noticed by Rosny. Did the pride of Rosny find itself at fault? The pope has all the advantage, and Rosny always retreats with a few Parthian phrases, which strongly smack of Calvinism.

But let us leave aside that baffled vanity, and confess that he has the merit of having informed us of the facts which have been transmitted to us solely in his *Economies Royales*. Did Sully wish to conceal the fact that his race had been illustrated by a saint? And having silently obtained the small advantage of not recognizing that saint, did he deem that a sufficient victory, and so retire?

Let us now speak of other labors of Paul V.

At this time there arose a dispute between the pontiff and the republic of Venice. Two causes are assigned for that serious quarrel. Two ecclesiastics had been accused before the Council of Ten, of crime, rapine, and even of homicide. The two accused, Scipio Saraceni, canon of Vicenza, and Brandolino Valmarino, a native of Forli and abbot of Narvesa, had been tried and imprisoned, in 1606, without any notice of the facts being given to the Roman court.

The other cause was the publication of two decrees of the senate, one of

which forbade the founding of hospitals or monasteries, the institution of new religious orders, the building of churches, or the establishment of confraternities without the permission of the senate. The second decree forbade, throughout the whole republic (what had been forbidden as to the city and duchy of Venice under Paul III.), to leave by will, or to alienate by sale or otherwise, any real estate of the Church for more than two years, and equally forbade the purchase or other acquisition of such real estate, without the consent of the senate.

Paul, a zealous defender of ecclesiastical immunities, seeing them attacked and menaced with annihilation by this decree, ordered his nephew Horace Mattis to demand the liberty of the two prisoners, and the revocation of the decrees in question. He himself, in an audience which he gave the Chevalier Nani, the Venetian ambassador, complained warmly of this conduct; and he hoped to bring Venice to reason, as he had done Genoa. Venice, however, would not yield.

The Holy Father then held a consistory embracing forty cardinals, all those at Rome, with the exception of one, who, as a subject of the republic, very properly abstained from voting.

It was there determined to issue a monition to the republic of Venice, and if, within twenty-four days, the doge and the republic should not obey the Holy Father, the doge and the senate were to be excommunicated; and, three days later, the same punishment was to be inflicted upon all the subjects of the republic. The Venetian government forbade all obedience to the interdict, on pain of exile. The nuncio quitted Venice. The Jesuits instantly submitted to the pontifical order, departed in formal procession, and were declared to be perpetually banished from the State.

The Theatines and Capuchins represented to the government that they were prepared to keep their churches open for foreign priests, and at the same time prayed that they might be allowed to perform their offices in private; and this being refused, they also departed into exile. The Capuchins in the territory of Brescia and Bergamo continued in their convents, because they had not observed the interdict.*

Many writings appeared on both sides.† It was said that the cause of the Venetians was that of all princes, who would all be gainers by a victory over the Holy See.

Among the writers who defended the Venetians were Fra Paolo Sarpi, and Brother Fulgentius, his worthy rival, who poured forth a torrent of bold invective against the Roman court. But the cause of the court was eloquently defended by Baronius and Bellarmine, those two men

* Muratori, *Annales d'Italie*, an. 1606, *et seq.*

† Novaes, ix., p. 92.

of glory and of genius who could not be persuaded to accept the tiara, but never ceased to be the boldest defenders of the Church.*

A war seemed imminent between Venice and the Holy See, when the Catholic king, Philip III., offered to the pope the troops stationed in the Milanese, and promised to reduce the Venetians to obedience. At the same time, that prince secretly encouraged the Venetians to resist. Henry IV., sincerely attached to the Holy See, offered his mediation to the two powers, and really desired to restore peace to Italy, where, as everywhere, it was much needed. Cardinal de Joyeuse, dean of the sacred college, was sent to Venice to treat in the name of the pope and of the king. Returning to Rome on the 22d of March, 1607, he obtained the pope's full authority to absolve the Venetians from the censures which they had incurred, to raise the interdict, and conclude a definitive peace with the republic. The two parties were in the first place to discontinue hostilities. The interdict was revoked, and the two decrees were declared void. In this negotiation, Cardinal Joyeuse displayed remarkable ability and zeal. On the 21st of April, the Venetians having given up the two prisoners, Scipio Saraceni and Brandolino Valmarino, peace was restored.

The Venetians promised to send to Rome an ambassador to thank the pope for restoring them to his affection, but they sought to avoid all mention of absolution. The great soul of Paul was displayed on that occasion. After having shown a just pride, he reverted to feelings of conciliation, as so often had been done by his august predecessors, who feared to lose too much by insisting upon a false point of honor.† The Holy See and the republic of Venice expressed in several letters their gratitude to Henry IV.

However, there was one point upon which the Venetians, when the execution of the treaty was in question, would not yield. All the exiled religious returned to their houses, except the Jesuits, who were not readmitted until 1657, under Pope Alexander VII.

There was now a new promotion of cardinals. Paul gave the purple to Marcellus Lante, his relation, one of the richest and most beneficent prelates in Rome. On account of his sumptuous charities, he was called a new *John the Almoner*.

On the 29th of March, 1608, the pope terminated the process of the canonization of Saint Frances, a Roman lady, born in 1384, founder of the Oblates of Saint Benedict, of the congregation of Mont' Olivetole, commonly called the ladies of the *Tor' de Specchi*.

Henry IV. had instituted, in opposition to the heretics, the military order of Saint Mary of Carmel. The pope approving the step, on the 31st of October, 1608, united the order to that of the Knights of Saint Lazarus.

* Spöndanus, *Annal. Eccl.*, an. 1606.

† Novæ, ix., p. 93.

The order was to bear, for the future, both names, as regarded the French, and the name of Saints Maurice and Lazarus was reserved for the Savoyards and the Italians. The knights of the order were subsequently limited by order of Louis XV. to one hundred. Eight of these might be ecclesiastics, and all must be thirty years of age, and be able to prove four degrees of paternal nobility.

The armies of the king of Spain, commanded by the Archduke Albert, in Flanders, were often defeated by the Dutch, who would listen to no proposals of peace, nor consent to lay down their arms, except on the recognition of their independence, and other conditions very unpalatable to Spain, but to which she had to submit.

The pope, learning that at Madrid frequent councils of State were held in order to conclude the desired accommodation, lost no time in exhorting King Philip to demand, as one of the conditions of the treaty, the free exercise of the Catholic religion in Holland. This the Protestant provinces constantly opposed; and then the Spaniards, unable to continue the war, concluded a peace of twelve years, and thus abandoned the interests of religion, notwithstanding the bitter complaints of the pope. Philip, though unable at this juncture to save the interests of religion in the crash of politics, sought to retain the good-will of the Holy Father.

The Moors still continued to occupy the kingdoms of Valentia and Castile. They conspired against the king, and sought in every direction for supporters in their revolt. They sent agents into France to obtain alliances; they disturbed the king even upon his throne in Madrid, not far distant from the headquarters of those insurrectionary plots. Those attempts had prevented the prosecution of the war in Holland. The king of Spain, after mature deliberation, ordered the Moors to be simultaneously expelled from the kingdom which they inhabited on the Spanish peninsula. Spain sought praise for this as zeal for religion; but Muratori and Spondanus attribute it to motives purely political. At the same time, the duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, made another attempt to surprise Geneva; but the enterprise was discovered, and the partisans of the duke had to seek safety in flight.

The pope was greatly afflicted by the death of Henry IV., whose assassination plunged the pontiff into a profound grief and depression. He assembled a consistory, to which he expressed the agonies that had been inflicted upon him by tidings so sad to Catholicity. Then he addressed to the queen regent letters in which, after showing the pain and difficulty of the Holy See, he exhorted her to defend the faith, and to rear her son in love for religion, which had lost in Henry so powerful a protector.*

* A host of memoirs have been published on the causes of the assassination of Henry IV. A

Paul V., attentive and vigilant, incessantly endeavored to maintain Mary de Medici in religious feelings favorable to the Holy See; and when he did not find his efforts resisted by her insatiable domestic ambition, he had reason to hope that he should see her a faithful friend of the Roman court. Moreover, the bishop of Luçon (Richelieu) kept Mary well inclined to the Holy See. She had always been accustomed to honor and respect Rome and its ministers; and we shall see clearer marks of her feelings in 1625, when that queen gave her daughter Henrietta in marriage to the prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles I.

On the 1st of November, 1610, the pope canonized Saint Charles Borromeo, born at Arma, a fief of his family, on the 2d of October, 1538, the son of Giberto Borromeo and Margaret de Medici, sister of Pius IV. Clement VIII., in 1601, had commenced the preliminaries of that canonization, and in 1604 had beatified Charles. Benedict XIII., on the 14th of July, 1724,

work by Count Tieopolo, which embraces many phases of the Venetian history (*Discorsi sopra la Storia Veneta*, Udina, 1828), has suggested theories and facts which, at present, are but little known. The author cites passages from an *Essay on the History of the House of Austria*, which he attributes to de Girecourt. (6 vols. 12mo, Paris, 1778.)

In the second volume of that work, p. 176, after details of the siege of Ostend in 1604, we read:

"At the end of the year, Spinola went to Spain to induce Philip to allow the raising of some Italian regiments, and got the plan adopted of removing the theatre of war beyond the Rhine in the following spring. The Council of Madrid, in the mean time, was much occupied in finding means to excite risings in France. It had been the mover of two conspiracies against the person of Henry IV., by Marshal de Biron and by the count d'Auvergne, and the marchioness de Verneuil. It is known that though the king of France affected ignorance of those outrages, he was fully resolved in his own heart to take ample revenge, when he had put his finances in good condition, and repaired the losses which the civil wars had inflicted upon his kingdom.

"It appears to be proven, that these plots were carried on without the knowledge of Philip III., a prince naturally pious and equitable. It is even maintained that the duke of Lerma, although he performed the duties of prime minister, knew nothing of them, which seems incredible. Calderon, and those who shared with him the government of the State, really were the authors, and in concert with the most turbulent prince of his time, and for a long time, the sworn enemy of the king of France."

De Girecourt thus speaks of the assassination of Henry IV.:

"Henry was preparing to attack the house of Austria, in Germany, in the Low Countries, and in Holland. Secure of the Hollanders and of the princes of the Evangelical Union, he had concluded an alliance with the duke of Savoy, who already entertained the hope of conquering the Milanese. The court of Madrid was scarcely in a condition to resist the storm, when a tragical event released it from the embarrassment. Henry was assassinated in his own capital, on the 14th of May, 1610. The wretch who dealt the fatal blow was one Ravailiac, a native of Augoulême. Those who have accused Philip III. of being privy to that crime, have done so without proof. The plans which the French monarch had formed for humbling the house of Austria, were buried with that monarch. In a short time, Mary de Medici, regent of France during the minority of her son, Louis XIII., made terms with the court of Spain; and, not long afterwards, even contracted a double alliance with that court."

It was on the accession of Philip IV. that Calderon was condemned. Alliances with France gave another direction to affairs. Could the same court bear to see, at once, Philip IV. seated on the throne beside the noble and excellent Elizabeth, daughter of Henry IV., and, in the political secretaryship, Calderon, who had *endeavored to do so much injury to France*?

granted a plenary indulgence to all who, on the day of that saint, visit a church of the religious of Saint John of God.

Meantime, Pope Paul V. effected peace between France and Spain. The treaty was published at Rome amid public rejoicings. Paul had also the satisfaction of settling the disputes which had arisen between the Emperor Rudolph and the Archduke Matthias, who was crowned at Prague as king of Bohemia. Cardinal Mellini, Paul's legate, had obtained from the two contestants all that the Holy Father required.

On the 24th of September, Paul approved the order of the Ursulines, as established at Paris by Marie d'Huillier. It followed the rule of Saint Augustine, with special statutes, and devoted itself to the education and training of girls. The Ursuline order, originating at Brescia in 1527, had been approved by Gregory XIII. on the 24th of November, 1572. It spread in France, and extended to Flanders and Germany, whither the Ursulines were invited by the Empress Eleanor, mother of Leopold I. ; and it afterwards extended to Canada, Louisiana, Hungary, and finally to Rome.

Paul V. also showed his love of the arts, and his desire to adorn the capital of the Christian world.

The Vatican Basilica, commenced by Julius II., and extended by his successors, especially by Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., was not yet completed. It was not sufficient for the majesty of the sacred ashes of the numerous saints that it contained, notwithstanding the vast idea conceived by Bramante, and improved by Michael Angelo Buonarrotti. Paul endeavored to perfect the basilica. He continued the buildings from the Gregorian chapel to the façade ; he erected some chapels, the choir, the lower portico adjoining, a church, and the upper portico for the papal benediction. In the interior of the first portico were representations of the acts of Saint Peter. On the upper portico were placed thirteen statues, that of the Redeemer and those of the twelve apostles.

In the middle of that august temple Paul opened the sacred Confession, in which repose the bodies of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Subsequently, His Holiness turned his attention to the subterranean church. The palace of the Vatican was next enlarged, and rendered still more magnificent. The Vatican library and secretariat were made such as we now see them.

No less beautiful embellishments were bestowed upon Saint Mary Major. The Borghese chapel there is worthy of admiration.

In order to avoid the unhealthy summer air of the Vatican, the popes in warm weather usually remove to the Quirinal ; but that palace not being large enough for the pope's household, the Rota, and other tribunals, Paul, looking to the public wants, brought the Quirinal to its actual elegance. The pope took up his residence there on the 14th of January, 1614. Bulls issued here are dated from Saint Mary Major, because that is the nearest

basilica. Formerly, Saint Mark's was dated from, but Saint Mark's is not a basilica. Paul erected a lighthouse at Civita Vecchia, and added new works to the fortress. He brought to Rome the water called Paola; the same which, under Trajan, was known as the Alsietina. That Paola water was at that time one of the great benefits of Rome.

It is impossible to enumerate all the works of Paul, who so well followed the example of Sixtus V. And he still imitated him when, after so many gigantic and expensive enterprises, he left in the castle of Saint Angelo a treasure which rendered it for the time unnecessary to touch that of Sixtus. At the instance of Mary de Medici, queen of France, the Holy Father, on the 16th of May, 1613, approved the congregation of the Oratory of Christ, instituted in France on the 4th of November, 1611, by Peter de Berulle, a priest of Paris (afterwards made cardinal by Urban VIII.), in memory of the prayers offered by Jesus Christ while he deigned to dwell among men in the flesh. Until recent revolutions in France, that congregation formed a body of priests under the jurisdiction of the bishops, and it had been admitted only on that condition. It is altogether distinct from the Congregation of the Oratory founded by Saint Philip Neri, and approved by Gregory XIII.

The care of Paul extended over the world, and embraced all questions, even those relating to the customs of various countries.

In the empire of China, for instance, it is deemed indecent and significant of great irreverence to have the head uncovered. Paul V., therefore, granted to the missionaries to that empire leave to wear a cap while saying Mass, provided that it should be a different one from that worn at other time and place. The Chinese neophytes had a new kind of birette made on purpose for Mass, and different from the ordinary one.

The same missionaries asked and obtained from the Holy Father yet another grace. He issued a decree permitting the divine service to be celebrated and the Mass to be said in the Chinese language. But the decree was not sent to those missionaries who had solicited it. In 1658, the same request being made to Alexander VII., a congregation was assembled, but came to no decision. In 1681, a missal was translated into the Chinese language. Father Couplet, procurator-general of the mission, went to Rome to solicit an approbation and authority to use it, but did not succeed.*

By a bull of the 30th of August, 1617, Paul V. renewed the constitution of Sixtus IV., upon the Immaculate Conception of the mother of God, to terminate the dispute that had arisen between the Spanish Dominicans and

* See Papebrok, in the *Life of Nicholas I., Adrian II., and John III.*; Pallavicini, *Hist. of the Council of Trent*, book xviii., chap. x; and Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.*, centuries 15 and 16, dissertation xii., art. 12.

the Franciscans. The Holy Father was then urged to make the mystery of the conception an article of faith; but he merely forbade the public teaching of the contrary. The same pope, in 1618, approved the order of the Visitation, instituted in 1610, in the city of Annecy, in Savoy, by Saint Jane Frances Frémyot, widow of Christopher de Rabutin, baron de Chantal. The name was given to the order on account of the *visits* which, previous to being subjected to the cloister, those religious made to the poor and the sick in memory of the visitation of the Blessed Virgin to Saint Elizabeth. Saint Francis de Sales, who had chiefly contributed to the foundation of the institute, gave it a rule closely following that of Saint Augustine, which was afterwards confirmed, in 1626, by Urban VIII.

To draw up those statutes, the holy bishop of Geneva studied those of all the other religious orders, and finally fixed upon those of the Jesuits, which he admired for their wisdom and exactitude. He especially did justice to the admirable foresight which provided for every thing calculated to maintain piety in the bosom of an order occupied with the salvation of others in so many and diverse duties.

The congregation of the Visitation, erected into a religious order by Paul V., began to extend so rapidly, that the holy foundress had the happiness of seeing eighty-seven houses founded in France and in Savoy, whence the order extended into Germany and Poland. At the end of the eighteenth century there were six thousand six hundred nuns, in a hundred and fifty monasteries, who had lost none of their original fervor. It was to those nuns, who were under the direction of the bishops, that the king of Spain, in 1757, intrusted a community after the model of the illustrious house of Saint Cyr, in France. They daily recited the office of the Blessed Virgin; and as, after entering the cloister, they could no longer render to the poor the services rendered in their former visitations, they are bound to admit into their convents young women of delicate health, widows and old women, and women generally incapable of being admitted into other orders.

In 1520, the congregation of the *Reformed Camaldulensian Hermits*, called of *Monte Corona*, had been founded by the venerable Paul Giustiniani, a Venetian, who died at fifty-two years of age, in 1528. The Holy Father granted them a convenient site at Frascati to erect a monastery, which they still possess.

This congregation is a reform of the Camaldulensians, so called from the first monastery founded in 1022, by Saint Romualdo, a nobleman of Ravenna, at the hermitage of Campo Maldolo, situated in the Apennines, near Arezzo, and following the rule of Saint Benedict. To that order, confirmed by the pontiffs Leo IX., Nicholas II., and Alexander II., is united another congregation, of the Hermits of Fontevellana, founded at the same period

in Umbria. This latter congregation owes a portion of its renown to Saint Peter Damian, who was its abbot.

On the 16th of March, 1618, the pope made a promotion of two cardinals,—a Frenchman, Cardinal Henry de Gondî, uncle of the famous Cardinal de Retz, Paul de Gondî; and a Spaniard, Cardinal Francis Rojas de Sandoval, of the family of the dukes of Lerma, the famous minister of Philip III. By this promotion, Paul showed his desire to do honor at the same time to France and to Spain. The Emperor Matthias dying, was succeeded in the States of Austria and in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia by Ferdinand II., his cousin. A party in Bohemia, however, sought to wrest the imperial crown from the house of Austria, offering it to the duke of Savoy, if he would support them in their rebellion; but Ferdinand II. was crowned nevertheless. On the 29th of August, the Bohemians declared him deprived of the throne, which they proffered to several princes; none of whom would attempt to ascend it, except Frederic, the elector Palatine, an ambitious young man, stimulated to the enterprise by his wife, who, being the daughter of James king of England, repined at not wearing also a royal crown. That prince was solemnly proclaimed king of Bohemia. Pope Paul was opposed to Frederic, a Protestant prince, and he ordered his nuncio to recognize Ferdinand II., emperor, as legitimate successor to Matthias.

God prospered the arms of Ferdinand, and the celebrated victory of Prague gave him Bohemia, which could then freely return to the Catholic faith. But the term assigned by God as the limit of the life of Paul had arrived; and on the 28th of January, 1621, he died, after reciting the creed, at the age of sixty-nine years. He had governed the Church fifteen years, seven months, and thirteen days.

He was interred at the Vatican.*

* I possess three medals of Paul V.:

1. PAVL PONT. MAX. ANN. VI. The head of the Pope, uncovered. *Reverse*: COMPLEAT GLORIA MARIE DOMVM ISTAM. The chapel of the Blessed Virgin, erected by Paul V. (1607-12), in the church of *Saint Mary Major*, half finished. Paul placed here the portrait of the Blessed Virgin, by Saint Luke, and adorned it with precious stones.

2. PAVLVS V. PONT. MAX. A. XIII. *Obv.*: Pope's head, full face; they are usually profile. *Rev.*: TV. DOMINVS ET MAGISTER. Our Lord washing the feet of the Apostles. This medal is of very small size.

3. PAVLVS V. BVRGHESIVS, RO. P. MAX. A. XVI. ROMAN. *Rev.*: SACELLVM IN PALATIO QVIRIN. AN. MDCXIX. The façade of the Quirinal, showing the bas-reliefs on the doors. Over one are the words PAVLVS V.

Du Molinet describes the following:

1. SPIRAT VBI VVLIT. The Holy Ghost amid rays.

2. DEI GENITRICI, SEMPER VIRGINI. MDCXII. Struck on the building of the Borghese chapel in Saint Mary Major. The façade is shown.

3. Another medal, nearly similar, but with some variation in the order of the columns of the façade.

4. APERIT ET CLAVDIT. MDCVII. Saint Peter holding the pontifical keys.

Paul was tall and majestic. Every thing in his gait and bearing, as well as his countenance, prepossessed people in his favor; but his virtues more especially recommended him to those who came into immediate contact with him. He filled with Gospel laborers all heathen countries that solicited missionaries.

5. IN HONOREM PRINCIPIS APOST. AN. MDCXIII. The façade of Saint Peter's, with one dome.

6. TEM. D. PETRI IN VATICANO. Exergue: ET PORTÆ INFERN. NON PRÆVALEBUNT. The façade of Saint Peter's, with the great dome, and the two side domes which we now see there.

7. ET CONGV. ADGNOSCIT PASTOREM SVVM. The king of Congo had been baptized, and sent an ambassador to recognize Paul V. as head of the Church. The pope is on his throne, and blesses the ambassador.

That moral conquest was due to a mission of twelve Capuchins. They had sufficiently mastered the language of the country, and their zeal and courage had triumphed over all obstacles.

Congo is a kingdom of Lower Guinea, extending between 2° 40' and 8° 25' S., and between 10° 30' and 17° 30' E. It is two hundred leagues in length by eight leagues in breadth. Of the numerous rivers and streams which water the country, the Zaire, which forms many cataracts in its course, is the most considerable. San Salvador is the capital of the kingdom.

The king's ambassador was a black of the finest build; but he arrived so ill, that he died before he could have an audience. The medal was already struck, and Bonanni states that it was not thought necessary to make any change. He might have added, that it is likely that one of the ambassadorial suite, the most distinguished after the ambassador, had the honor to be presented to the pope.

8. ET TV FRANCISCA. S. VOCABERIS, AN. 1608. The pope canonizing Saint Frances, in presence of six mitred cardinals.

Saint Frances, a Roman lady, of the Borghese family, widow of Laurentius Pontiani, was proposed for beatification, and then for canonization, under Eugene IV., Nicholas V., Julius II., and Clement VIII.; finally, Paul V. placed her in the ranks of the saints.

9. PUBLICÆ COMMODITATI RESTITVIT. AN. 1609. A succession of aqueducts.

10. SECVRITAS POPVLI. Exergue: FERRARIA.

11. INTER SANCTOS REFERT. Exergue: CARD. BORROMEVM. The pope canonizing Saint Charles Borromeo.

12. DEI ÆDIFICATIO EST. Exergue: S. CAROLVS. (See 1 Cor. iii. 9.) The church of Saint Charles is seen on the medal as it now exists on the Corso. On the right of the church, in a cloud, Saint Charles, in prayer.

13. PALATII VATICANI PORTA RESTITVTA—*The gate of the Vatican palace restored.* A gate of antique form, and raised upon a bearing wall. It was pulled down under Alexander VII., who had it rebuilt in a grander and more elegant style.

14. Another medal represents the restoration of the gate of the Vatican, with the same inscription.

15. FVNDA NOS IN PACE. Exergue: AN. MDCXIII. In front of Saint Mary Major there is a magnificent fluted Corinthian column of Parian marble, one of the eight belonging to the Temple of Peace, and shown in this medal. Paul V. removed it to its present place, under the direction of the architect Charles Maderno, in 1613, and placed on the top the bronze statue of the Virgin and Child.

This column is fifty-eight feet high, by a diameter of five feet eight inches. From the ground to the summit, it is a hundred and thirty feet high.

16. PRO TVI NOMINIS GLORIA—*For the glory of thy name.* The same grooved column from the Temple of Peace, already mentioned; on the second side, the façade of Saint Mary Major. On one of the sides to the right, we read: IMPVRA FALSI TEMPLA QVONDAM NVMINIS IVBENTE MCESTA SVSTINEBAM CÆSARE. NVNC LÆTA VERI PERFERENS MATREM DEI. TE PAVLE NVLLIS OBTECEBO SÆCVLIS.

The column is thus made to say: "Formerly, by order of Cæsar, I sustained the temples of a

Paul used to say that he gained two advantages by embellishing and improving Rome: in the first place, he rendered the city more august; and in the next place, he gave employment to a host of artisans, who, but for him, would have been destitute.

This pope always showed great affection for the Jesuits. He protested

false god; now, joyfully, I bear the Mother of the true God. O Paul, in no age to come will I forget thy name." I quote that inscription two hundred and thirty-four years after it was chiselled, that the column may not promise in vain.

On the left is the following inscription, which testifies to the antiquity of the column, which is no longer supposed to speak: VASTA COLVMNAM MOLE QVÆ STETIT DIV PACIS PROPHANA IN ÆDE PAVLVVS TRANSTVLIT IN EXQUILINVM QVINTVS PAX VNDE VERA EST DEDICAVIT VIRGINI.

The column of vast size which long ornamented the profane Temple of Peace, Paul V. transported to the Esquiline, and dedicated to the Virgin, from whom comes true peace.

It is with pleasure that I quote these testimonies to the greatness of Paul V.

17. PORTV BYRGESIO A FVNDAMENTIS EXTRVCTO COLONIA IVLIA FANESTRIS. The pope formed a port at Fano, in Umbria, between Pesaro and Sinigaglia. Fano was called the Julian colony, because Julius Cæsar sent a colony thither. This medal shows the port, with its fortified gate.

18. SS. AGNETIS ET EMERENTIANÆ OSSA. Exergue; HONORIFICATA. Paul V., in 1615, erected an altar to the virgin martyrs Agnes and Emerentiana, in their church without the city, and placed their relics in a costly silver shrine. The medal shows the altar, the pope holding the reliquary, and around the pope cardinals and bishops.

19. PONTIFICVM COMMODITATI. AN. MDCXVI. The palace of Monte Cavallo, nearly as we now see it.

20. SACRA PETRI CONFESSIO EXORNATA. It is one of the most beautiful marvels of Saint Peter's. Some embellishments have since been added, which give it another form; it stands in the subterranean church, in the middle of the church, where lie the two apostles whose gilded statues are seen.

Of the Confession, Vittorelli says: "One must see it, in order to form any idea of its magnificence."

21. CEPERANI PONS SVPER LIRIM. Exergue: RESTITVTVS. Paul rebuilt a bridge over the Gagliano, on the road from the Campagna. The head of the bridge, on the right, is fortified by bastions and towers.

Bonanni adds:

1. DOMINE I. M. A. T. VENIRE. Exergue: ROMA. Saint Peter in his bark, with two apostles.

2. ECCLESIAM S. MARIÆ. IN CAMPITELLO CONGREG. MATRIS DEI VNIVIT. ANNO MDCXIX. This church, consecrated by Pope Honorius III., in 1217, had been abandoned; but, as it contained the relics of many martyrs, Paul V. granted it to the clergy of the congregation of the Mother of God, by whom it was enlarged. It was then reconsecrated by Mellini, cardinal-vicar.

3. HVMILES EXALTAVIT. Struck at the canonization of Saint Charles Borromeo, whose family bore on their arms the word *Humilitas*, in Lombard characters. The medal represents two winged angels supporting a crown of gold; beneath which is the word *Humilitas*.

4. TALES AMBIO FVNDATORES. Exergue: FVNDAMENTVM. Beneath, the crown of gold, accompanied by the word *Humilitas*. A church with three doors; in the middle, Saint Charles praying; on the right, the statue of Saint Paul; on the left, that of Saint Blaise; at the summit, a cross between the letters A and Ω; below, the eagle and the dragon—the arms of the Borghese family.

5. In the field, without figures, are the following words: D. O. M. PAVLO V. P. M. FAVENTE AD AMPLIANDAM ÆDEM S. CAROLI NOMINE ROMÆ PRIMO DEDICATAM LAPIDEM FVNDAMENTALEM PER ARCHIP. S. PETRI. CLERICI REGVL. S. PAVLI PONI CVRARVNT. ANNO MDCXII. It refers to the church of Saint Charles *a Catenari*, which was begun in 1612, and completed at the expense of Cardinal John Baptist Leni, after the designs of Rosatus Rosati, with the exception of the façade, which was designed by Soria. That locality having originally been occupied

against the condemnation of a work of Suarez, by the parliament of Paris, and after long debates the sentence was suspended. And he protested against the book of Richer, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who spoke disrespectfully of the rights of the Holy See. The work was censured, and the pope was appeased.

by the makers of the wooden vessels called Catini, whose house had been burned down, it was called, as now, de' Catinari, which name remains to designate the place and the church dedicated to Saint Charles. It is served by the Barnabite fathers, one of the most estimable congregations in Rome, always eminent for learning and piety. These fathers had warmly urged the canonization of Saint Charles Borromeo.

6. PVBBLICÆ COMMODITATI RESTITVTA. A long succession of aqueducts, arranged spirally, terminating in a sort of triumphal arch, conducted to Rome an abundance of water, which especially supplies the two imposing fountains of Saint Peter's.

7. PVBBLICÆ COMMODITATI. ANNO MDCX. One of the finest fountains of Rome—Saint Peter in Montorio. The water escapes from three openings with the rapidity of a torrent. It is on the Janiculum, and from it you can see all Rome, with its hills, its churches, its Coliseum, and its roads, one of the most magnificent views that the eye of man can look upon.

8. ANGVLARIS FVNDAMENTVM LAPIS CHRISTVS MISSVS EST. In the field: VT PRO PECCATIS POPVLI ORET SACERDOS. VIRGO CVIVS VTERVS TEMPLVM DEI FACTVS EST. S. P. Q. BONONIENSIS TEMPLVM HOC TVO NOMINI EXTRV. The barefooted Carmelites had formerly built a small church in Bologna, dedicated to the Tearful (*a lachrymis*) Virgin. It contained an ancient statue of the Mother of God, and was so much resorted to, that Cardinal Capponi, Paul's legate, resolved to replace the small church by a much more spacious one, of which he laid the first stone in 1619.

9. CVIVS REGNI NON ERIT FINIS. The shield, containing the arms of the Borghese (the eagle at the top of the field, the griffin below), is surmounted by the pontifical keys and the tiara.

10. VAS ELECTIONIS. Saint Paul has fallen from his horse.

11. MORTIFERA NON NOCEBUNT. Saint Paul at Malta, holding the viper; Acts xxviii. 3-5.

12. IVSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA COMPLEXÆ SVNT. Two female figures are embracing. This same reverse has already been given on a medal described in our life of Clement VIII.

We cannot omit to say a few words here about the Borghese palace, which still exists at Rome. It is one of the richest and most magnificent residences in that city. The building was commenced in a spirit of family pride, by Cardinal Deza, who undertook it in 1590. That noble Spaniard, born at Toro, in the diocese of Zamora, on the 24th of February, 1523, and created cardinal by Gregory XIII., in 1578, had the idea of calling his family to Rome, and leaving it a palace worthy of the family and himself; but that cardinal, dying in 1600, bishop of Albano, the undertaking was not continued. It was resumed under Paul V., who desired to present it to his maternal nephew, Cardinal Scipio Borghese. He was handsome, courteous, and generous, and so popular in consequence that he was called the delight of Rome—*Delizia di Roma*. The pope, Paul V., purchased the site, and the foundations that had been commenced, from the heirs of Cardinal Deza. The palace was speedily finished after the designs of Martin Longhi the elder.

The courtyard of the palace is inclosed by two rows of arches, above which is a Corinthian attic. The whole is supported by ninety-six granite columns, which form two open porticoes, one above the other. The lower portico is ornamented by three colossal statues, representing Julia Pia, a Muse, and Apollo harping; to the Apollo is given the head of the Muse, and to the Muse the head of the Apollo,—a singular change, which has not hitherto been remarked. The antiquaries employed by Cardinal Scipio Borghese, had not as practised eyes as the antiquaries of our own day.

The twelve rooms on the ground-floor are ornamented with pictures of great value. It was that same cardinal who built the *Pinciana* or Borghesian villa, which is about three miles round. It was subsequently much embellished by Prince Mark Anthony, by his son Camillus, and by the present prince, son of Prince Aldobrandini and nephew of Prince Camillus. This villa contains a portrait of Pope Paul V., by Caravaggio.

As to the opinions of Galileo, which began to circulate under Paul V., Guicciardini, ambassador from the grand duke of Tuscany, in a dispatch of the 4th of March, 1616, wrote thus to his master :

"Galileo insisted on obtaining from the pope and the holy office, a declaration that the system of Copernicus was founded on the Scriptures. He haunted the antechambers of the court and the palaces of the cardinals ; he composed memorial after memorial.* Galileo thought more of his own opinions than of those of his friends. After having persecuted and wearied many other cardinals, he at length won over Cardinal Orsini. The latter, with more warmth than prudence, urged His Holiness to favor the wishes of Galileo. The pope, tiring of the conversation, broke it off. Galileo carried into all these proceedings an extreme heat, which he had neither the strength nor the prudence to control. He might throw us all into great embarrassment, and I cannot see what he is likely to gain by a longer stay here."†

Citing a modern historian, Feller says :

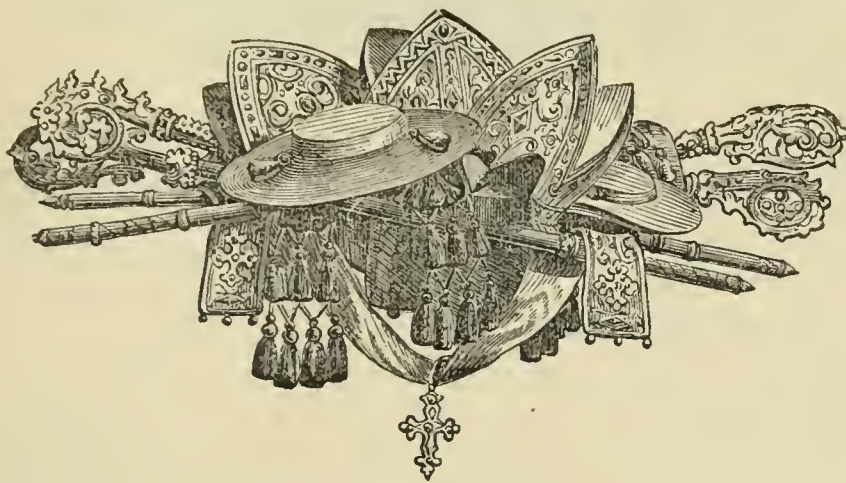
"Never has any pope approved more orders and various congregations, persuaded as he was that there cannot be too many asylums for piety, and that as God does not lead all men by the same way, it is fit that we should open various roads by which men may seek him. It results from all this recital, that Paul was a great and a generous pope."

After the death of this pope the Holy See was vacant eleven days.

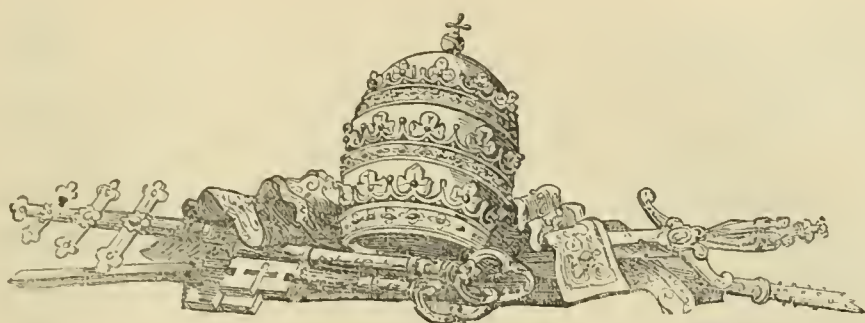
* Feller, vol. iv., p. 279.

† We shall have occasion hereafter to speak more at length about Galileo.





CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES.



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211.	EUGENE VI.	1431	584
212.	NICHOLAS V.	1447	593
213.	CALIXTUS III.	1455	600
214.	PIUS II.	1458	604
215.	PAUL II.	1464	615
216.	SIXTUS IV.	1471	621
217.	INNOCENT VIII.	1484	628
218.	ALEXANDER VI.	1492	634
219.	PIUS III.	1503	645
220.	JULIUS II.	1503	649
221.	LEO X.	1513	662
222.	ADRIAN VI.	1522	698
223.	CLEMENT VII.	1523	708
224.	PAUL III.	1534	723
225.	JULIUS III.	1550	734
226.	MARCELLUS II.	1555	741

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227.	PAUL IV.	1555	745
228.	PIUS IV.	1559	751
229.	SAINT PIUS V.	1566	767
230.	GREGORY XIII.	1572	806
231.	SIXTUS V.	1585	842
232.	URBAN VII.	1590	872
233.	GREGORY XIV.	1590	875
234.	INNOCENT IX.	1591	881
235.	CLEMENT VIII.	1592	882
236.	LEO XI.	1605	929
237.	PAUL V.	1605	932



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